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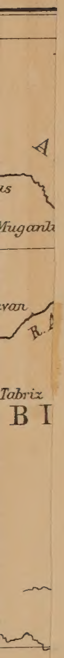
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THE HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY

EDWARD GIBBON

EDITED IN SEVEN VOLUMES

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, APPENDICES, AND INDEX

BY

J. B. BURY, M.A.

HON. LITT.D. OF DURHAM, HON. LL.D. OF EDINBURGH
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ST. PETERSBURGH
FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

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J. B. B.

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER XLV

Reign of the Younger Justin—Embassy of the Avars—Their Settlement on the Danube—Conquest of Italy by the Lombards—Adoption and Reign of Tiberius—of Maurice—State of Italy under the Lombards and the Exarchs of Ravenna—Distress of Rome—Character and Pontificate of Gregory the First

Death of Justinian A.D. 565, Nov. 14

DURING the last years of Justinian, his infirm mind was devoted to heavenly contemplation, and he neglected the business of the lower world. His subjects were impatient of the long continuance of his life and reign; yet all who were capable of reflection apprehended the moment of his death, which might involve the capital in tumult and the empire in civil war. Seven nephews[1] of the childless monarch, the sons or grandsons of his brother and sister, had been educated in the splendour of a princely fortune; they had been shewn in high commands to the provinces and armies; their characters were known, their followers were zealous; and, as the jealousy of age postponed the declaration of a successor, they might expect with equal hopes the inheritance of their uncle. He expired in his palace after a reign of thirty-eight years; and the decisive opportunity was embraced by the friends of Justin, the son of Vigilantia.[2] At the hour of midnight his domestics were

---

[1] See the family of Justin and Justinian in the Familiæ Byzantinæ of Ducange, p. 89-101. The devout civilians, Ludewig (in Vit. Justinian. p. 131) and Heineccius (Hist. Juris Roman. p. 374), have since illustrated the genealogy of their favourite prince.

[2] In the story of Justin's elevation I have translated into simple and concise prose the eight hundred verses of the two first books of Corippus, de Laudibus Justini, Appendix Hist. Byzant. p. 401-416, Rome, 1777. [See Appendix 1. For day of Justinian's death, Nov. 14, see Theophanes, ad ann. 6057 (a false reading—ια′ for ιδ′—appears in Clinton's citation of the passage, Fast. Rom., ad ann.).]

Reign of Justin II. or the younger. A.D. 565, Nov. 15 [14]—A.D. 574, December

His consulship, A.D. 566, January

awakened by an importunate crowd, who thundered at his door, and obtained admittance by revealing themselves to be the principal members of the senate. These welcome deputies announced the recent and momentous secret of the emperor's decease; reported, or perhaps invented, his dying choice of the best beloved and most deserving of his nephews; and conjured Justin to prevent the disorders of the multitude, if they should perceive, with the return of light, that they were left without a master. After composing his countenance to surprise, sorrow, and decent modesty, Justin, by the advice of his wife Sophia, submitted to the authority of the senate. He was conducted with speed and silence to the palace; the guards saluted their new sovereign; and the martial and religious rites of his coronation were diligently accomplished. By the hands of the proper officers he was invested with the Imperial garments, the red buskins, white tunic, and purple robe. A fortunate soldier, whom he instantly promoted to the rank of tribune, encircled his neck with a military collar; four robust youths exalted him on a shield; he stood firm and erect to receive the adoration of his subjects; and their choice was sanctified by the benediction of the patriarch, who imposed the diadem on the head of an orthodox prince. The hippodrome was already filled with innumerable multitudes; and no sooner did the emperor appear on his throne than the voices of the blue and the green factions were confounded in the same loyal acclamations. In the speeches which Justin addressed to the senate and people, he promised to correct the abuses which had disgraced the age of his predecessor, displayed the maxims of a just and beneficent government, and declared that, on the approaching calends of January,[3] he would revive in his own person the name and liberality of a Roman consul. The immediate discharge of his uncle's debts exhibited a solid pledge of his faith and generosity: a train of porters laden with bags of gold advanced into the midst of the hippodrome, and the hopeless creditors of Justinian accepted this equitable payment as a voluntary gift. Before the end of three years his example was imitated and surpassed by the empress Sophia, who delivered many indigent citizens from the weight of debt and usury: an act of benevolence the best entitled to gratitude, since it relieves the most intolerable distress; but in which the bounty of a prince is the most liable to be abused by the claims of prodigality and fraud.[4]

---

[3] It is surprising how Pagi (Critica in Annal. Baron. tom. ii. p. 639) could be tempted by any chronicles to contradict the plain and decisive text of Corippus (vicina dona, l. ii. 354, vicina dies, l. iv. i.), and to postpone, till A.D. 567, the consulship of Justin.

Embassy of the Avars. A.D. 566

On the seventh day of his reign, Justin gave audience to the ambassadors of the Avars, and the scene was decorated to impress the barbarians with astonishment, veneration, and terror. From the palace gate, the spacious courts and long porticoes were lined with the lofty crests and gilt bucklers of the guards, who presented their spears and axes with more confidence than they would have shewn in a field of battle. The officers who exercised the power, or attended the person, of the prince were attired in their richest habits and arranged according to the military and civil order of the hierarchy. When the veil of the sanctuary was withdrawn, the ambassadors beheld the emperor of the East on his throne, beneath a canopy or dome, which was supported by four columns and crowned with a winged figure of victory. In the first emotions of surprise, they submitted to the servile adoration of the Byzantine court; but, as soon as they rose from the ground, Targetius,[5] the chief of the embassy, expressed the freedom and pride of a barbarian. He extolled, by the tongue of his interpreter, the greatness of the chagan, by whose clemency the kingdoms of the South were permitted to exist, whose victorious subjects had traversed the frozen rivers of Scythia, and who now covered the banks of the Danube with innumerable tents.[6] The late emperor had cultivated, with annual and costly gifts, the friendship of a grateful monarch, and the enemies of Rome had respected the allies of the Avars. The same prudence would instruct the nephew of Justinian to imitate the liberality of his uncle, and to purchase the blessings of peace from an invincible people, who delighted and excelled in the exercise of war. The reply of the emperor was delivered in the same strain of haughty defiance, and he derived his confidence from the God of the Christians, the ancient glory of Rome, and the recent triumphs of Justinian. "The empire," said he, "abounds with men and horses, and arms sufficient to defend our frontiers and to chastise the barbarians. You offer aid, you threaten hostilities: we

[Nov. 20]

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[4] Theophan. Chronograph. p. 205 [ad ann. 6059; the date is a year wrong; see last note]. Whenever Cedrenus or Zonaras are mere transcribers, it is superfluous to allege their testimony.

[5] [Ταργίτιος and Ταργίτης in Menander, fr. 28; but *Tergazis* in Corippus, iii. 258.]

[6] [Cp. Appendix 2.]

despise your enmity and your aid. The conquerors of the Avars solicit our alliance: shall we dread their fugitives and exiles?[7] The bounty of our uncle was granted to your misery, to your humble prayers. From us you shall receive a more important obligation, the knowledge of your own weakness. Retire from our presence; the lives of ambassadors are safe; and, if you return to implore our pardon, perhaps you will taste of our benevolence."[8] On the report of his ambassadors, the chagan was awed by the apparent firmness of a Roman emperor, of whose character and resources he was ignorant. Instead of executing his threats against the eastern empire, he marched into the poor and savage countries of Germany, which were subject to the dominion of the Franks. After two doubtful battles he consented to retire, and the Austrasian king relieved the distress of his camp with an immediate supply of corn and cattle.[9] Such repeated disappointments had chilled the spirit of the Avars, and their power would have dissolved away in the Sarmatian desert, if the alliance of Alboin, king of the Lombards, had not given a new object to their arms, and a lasting settlement to their wearied fortunes.

Alboin, king of the Lombards—his valour, love, and revenge

While Alboin served under his father's standard, he encountered in battle, and transpierced with his lance, the rival prince of the Gepidæ. The Lombards, who applauded such early prowess, requested his father with unanimous acclamations that the heroic youth, who had shared the dangers of the field, might be admitted to the feast of victory. "You are not unmindful," replied the inflexible Audoin, "of the wise customs of our ancestors. Whatever may be his merit, a prince is incapable of sitting at table with his father till he has received his arms from a foreign and royal hand." Alboin bowed with reverence to the institutions of his country, selected forty companions, and boldly visited the court of Turisund king of the Gepidæ, who embraced and entertained, according to the laws of hospitality, the murderer of his son. At the banquet, whilst Alboin occupied the seat of the youth whom he had slain, a tender remembrance arose in the mind of Turisund. "How dear is that place—how hateful is that person!" were the words that escaped, with a sigh, from the indignant father. His grief exasperated the national resentment of the Gepidæ; and Cunimund, his surviving son, was provoked by wine, or fraternal affection, to the desire of vengeance. "The Lombards," said the rude barbarian, "resemble, in figure and in smell, the mares of our Sarmatian plains." And this insult was a coarse allusion to the white bands which enveloped their legs. "Add another resemblance," replied an audacious Lombard; "you have felt how strongly they kick. Visit the plain of Asfeld, and seek for the bones of thy brother; they are mingled with those of the vilest animals." The Gepidæ, a nation of warriors, started from their seats, and the fearless Alboin, with his forty companions, laid their hands on their swords. The tumult was appeased by the venerable interposition of Turisund. He saved his own honour, and the life of his guest; and, after the solemn rites of investiture, dismissed the stranger in the bloody arms of his son, the gift of a weeping parent. Alboin returned in triumph; and the Lombards, who celebrated his matchless intrepidity, were compelled to praise the virtues of an enemy.[10] In this extraordinary visit he had probably seen the daughter of Cunimund, who soon after ascended the throne of the Gepidæ. Her name was Rosamond, an appellation expressive of female beauty, and which our own history or romance has consecrated to amorous tales. The king of the Lombards (the father of Alboin no longer lived) was contracted to the grand-daughter of Clovis; but the restraints of faith and policy soon yielded to the hope of possessing the fair Rosamond, and of insulting her family and nation. The arts of persuasion were tried without success; and the impatient lover, by force and stratagem, obtained the object of his desires. War was the consequence which he foresaw and solicited; but the Lombards could not long withstand the furious assault of the Gepidæ, who were sustained by a Roman army. And, as the offer of marriage was rejected with contempt, Alboin was compelled to relinquish his prey, and to partake of the disgrace which he had inflicted on the house of Cunimund.[11]

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[7] Corippus, l. iii. 390. The unquestionable sense relates to the Turks, the conquerors of the Avars; but the word *scultor* has no apparent meaning, and the sole Ms. of Corippus, from whence the first edition (1581, apud Plantin) was printed, is no longer visible. The last editor, Foggini of Rome, has inserted the conjectural emendation of *soldan;* but the proofs of Ducange (Joinville, Dissert. xvi. p. 238-240) for the early use of this title among the Turks and Persians are weak or ambiguous. And I must incline to the authority of d'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orient. p. 825), who ascribes the word to the Arabic and Chaldean tongues, and the date to the beginning of the xith century, when it was bestowed by the caliph of Bagdad on Mahmud, prince of Gazna and conqueror of India. [This judgment on Foggini's conjecture is sound, though *sultan* is read by Partsch, the latest editor. It is doubtful whether the lines do refer to the Turks.]

[8] For these characteristic speeches, compare the verse of Corippus (l. iii. 251-401) with the prose of Menander (Excerpt. Legation. p. 102, 103 [fr. 28, in F. H. G., iv.]). Their diversity proves that they did not copy each other; their resemblance that they drew from a common original. [John of Ephesus says that Justin called the Avar envoys dogs, and threatened to cut off their hair and then their heads; vi. 24.]

[9] For the Austrasian war, see Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 110 [fr. 14, F. H. G., iv. p. 219]), Gregory of Tours (Hist. Franc. l. iv. c. 29), and Paul the Deacon (de Gest. Langobard. l. ii. c. 10). [This passage in Paul refers to the *first* invasion of the Merovingian dominions of the Avars, which took place in A.D. 562, and is recorded by Gregory in iv. 23. The date of the *second* invasion, recorded by Gregory in iv. 29 and by Menander, is probably A.D. 566.]

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[10] Paul Warnefrid, the deacon of Friuli, de Gest. Langobard. l. i. c. 23, 24. His pictures of national manners, though rudely sketched, are more lively and faithful than those of Bede or Gregory of Tours.

The Lombards and Avars destroy the king and kingdom of the Gepidæ, A.D. 566 [567]

When a public quarrel is envenomed by private injuries, a blow that is not mortal or decisive can be productive only of a short truce, which allows the unsuccessful combatant to sharpen his arms for a new encounter. The strength of Alboin had been found unequal to the gratification of his love, ambition, and revenge; he condescended to implore the formidable aid of the chagan; and the arguments that he employed are expressive of the art and policy of the barbarians. In the attack of the Gepidæ he had been prompted by the just desire of extirpating a people whom their alliance with the Roman empire had rendered the common enemies of the nations and the personal adversaries of the chagan. If the forces of the Avars and the Lombards should unite in this glorious quarrel, the victory was secure, and the reward inestimable: the Danube, the Hebrus, Italy, and Constantinople would be exposed, without a barrier, to their invincible arms. But, if they hesitated or delayed to prevent the malice of the Romans, the same spirit which had insulted, would pursue the Avars to the extremity of the earth. These specious reasons were heard by the chagan with coldness and disdain; he detained the Lombard ambassadors in his camp, protracted the negotiation, and by turns alleged his want of inclination, or his want of ability, to undertake this important enterprise. At length he signified the ultimate price of his alliance, that the Lombards should immediately present him with the tithe of their cattle; that the spoils and captives should be equally divided; but that the lands of the Gepidæ should become the sole patrimony of the Avars. Such hard conditions were eagerly accepted by the passions of Alboin; and, as the Romans were dissatisfied with the ingratitude and perfidy of the Gepidæ, Justin abandoned that incorrigible people to their fate, and remained the tranquil spectator of this unequal conflict.[12] The despair of Cunimund was active and dangerous. He was informed that the Avars had entered his confines; but on the strong assurance that, after the defeat of the Lombards, these foreign invaders would easily be repelled, he rushed forwards to encounter the implacable enemy of his name and family. But the courage of the Gepidæ could secure them no more than an honourable death. The bravest of the nation fell in the field of battle; the king of the Lombards contemplated with delight the head of Cunimund, and his skull was fashioned into a cup to satiate the hatred of the conqueror, or, perhaps, to comply with the savage custom of his country.[13] After this victory no farther obstacle could impede the progress of the confederates, and they faithfully executed the terms of their agreement.[14] The fair countries of Walachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and the parts of Hungary beyond the Danube, were occupied, without resistance, by a new colony of Scythians; and the Dacian empire of the chagans subsisted with splendour above two hundred and thirty years.[15] The nation of the Gepidæ was dissolved; but, in the distribution of the captives, the slaves of the Avars were less fortunate than the companions of the Lombards, whose generosity adopted a valiant foe, and whose freedom was incompatible with cool and deliberate tyranny. One moiety of the spoil introduced into the camp of Alboin more wealth than a barbarian could readily compute. The fair Rosamond was persuaded or compelled to acknowledge the rights of her victorious lover; and the daughter of Cunimund appeared to forgive those crimes which might be imputed to her own irresistible charms.

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[11] The story is told by an impostor (Theophylact. Simocat. l. vi. c. 10); but he had art enough to build his fictions on public and notorious facts.

Alboin undertakes the conquest of Italy. A.D. 567 [568]

The destruction of a mighty kingdom established the fame of Alboin. In the days of Charlemagne, the Bavarians, the Saxons, and the other tribes of the Teutonic language, still repeated the songs which described the heroic virtues, the valour, liberality, and fortune of the king of the Lombards.[16] But his ambition was yet unsatisfied, and the conqueror of the Gepidæ turned his eyes from the Danube to the richer banks of the Po and the Tiber. Fifteen years had not elapsed since his subjects, the confederates of Narses, had visited the pleasant climate of Italy; the mountains, the rivers, the highways, were familiar to their memory; the report of their success, perhaps the view of their spoils, had kindled in the rising generation the flame of emulation and enterprise. Their hopes were encouraged by the spirit and eloquence of Alboin; and it is affirmed that he spoke to their senses by producing, at the royal feast, the fairest and most exquisite fruits that grew spontaneously in the garden of the world. No sooner had he erected his standard than the native strength of the Lombards was multiplied by the adventurous youth of Germany and Scythia. The robust peasantry of Noricum and Pannonia had resumed the manners of barbarians; and the names of the Gepidæ, Bulgarians, Sarmatians, and Bavarians, may be distinctly traced in the provinces of Italy.[17] Of the Saxons, the old allies of the Lombards, twenty thousand warriors, with their wives and children, accepted the invitation of Alboin. Their bravery contributed to his success; but the accession or the absence of their numbers was not sensibly felt in the magnitude of his host. Every mode of religion was freely practised by its respective votaries. The king of the Lombards had been educated in the Arian heresy; but the Catholics, in their public worship, were allowed to pray for his conversion; while the more stubborn barbarians sacrificed a she-goat, or perhaps a captive, to the gods of their fathers.[18] The Lombards and their confederates were united by their common attachment to a chief, who excelled in all the virtues and vices of a savage hero; and the vigilance of Alboin provided an ample magazine of offensive and defensive arms for the use of the expedition. The portable wealth of the Lombards attended the march; their lands they cheerfully relinquished to the Avars, on the solemn promise, which was made and accepted without a smile, that, if they failed in the conquest of Italy, these voluntary exiles should be reinstated in their former possessions.

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[12] [The negotiations between Avars and Lombards, described by Menander, fr. 24 and 25 (F. H. G. iv. p. 230), belong to A.D. 566 at earliest, and most probably; the destruction of the Gepidæ is most naturally placed in 567.]

[13] It appears from Strabo, Pliny, and Ammianus Marcellinus that the same practice was common among the Scythian tribes (Muratori, Scriptores Rer. Italic. tom. i. p. 424). The *scalps* of North America are likewise trophies of valour. The skull of Cunimund was preserved above two hundred years among the Lombards; and Paul himself was one of the guests to whom duke Ratchis exhibited this cup on a high festival (l. ii. c. 28). [The same barbarity was practised by the Bulgarians. The skull of the Emperor Nicephorus I. was made into a cup by the Bulgarian sovran Crum. See below, c. lv.]

[14] Paul, l. i. c. 27. Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 110, 111 [*loc. cit.*].

[15] [See Appendix 2.]

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[16] Ut hactenus etiam tam apud Bajoariorum gentem, quam et Saxonum sed et alios ejusdem linguæ homines . . . in eorum carminibus celebretur. Paul. l. i. c. 27. He died A.D. 799 (Muratori, in Præfat. tom. i. p. 397). These German songs, some of which might be as old as Tacitus (de Moribus Germ. c. 2), were compiled and transcribed by Charlemagne. Barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur scripsit memoriæque mandavit (Eginhard, in Vit. Carol. Magn. c. 29, p. 130, 131). The poems, which Goldast commends (Animadvers. ad Eginhard. p. 207), appear to be recent and contemptible romances.

[17] The other nations are rehearsed by Paul (l. ii. c. 6, 26). Muratori (Antichità Italiane, tom. i. dissert. i. p. 4) has discovered the village of the Bavarians, three miles from Modena.

[18] Gregory the Roman (Dialog. l. iii. c. 27, 28, apud Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 579, No. 10) supposes that they likewise adored this she-goat. I know but of one religion in which the god and the victim are the same.

Disaffection and death of Narses

They might have failed, if Narses had been the antagonist of the Lombards; and the veteran warriors, the associates of his Gothic victory, would have encountered with reluctance an enemy whom they dreaded and esteemed. But the weakness of the Byzantine court was subservient to the barbarian cause; and it was for the ruin of Italy that the emperor once listened to the complaints of his subjects. The virtues of Narses were stained with avarice; and in his provincial reign of fifteen years he accumulated a treasure of gold and silver which surpassed the modesty of a private fortune. His government was oppressive or unpopular, and the general discontent was expressed with freedom by the deputies of Rome. Before the throne of Justin they boldly declared that their Gothic servitude had been more tolerable than the despotism of a Greek eunuch; and that, unless their tyrant were instantly removed, they would consult their own happiness in the choice of a master. The apprehension of a revolt was urged by the voice of envy and detraction, which had so recently triumphed over the merit of Belisarius. A new exarch,[19] Longinus, was appointed to supersede the conqueror of Italy, and the base motives of his recall were revealed in the insulting mandate of the empress Sophia, "that he should leave to *men* the exercise of arms, and return to his proper station among the maidens of the palace, where a distaff should be again placed in the hand of the eunuch". "I will spin her such a thread, as she shall not easily unravel!" is said to have been the reply which indignation and conscious virtue extorted from the hero. Instead of attending, a slave and a victim, at the gate of the Byzantine palace, he retired to Naples, from whence (if any credit is due to the belief of the times) Narses invited the Lombards to chastise the ingratitude of the prince and people.[20] But the passions of the people are furious and changeable, and the Romans soon recollected the merits, or dreaded the resentment, of their victorious general. By the mediation of the pope, who undertook a special pilgrimage to Naples, their repentance was accepted; and Narses, assuming a milder aspect and a more dutiful language, consented to fix his residence in the Capitol. His death,[21] though in the [c. A.D. 572] extreme period of old age, was unseasonable and premature, since *his* genius alone could have repaired the last and fatal error of his life. The reality, or the suspicion, of a conspiracy disarmed and disunited the Italians. The soldiers resented the disgrace, and bewailed the loss, of their general. They were ignorant of their new exarch; and Longinus was himself ignorant of the state of the army and the province. In the preceding years Italy had been desolated by pestilence and famine, and a disaffected people ascribed the calamities of nature to the guilt or folly of their rulers.[22]

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[19] [There is some doubt whether Longinus bore this title. The first governor who certainly was "exarch" is Smaragdus, the successor of Longinus, A.D. 585.]

[20] The charge of the deacon against Narses (l. ii. c. 5) may be groundless; but the weak apology of the cardinal (Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 567, No. 8-12) is

Conquest of a great part of Italy by the Lombards. A.D. 568-570

Whatever might be the grounds of his security, Alboin neither expected nor encountered a Roman army in the field. He ascended the Julian Alps, and looked down with contempt and desire on the fruitful plains to which his victory communicated the perpetual appellation of LOMBARDY. A faithful chieftain and a select band were stationed at Forum Julii, the modern Friuli, to guard the passes of the mountains. The Lombards

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rejected by the best critics—Pagi (tom. ii. p. 639, 640), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 160-163), and the last editors, Horatius Blancus (Script. Rerum Italic. tom. i. p. 427, 428) and Philip Argelatus (Sigon. Opera, tom. ii. p. 11, 12). The Narses who assisted at the coronation of Justin (Corippus, l. iii. 221) is clearly understood to be a different person. [The only evidence, deserving consideration, for the charge against Narses consists in: (α) the statement of the biographer of Pope John III. (Lib. Pontif. lxiii.), who wrote, as the Abbé Duchesne has established, c. 580-590, A.D.; the statement of Paul the Deacon, cited above, is copied from this biography; (β) the statement of Isidore of Seville (Chron. 402, ed. Mommsen in Chron. Min. ii. p. 476). This evidence does not establish a presumption of his guilt, but shows that very soon after the event it was generally believed that he was in collusion with the invaders. The story of the distaff appears in an earlier writer than Paul, namely "Fredegarius" (3, 65), who makes Sophia send Narses a golden distaff. So Euelthon, king of Cyprian Salamis, gave a distaff and wool to Pheretime of Cyrene, when she asked him for an army (Herodotus, 4, 162). And we shall presently see the same symbol used for insult by a Persian prince (below, p. 46).]

[21] The death of Narses is mentioned by Paul, l. ii. c. 11; Anastas. in Vit. Johan. iii. p. 43; Agnellus, Liber Pontifical. Raven. in Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. ii. part 1, p. 114, 124. Yet I cannot believe with Agnellus that Narses was ninety-five years of age. Is it probable that all his exploits were performed at fourscore?

[22] The designs of Narses and of the Lombards for the invasion of Italy are exposed in the last chapter of the first book, and the seven first chapters of the second book, of Paul the Deacon.

respected the strength of Pavia, and listened to the prayers of the Trevisans; their slow and heavy multitudes proceeded to occupy the palace and city of Verona; and Milan, now rising from her ashes, was invested by the powers of Alboin five months after his departure from Pannonia. Terror preceded his march; he found everywhere, or he left, a dreary solitude; and the pusillanimous Italians presumed, without a trial, that the stranger was invincible. Escaping to lakes, or rocks, or morasses, the affrighted crowds concealed some fragments of their wealth, and delayed the moment of their servitude. Paulinus, the patriarch of Aquileia, removed his treasures, sacred and profane, to the isle of Grado,[23] and his successors were adopted by the infant republic of Venice, which was continually enriched by the public calamities. Honoratus, who filled the chair of St. Ambrose, had credulously accepted the faithless offers of a capitulation; and the archbishop, with the clergy and nobles of Milan, were driven by the perfidy of Alboin to seek a refuge in the less accessible ramparts of Genoa. Along the maritime coast, the courage of the inhabitants was supported by the facility of supply, the hopes of relief, and the power of escape; but, from the Trentine hills to the gates of Ravenna and Rome, the inland regions of Italy became, without a battle or a siege, the lasting patrimony of the Lombards. The submission of the people invited the barbarian to assume the character of a lawful sovereign, and the helpless exarch was confined to the office of announcing to the emperor Justin the rapid and irretrievable loss of his provinces and cities.[24] One city, which had been diligently fortified by the Goths, resisted the arms of a new invader; and, while Italy was subdued by the flying detachments of the Lombards, the royal camp was fixed above three years before the western gate of Ticinum, or Pavia. The same courage which obtains the esteem of a civilised enemy provokes the fury of a savage, and

[A.D. 558-570

[A.D. 568]

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[23] Which from this translation was called the New Aquileia (Chron. Venet. p. 3). The patriarch of Grado soon became the first citizen of the republic (p. 9, &c.), but his seat was not removed to Venice till the year 1450. He is now decorated with titles and honours; but the genius of the church has bowed to that of the state, and the government of a catholic city is strictly presbyterian. Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 156, 157, 161-165. Amelot de la Houssaye, Gouvernement de Vénise, tom. i. p. 256-261.

[24] Paul has given a description of Italy, as it was then divided into eighteen regions (l. ii. c. 14-24). The Dissertatio Chorographica de Italiâ Medii Ævi, by Father Beretti, a Benedictine monk, and regius professor at Pavia, has been usefully consulted. [For the more important description of George the Cypriote, see Appendix 3.]

the impatient besieger had bound himself by a tremendous oath that age, and sex, and dignity should be confounded in a general massacre. The aid of famine at length enabled him to execute his bloody vow; but, as Alboin entered the gate, his horse stumbled, fell, and could not be raised from the ground. One of his attendants was prompted by compassion, or piety, to interpret this miraculous sign of the wrath of Heaven; the conqueror paused and relented; he sheathed his sword, and, peacefully reposing himself in the palace of Theodoric, proclaimed to the trembling multitude that they should live and obey. Delighted with the situation of a city which was endeared to his pride by the difficulty of the purchase, the prince of the Lombards disdained the ancient glories of Milan; and Pavia, during some ages, was respected as the capital of the kingdom of Italy.[25]

Alboin is murdered by his wife Rosamond. A.D. 573, June 28

The reign of the founder was splendid and transient; and, before he could regulate his new conquests, Alboin fell a sacrifice to domestic treason and female revenge. In a palace near Verona, which had not been erected for the barbarians, he feasted the companions of his arms; intoxication was the reward of valour, and the king himself was tempted by appetite, or vanity, to exceed the ordinary measure of his intemperance. After draining many capacious bowls of Rhætian or Falernian wine, he called for the skull of Cunimund, the noblest and most precious ornament of his sideboard. The cup of victory was accepted with horrid applause by the circle of the Lombard chiefs. "Fill it again with wine," exclaimed the inhuman conqueror, "fill it to the brim; carry this goblet to the queen, and request, in my name, that she would rejoice with her father." In an agony of grief and rage, Rosamond had strength to utter "Let the will of my lord be obeyed!" and, touching it with her lips, pronounced a silent imprecation, that the insult should be washed away in the blood of Alboin. Some indulgence might be due to the resentment of a daughter, if she had not already violated the duties of a wife. Implacable in her enmity, or inconstant in her love, the queen of Italy had stooped from the throne to the arms of a subject, and Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer, was the secret minister of her pleasure and revenge. Against the proposal of the murder, he could no longer urge the scruples of fidelity or gratitude; but Helmichis trembled, when he revolved the danger as well as the guilt, when he recollected the matchless strength and intrepidity of a warrior whom he had so often attended in the field of battle. He pressed, and obtained, that one of the bravest champions of the Lombards should be associated to the enterprise, but no more than a promise of secrecy could be drawn from the gallant Peredeus; and the mode of seduction employed by Rosamond betrays her shameless insensibility both to honour and love. She supplied the place of one of her female attendants who was beloved by Peredeus, and contrived some excuse for darkness and silence, till she could inform her companion that he had enjoyed the queen of the Lombards, and that his own death, or the death of Alboin, must be the consequence of such treasonable adultery. In this alternative, he chose rather to be the accomplice than the victim of Rosamond,[26] whose undaunted spirit was incapable of fear or remorse. She expected and soon found a favourable moment, when the king oppressed with wine had retired from the table to his afternoon slumbers. His faithless spouse was anxious for his health and repose; the gates of the palace were shut, the arms removed, the attendants dismissed; and Rosamond, after lulling him to rest by her tender caresses, unbolted the chamber-door, and urged the reluctant conspirators to the instant execution of the deed. On the first alarm, the warrior started from his couch; his sword, which he attempted to draw, had been fastened to the scabbard by the hand of Rosamond; and a small stool, his only weapon, could not long protect him from the spears of the assassins. The daughter of Cunimund smiled in his fall; his body was buried under the staircase of the palace; and the grateful posterity of the Lombards revered the tomb and the memory of their victorious leader.

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[25] For the conquest of Italy, see the original materials of Paul (l. ii. c. 7-10, 12, 14, 25, 26, 27), the eloquent narrative of Sigonius (tom. ii. de Regno Italiæ, l. i. p. 13-19), and the correct and critical review of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 164-180). [A chronological summary of the Lombard conquest is added in Appendix 3.]

Her flight and death

The ambitious Rosamond aspired to reign in the name of her lover; the city and palace of Verona were awed by her power; and a faithful band of her native Gepidæ was prepared to applaud the revenge, and to second the wishes, of their sovereign. But the Lombard chiefs, who fled in the first moments of consternation and disorder, had resumed their courage and collected their powers; and the nation, instead of submitting to her reign, demanded, with unanimous cries, that justice should be executed on the guilty spouse and the murderers of their king. She sought a refuge among the enemies of her country, and a criminal who deserved the abhorrence of mankind was protected by the selfish policy of the exarch. With her daughter, the heiress of the Lombard throne, her two lovers, her trusty Gepidæ, and the spoils of the palace of Verona, Rosamond descended the Adige and the Po, and was transported by a Greek vessel to the safe harbour of Ravenna. Longinus beheld with delight the charms and the treasures of the widow of Alboin; her situation and her past conduct might justify the most licentious proposals; and she readily listened to the passion of a minister, who, even in the decline of the empire, was respected as the equal of kings. The death of a jealous lover was an easy and grateful sacrifice, and, as Helmichis issued from the bath, he received the deadly potion from the hand of his mistress. The taste of the liquor, its speedy operation, and his experience of the character of Rosamond, convinced him that he was poisoned: he pointed his dagger to her breast, compelled her to drain the remainder of the cup, and expired in a few minutes, with the consolation that she could not survive to enjoy the fruits of her wickedness. The daughter of Alboin and Rosamond, with the richest spoils of the Lombards, was embarked for Constantinople; the surprising strength of Peredeus amused and terrified the Imperial court; his blindness and revenge exhibited an imperfect copy of the adventures of Samson. By the free suffrage of the nation, in the assembly of Pavia, Clepho, one of their noblest chiefs, was elected as the successor of Alboin. Before the end of eighteen months, the throne was polluted by a second murder; Clepho was stabbed by the hand of a domestic; the regal office was suspended above ten years, during the minority of his son Autharis; and Italy was divided and oppressed by a ducal aristocracy of thirty tyrants.[27]

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[26] The classical reader will recollect the wife and murder of Candaules, so agreeably told in the first book of Herodotus. The choice of Gyges, αἱρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι, may serve as the excuse of Peredeus; and this soft insinuation of an odious idea has been imitated by the best writers of antiquity (Grævius, ad Ciceron. Orat. pro Milone, c. 10).

Clepho, King of the Lombards. A.D. 573, August

Weakness of the emperor Justin

When the nephew of Justinian ascended the throne, he proclaimed a new æra of happiness and glory. The annals of the second Justin[28] are marked with disgrace abroad and misery at home. In the West, the Roman empire was afflicted by the loss of Italy, the desolation of Africa, and the conquests of the Persians. Injustice prevailed both in the capital and the provinces: the rich trembled for their property, the poor for their safety, the ordinary magistrates were ignorant or venal, the occasional remedies appear to have been arbitrary and violent, and the complaints of the people could no longer be silenced by the splendid names of a legislator and a conqueror. The opinion which imputes to the prince all the calamities of his times may be countenanced by the historian as a serious truth or a salutary prejudice. Yet a candid suspicion will arise that the sentiments of Justin were pure and benevolent, and that he might have filled his station without reproach, if the faculties of his mind had not been impaired by disease, which deprived the emperor of the use of his feet and confined him to the palace, a stranger to the complaints of the people and the vices of the government. The tardy knowledge of his own impotence determined him to lay down the weight of the diadem; and in the choice of a worthy substitute he shewed some symptoms of a discerning and even magnanimous spirit. The only son of Justin and Sophia died in his infancy; their daughter Arabia was the wife of Baduarius,[29] superintendent of the palace, and afterwards commander of the Italian armies, who vainly aspired to confirm the rights of marriage by those of adoption. While the empire appeared an object of desire, Justin was accustomed to behold with jealousy and hatred his brothers and cousins, the rivals of his hopes; nor could he depend on the gratitude of those who would accept the purple as a restitution rather than a gift. Of these competitors, one had been removed by exile, and afterwards by death; and the emperor himself had inflicted such cruel insults on another, that

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[27] See the history of Paul, l. ii. c. 28-32. I have borrowed some interesting circumstances from the Liber Pontificalis of Agnellus, in Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. p. 124. Of all chronological guides Muratori is the safest.

[28] The original authors for the reign of Justin the younger are Evagrius, Hist.

Eccles. l. v. c. 1-12; Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 204-210; Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 70-72; Cedrenus, in Compend. p. 388-392. [A highly important source, now accessible, is the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus, a contemporary. See Appendix 1.]

[29] Dispositorque novus sacræ Baduarius aulæ.
Successor soceri mox factus Cura palati.
Corippus [in L. J., 2, 284-5].

Baduarius is enumerated among the descendants and allies of the house of Justinian. [Cp. John Biclar., ad ann. 576, ed. Mommsen (Chron. Min., vol. 2), p. 214.] A family of noble Venetians (Casa *Badoero*) built churches and gave dukes to the republic as early as the ninth century; and, if their descent be admitted, no kings in Europe can produce a pedigree so ancient and illustrious. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 99. Amelot de la Houssaye, Gouvernement de Vénise, tom. ii. p. 555.

he must either dread his resentment or despise his patience. This domestic animosity was refined into a generous resolution of seeking a successor, not in his family, but in the republic; and the artful Sophia recommended Tiberius,[30] his faithful captain of the guards, whose virtues and fortune the emperor might cherish as the fruit of his judicious choice. The ceremony of his elevation to the rank of Cæsar, or Augustus, was performed in the portico of the palace, in the presence of the patriarch and the senate. Justin collected the remaining strength of his mind and body, but the popular belief that his speech was inspired by the Deity betrays a very humble opinion both of the man and of the times.[31] "You behold," said the emperor, "the ensigns of supreme power. You are about to receive them not from my hand, but from the hand of God. Honour them, and from them you will derive honour. Respect the empress your mother; you are now her son; before, you were her servant. Delight not in blood, abstain from revenge, avoid those actions by which I have incurred the public hatred, and consult the experience rather than the example of your predecessor. As a man, I have sinned; as a sinner, even in this life, I have been severely punished; but these servants (and he pointed to his ministers), who have abused my confidence and inflamed my passions, will appear with me before the tribunal of Christ I have been dazzled by the splendour of the diadem: be thou wise and modest; remember what you have been, remember what you are. You see around us your slaves and your children; with the authority, assume the tenderness, of a parent. Love your people like yourself; cultivate the affections, maintain the discipline, of the army; protect the fortunes of the rich, relieve the necessities of the poor." [32] The assembly, in silence and in tears, applauded the counsels, and sympathized with the repentance, of their prince; the patriarch rehearsed the prayers

Association of Tiberius. A.D. 574, December

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[30] The praise bestowed on princes before their elevation is the purest and most weighty. Corippus has celebrated Tiberius at the time of the accession of Justin (l. i. 212-222). Yet even a captain of the guards might attract the flattery of an African exile.

[31] Evagrius (l. v. c. 13) has added the reproach to his ministers. He applies this speech to the ceremony when Tiberius was invested with the rank of Cæsar. The loose expression, rather than the positive error, of Theophanes, &c. has delayed it to his *Augustan* investiture immediately before the death of Justin.

[32] Theophylact Simocatta (l. iii. c. 11) declares that he shall give to posterity the speech of Justin as it was pronounced, without attempting to correct the imperfections of language or rhetoric. Perhaps the vain sophist would have been incapable of producing such sentiments. [John of Ephesus notes that scribes took down Justin's speech in shorthand (iii. 4). Cp. Michael the Syrian, Journ. Asiat. 1848, Oct. p. 296-7.]

of the church; Tiberius received the diadem on his knees, and Justin, who in his abdication appeared most worthy to reign, addressed the new monarch in the following words: "If you consent, I live; if you command, I die; may the God of heaven and earth infuse into your heart whatever I have neglected or forgotten". The four last years of the emperor Justin were passed in tranquil obscurity; his conscience was no longer tormented by the remembrance of those duties which he was incapable of discharging; and his choice was justified by the filial reverence and gratitude of Tiberius.

Death of Justin II. A.D. 578, October 5

Reign of Tiberius II. A.D. 578, Sept. 26—A.D. 582, Aug. 1

Among the virtues of Tiberius,[33] his beauty (he was one of the tallest and most comely of the Romans) might introduce him to the favour of Sophia; and the widow of Justin was persuaded that she should preserve her station and influence under the reign of a second and more youthful husband. But, if the ambitious candidate had been tempted to flatter and dissemble, it was no longer in his power to fulfil her expectations or his own promise. The factions of the hippodrome demanded, with some impatience, the name of their new empress; both the people and Sophia were astonished by the proclamation of Anastasia, the secret though lawful wife of the emperor Tiberius.[34] Whatever could alleviate the disappointment of Sophia, Imperial honours, a stately palace, a numerous household, was liberally bestowed by the piety of her adopted son; on solemn occasions he attended and consulted the widow of his benefactor; but her ambition disdained the vain semblance of royalty, and the respectful appellation of mother served to exasperate, rather than appease, the rage of an injured woman. While she accepted, and repaid with a courtly smile, the fair expressions of regard and confidence, a secret alliance was concluded between the dowager empress and her ancient enemies; and Justinian, the son of Germanus, was employed as the instrument of her revenge. The pride of the reigning house supported, with reluctance, the dominion of a stranger; the youth was deservedly popular; his name, after the death of Justin, had been mentioned by a tumultuous faction; and his own submissive offer of his head, with a treasure of sixty thousand pounds, might be interpreted as an evidence of guilt, or at least of fear. Justinian received a free pardon, and the command of the eastern army. The Persian monarch fled before his arms; and the acclamations which accompanied his triumph declared him worthy of the purple. His artful patroness had chosen the month of the vintage, while the emperor, in a rural solitude, was permitted to enjoy the pleasures of a subject. On the first intelligence of her designs he returned to Constantinople, and the conspiracy was suppressed by his presence and firmness. From the pomp and honours which she had abused, Sophia was reduced to a modest allowance; Tiberius dismissed her train, intercepted her correspondence, and committed to a faithful guard the custody of her person. But the services of Justinian were not considered by that excellent prince as an aggravation of his offences; after a mild reproof, his treason and ingratitude were forgiven; and it was commonly believed that the emperor entertained some thoughts of contracting a double alliance with the rival of his throne. The voice of an angel (such a fable was propagated) might reveal to the emperor that he should always triumph over his domestic foes; but Tiberius derived a firmer assurance from the innocence and generosity of his own mind.

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[33] For the character and reign of Tiberius, see Evagrius, l. v. c. 13; Theophylact, l. iii. c. 12, &c.; Theophanes, in Chron. p. 210-213; Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 72 [c. 11]; Cedrenus, p. 392 [i. 688, ed. Bonn]; Paul Warnefrid, de Gestis Langobard. l. iii. c. 11, 12. The deacon of Forum Julii appears to have possessed some curious and authentic facts.

[34] [The original name of Anastasia was Ino. (According to Michael the Syrian, the name of Helena was given to her by Sophia; *loc. cit.*, p. 297.) The statement in the text which rests on the authority of Theophanes, implying that Sophia did not know of Ino's existence till after Justin's death, is inconsistent with statements of the contemporary, John of Ephesus, iii. 7.]

His virtues

With the odious name of Tiberius, he assumed the more popular appellation of Constantine and imitated the purer virtues of the Antonines. After recording the vice or folly of so many Roman princes, it is pleasing to repose, for a moment, on a character conspicuous by the qualities of humanity, justice, temperance, and fortitude; to contemplate a sovereign affable in his palace, pious in the church, impartial on the seat of judgment, and victorious, at least by his generals, in the Persian war. The most glorious trophy of his victory consisted in a multitude of captives whom Tiberius entertained, redeemed, and dismissed to their native homes with the charitable spirit of a Christian hero. The merit or misfortunes of his own subjects had a dearer claim to his beneficence, and he measured his bounty not so much by their expectations as by his own dignity. This maxim, however dangerous in a trustee of the public wealth, was balanced by a principle of humanity and justice, which taught him to abhor, as of the basest alloy, the gold that was extracted from the tears of the people. For their relief, as often as they had suffered by natural or hostile calamities, he was impatient to remit the arrears of the past, or the demands of future taxes; he sternly rejected the servile offerings of his ministers, which were compensated by tenfold oppression; and the wise and equitable laws of Tiberius excited the praise and regret of succeeding times. Constantinople believed that the emperor had discovered a treasure; but his genuine treasure consisted in the practice of liberal economy and the contempt of all vain and superfluous expense.[35] The Romans of the East would have been happy, if the best gift of heaven, a patriot king, had been confirmed as a proper and permanent blessing. But in less than four years after the death of Justin, his worthy successor sunk into a mortal disease, which left him only sufficient time to restore the diadem, according to the tenure by which he held it, to the most deserving of his fellow-citizens. He selected Maurice from the crowd, a judgment more precious than the purple itself; the patriarch and senate were summoned to the bed of the dying prince; he bestowed his daughter and the empire; and his last advice was solemnly delivered by the voice of the quæstor. Tiberius expressed his hope that the virtues of his son and successor would erect the noblest mausoleum to his memory. His memory was embalmed by the public affliction; but the most sincere grief evaporates in the tumult of a new reign, and the eyes and acclamations of mankind were speedily directed to the rising sun.

The reign of Maurice A.D. 582, Aug. 13—A.D. 602, Nov. 27

The emperor Maurice derived his origin from ancient Rome;[36] but his immediate parents were settled at Arabissus in Cappadocia, and their singular felicity preserved them alive to behold and partake the fortune of their *august* son. The youth of Maurice was spent in the profession of arms; Tiberius promoted him to the command of a new and favourite legion of twelve thousand confederates;[37] his valour and conduct were signalised in the Persian war; and he returned to Constantinople to accept, as his just reward, the inheritance of the empire. Maurice ascended the throne at the mature age of forty-three years; and he reigned above twenty years over the East and over himself;[38] expelling from his mind the wild democracy of passions, and establishing (according to the quaint expression of Evagrius) a perfect aristocracy of reason and virtue. Some suspicion will degrade the testimony of a subject, though he protests that his secret praise should never reach the ear of his sovereign,[39] and some failings seem to place the character of Maurice below the purer merit of his predecessor. His cold and reserved demeanour might be imputed to arrogance; his justice was not always exempt from cruelty, nor his clemency from weakness; and his rigid economy too often exposed him to the reproach of avarice. But the rational wishes of an absolute monarch must tend to the happiness of his people; Maurice was endowed with sense and courage to promote that happiness, and his administration was directed by the principles and example of Tiberius. The pusillanimity of the Greeks had introduced so complete a separation between the offices of king and of general that a private soldier who had deserved and obtained the purple seldom or never appeared at the head of his armies. Yet the emperor Maurice enjoyed the glory of restoring the Persian monarch to his throne; his lieutenants waged a doubtful war against the Avars of the Danube; and he cast an eye of pity, of ineffectual pity, on the abject and distressful state of his Italian provinces.

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[35] [This praise is not deserved. On the contrary, the capital fault of Tiberius as an administrator was his reckless expenditure; for which his successor, Maurice, suffered.]

[36] It is therefore singular enough that Paul (l. iii. c. 15) should distinguish him as the first Greek emperor—primus ex Græcorum genere in Imperio constitutus [*leg.*, confirmatus est]. His immediate predecessors had indeed been born in the Latin provinces of Europe; and a various reading, in Græcorum Imperio, would apply the expression to the empire rather than the prince.

[37] [*Fifteen thousand*, Theophanes, A.M. 6074 (Zonaras says 12,000). It was a corps of foreign slaves (ἀγοράσας σώματα ἐθνικῶν). Finlay compares it to the Janissaries. Maurice held the post of Count of the Fœderati, when Tiberius committed to him the command of the new corps.]

Distress of Italy

From Italy the emperors were incessantly tormented by tales of misery and demands of succour, which extorted the humiliating confession of their own weakness. The expiring dignity of Rome was only marked by the freedom and energy of her complaints: "If you are incapable," she said, "of delivering us from the sword of the Lombards, save us at least from the calamity of famine". Tiberius forgave the reproach, and relieved the distress: a supply of corn was transported from Egypt to the Tiber; and the Roman people, invoking the name, not of Camillus, but of St. Peter, repulsed the barbarians from their walls. But the relief was accidental, the danger was perpetual and pressing; and the clergy and senate, collecting the remains of their ancient opulence, a sum of three thousand pounds of gold, dispatched the patrician Pamphronius to lay their gifts [A.D. 577] and their complaints at the foot of the Byzantine throne. The attention of the court, and the forces of the East, were diverted by the Persian war; but the justice of Tiberius applied the subsidy to the defence of the city; and he dismissed the patrician with his best advice, either to bribe the Lombard chiefs or to purchase the aid of the kings of France. Notwithstanding this weak invention, Italy was still afflicted, Rome was again besieged, and the suburb of Classe, only three miles from [A.D. 579] Ravenna, was pillaged and occupied by the troops of a simple duke of Spoleto. Maurice gave audience to a second deputation of priests and senators; the duties and the menaces of religion were forcibly urged in the letters of the Roman pontiff; and his nuncio, the deacon Gregory, was alike qualified to solicit the powers either of heaven or of the earth. The emperor adopted, with stronger effect, the measures of his predecessor; some formidable chiefs were persuaded to embrace the friendship of the Romans, and one of them, a mild and faithful barbarian, lived and died in the service of the exarch; the passes of the Alps were delivered to the Franks; and the pope encouraged them to violate, without scruple, their oaths and engagements to the misbelievers. Childebert, the great-grand- [A.D. 584] son of Clovis, was persuaded to invade Italy by the payment of fifty thousand pieces; but, as he had viewed with delight some [£30,000] Byzantine coin of the weight of one pound of gold, the king of Austrasia might stipulate that the gift should be rendered more worthy of his acceptance by a proper mixture of these respectable medals. The dukes of the Lombards had provoked by [A.D. 568-575] frequent inroads their powerful neighbours of Gaul. As soon as they were apprehensive of a just retaliation, they renounced their feeble and disorderly independence; the advantages of regal government, union, secrecy, and vigour, were unanimously

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[38] Consult, for the character and reign of Maurice, the fifth and sixth books of Evagrius, particularly l. vi. c. 1; the eight books of his prolix and florid history by Theophylact Simocatta; Theophanes, p. 213, &c.; Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 73 [c. 12]; Cedrenus, p. 394 [i. p. 691]. [Add John of Ephesus.]

[39] Αὐτοκράτωρ ὄντως γενόμενος τὴν μὲν ὀχλοκράτειαν τῶν παθῶν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας ἐξεινηλάτησε ψυχῆς, ἀριστοκράτειαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς καταστησάμενος. Evagrius composed his history in the twelfth year of Maurice; and he had been so wisely indiscreet that the emperor knew and rewarded his favourable opinion (l. vi. c. 24). [Finlay suggested that the expression of Evagrius conceals an allusion to the administrative policy of Maurice, which he explains as follows (Hist. of Greece, i. p. 308): Maurice aimed at reform and decided that his first step should be "to render the army, long a licentious and turbulent check on the imperial power, a well-disciplined and efficient instrument of his will; and he hoped in this manner to repress the tyranny of the official aristocracy" and strengthen the authority of the central government. "In his struggle to obtain this result he was compelled to make use of the existing administration; and, consequently, he appears in the history of the empire as the supporter and protector of a detested aristocracy equally unpopular with the army and the people; while his ulterior plans for the improvement of the civil condition of his subjects were never fully made known and perhaps never framed even by himself."]

Autharis, king of the Lombards, A.D. 584-590

confessed; and Autharis, the son of Clepho, had already attained the strength and reputation of a warrior. Under the standard of their new king, the conquerors of Italy withstood three successive invasions, one of which was led by Childebert himself, the last of the Merovingian race who descended from the Alps. [A.D. 585 or 587] The first expedition was defeated by the jealous animosity of the Franks and Alemanni. In the second they were [A.D. 588] vanquished in a bloody battle, with more loss and dishonour than they had sustained since the foundation of their monarchy. Impatient for revenge, they returned a third time with accumulated force, [A.D. 590] and Autharis yielded to the fury of the torrent. The troops and treasures of the Lombards were distributed in the walled towns between the Alps and the Apennine. A nation less sensible of danger than of fatigue and delay soon murmured against the folly of their twenty commanders; and the hot vapours of an Italian sun infected with disease those tramontane bodies which had already suffered the vicissitudes of intemperance and famine. The powers that were inadequate to the conquest, were more than sufficient for the desolation, of the country; nor could the trembling natives distinguish between their enemies and their deliverers. If the junction of the Merovingian and Imperial forces had been effected in the neighbourhood of Milan, perhaps they might have subverted the throne of the Lombards; but the Franks expected six days the signal of a flaming village, and the arms of the Greeks were idly employed in the reduction of Modena [Mutina] and Parma, which were torn from them after the retreat of their Transalpine allies. The victorious Autharis asserted his claim to the dominion of Italy. At the foot of the Rhætian Alps, he subdued the resistance, and rifled the hidden treasures, of a sequestered island in the lake of Comum. [Insula Comacina] At the extreme point of Calabria, he touched with his spear a column on the sea-shore of Rhegium,[40] proclaiming that ancient land-mark to stand the immoveable boundary of his kingdom.[41]

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[40] The Columna Regina, in the narrowest part of the Faro of Messina, one hundred stadia from Rhegium itself, is frequently mentioned in ancient geography. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 1295. Lucas Holsten. Annotat. ad Cluver. p. 301. Wesseling, Itinerar. p. 106.

[41] The Greek historians afford some faint hints of the wars of Italy (Menander, in Excerpt. Legat. p. 124, 126 [F. H. G., iv. p. 253, 263]. Theophylact, l. iii. c. 4). The Latins are more satisfactory; and especially Paul Warnefrid (l. iii. 13-34), who had read the more ancient histories of Secundus and Gregory of Tours. Baronius produces some letters of the popes, &c.; and the times are measured by the accurate scale of Pagi and Muratori. [The march of Autharis to Reggio is probably only a legend. Paul introduces it with *fama est* (3, 32).]

The exarchate of Ravenna

During a period of two hundred years, Italy was unequally divided between the kingdom of the Lombards and the exarchate of Ravenna. The offices and professions, which the jealousy of Constantine had separated, were united by the indulgence of Justinian; and eighteen successive exarchs were invested, in the decline of the empire, with the full remains of civil, of military, and even of ecclesiastical power. Their immediate jurisdiction, which was afterwards consecrated as the patrimony of St. Peter, extended over the modern Romagna, the marshes or valleys of Ferrara and Commachio,[42] five maritime cities from Rimini to Ancona, and a second, inland Pentapolis,[43] between the Adriatic coast and the hills of the Apennine. Three subordinate provinces, of Rome, of Venice, and of Naples, which were divided by hostile lands from the palace of Ravenna, acknowledged, both in peace and war, the supremacy of the exarch. The duchy of Rome appears to have included the Tuscan, Sabine, and Latian conquests, of the first four hundred years of the city, and the limits may be distinctly traced along the coast, from Civita Vecchia to Terracina, and with the course of the Tiber from Ameria and Narni to the port of Ostia. The numerous islands from Grado to Chiozza composed the infant dominion of Venice; but the more accessible towns on the continent were overthrown by the Lombards, who beheld with impotent fury a new capital rising from the waves. The power of the dukes of Naples was circumscribed by the bay and the adjacent isles, by the hostile territory of Capua, and by the Roman colony of Amalphi,[44] whose industrious citizens, by the invention of the mariner's compass, have unveiled the face of the globe. The three islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, still adhered to the empire; and the acquisition of the farther Calabria removed the land-mark of Autharis from the shore of Rhegium to the isthmus of Consentia. In Sardinia, the savage mountaineers preserved the liberty and religion of their ancestors; but the husbandmen of Sicily were chained to their rich and cultivated soil. Rome was oppressed by the iron sceptre of the exarchs, and a Greek, perhaps an eunuch, insulted with impunity the ruins of the Capitol. But Naples soon acquired the privilege of electing her own dukes;[45] the independence of Amalphi was the fruit of commerce; and the voluntary attachment of Venice was finally ennobled by an equal alliance with the Eastern empire. On the map of Italy, the measure of the exarchate occupies a very inadequate space, but it included an ample proportion of wealth, industry, and population. The most faithful and valuable subjects escaped from the barbarian yoke; and the banners of Pavia and Verona, of Milan and Padua, were displayed in their respective quarters by the new inhabitants of Ravenna. The remainder of Italy was possessed by the Lombards; and from Pavia, the royal seat, their kingdom was extended to the east, the north, and the west, as far as the confines of the Avars, the Bavarians, and the Franks of Austrasia and Burgundy. In the language of modern geography, it is now represented by the Terra Firma of the Venetian republic, Tyrol, the Milanese, Piedmont, the coast of Genoa, Mantua, Parma, and Modena, the grand duchy of Tuscany, and a large portion of the ecclesiastical state from Perugia to the Adriatic. The dukes, and at length the princes, of Beneventum survived the monarchy, and propagated the name of the Lombards. From Capua to Tarentum, they reigned near five hundred years over the greatest part of the present kingdom of Naples.[46]

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[42] The papal advocates, Zacagni and Fontanini, might justly claim the valley or morass of Commachio as a part of the exarchate. But the ambition of including Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Placentia, has darkened a geographical question somewhat doubtful and obscure. Even Muratori, as the servant of the house of Este, is not free from partiality and prejudice.

[43] [Aesis, Forum Sempronii, Urbinum, Callis, Eugubium.]

[44] See Brencmann, Dissert. Ima de Republicâ Amalphitanâ, p. 1-42, ad calcem Hist. Pandect. Florent. [1722].

The kingdom of the Lombards

Language and manners of the Lombards

In comparing the proportion of the victorious and the vanquished people, the change of language will afford the most probable inference. According to this standard it will appear that the Lombards of Italy, and the Visigoths of Spain, were less numerous than the Franks or Burgundians; and the conquerors of Gaul must yield, in their turn, to the multitude of Saxons and Angles who almost eradicated the idioms of Britain. The modern Italian has been insensibly formed by the mixture of nations; the awkwardness of the barbarians in the nice management of declensions and conjugations reduced them to the use of articles and auxiliary verbs; and many new ideas have been expressed by Teutonic appellations. Yet the principal stock of technical and familiar words is found to be of Latin derivation;[47] and, if we were sufficiently conversant with the obsolete, the rustic, and the municipal dialects of ancient Italy, we should trace the origin of many terms which might, perhaps, be rejected by the classic purity of Rome. A numerous army constitutes but a small nation, and the powers of the Lombards were soon diminished by the retreat of twenty thousand Saxons, who scorned a dependent situation, and returned, after many bold and perilous adventures, to their native country.[48] The camp of Alboin was of formidable extent, but the extent of a camp would be easily circumscribed within the limits of a city; and its martial inhabitants must be thinly scattered over the face of a large country. When Alboin descended from the Alps, he invested his nephew, the first duke of Friuli, with the command of the province and the people; but the prudent Gisulf would have declined the dangerous office, unless he had been permitted to choose, among the nobles of the Lombards, a sufficient number of families[49] to form a perpetual colony of soldiers and subjects. In the progress of conquest, the same option could not be granted to the dukes of Brescia or Bergamo, of Pavia or Turin, of Spoleto or Beneventum; but each of these, and each of their colleagues, settled in his appointed district with a band of followers who resorted to his standard in war and his tribunal in peace. Their attachment was free and honourable: resigning the gifts and benefits which they had accepted, they might emigrate with their families into the jurisdiction of another duke; but their absence from the kingdom was punished with death, as a crime of military desertion.[50]

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[45] Gregor. Magn. l. iii. epist. 23, 25, 26, 27.

[46] I have described the state of Italy from the excellent Dissertation of Beretti. Giannone (Istoria Civile, tom. i. p. 374-387) has followed the learned Camillo Pellegrini in the geography of the kingdom of Naples. After the loss of the true Calabria, the vanity of the Greeks substituted that name instead of the more ignoble appellation of Bruttium; and the change appears to have taken place before the time of Charlemagne (Eginhard, p. 75 [V. Car., 15]). [The change was probably the result of an administrative innovation in the second half of the seventh century (due presumably to the Emperor Constans II.). Calabria, Apulia, and Bruttii seem to have been united as a single province, entitled Calabria. Thus Bruttii came to be part of (official) Calabria. When the duke of Beneventum, Romuald, conquered most of the heel (soon after A.D. 671) Bruttii came to be almost the whole of "Calabria". Thus an administrative change, prior to the conquest of Romuald, initiated the attachment of the name Calabria to the toe; the conquest of Romuald brought about the detachment of the name from the heel. These are the conclusions arrived at in the investigation of M. Schipa on *La migrazione del nome Calabria*, in the Archivio storico per le province napoletane, 1895, p. 23 *sqq.*]

[Forum Julii]

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[47] Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 310-321) and Muratori (Antichità Italiane, tom. ii. Dissertazione xxxii. xxxiii. p. 71-365) have asserted the native claims of the Italian idiom: the former with enthusiasm, the latter with discretion: both with learning, ingenuity, and truth.

[48] Paul, de Gest. Langobard. l. iii. c. 5, 6, 7.

[49] Paul, l. ii. c. 9. He calls these families or generations by the Teutonic name of *Faras*, which is likewise used in the Lombard laws. The humble deacon was not insensible of the nobility of his own race. See l. iv. c. 39.

[50] Compare No. 3 and 177 of the laws of Rotharis.

The posterity of the first conquerors struck a deeper root into the soil, which, by every motive of interest and honour, they were bound to defend. A Lombard was born the soldier of his king and his duke; and the civil assemblies of the nation displayed the banners, and assumed the appellation, of a regular army. Of this army, the pay and the rewards were drawn from the conquered provinces; and the distribution, which was not effected till after the death of Alboin, is disgraced by the foul marks of injustice and rapine. Many of the most wealthy Italians were slain and banished; the remainder were divided among the strangers, and a tributary obligation was imposed (under the name of hospitality) of paying to the Lombards a third part of the fruits of the earth. Within less than seventy years, this artificial system was abolished by a more simple and solid tenure.[51] Either the Roman landlord was expelled by his strong and insolent guest; or the annual payment, a third of the produce, was exchanged by a more equitable transaction for an adequate proportion of landed property. Under these foreign masters, the business of agriculture, in the cultivation of corn, vines, and olives, was exercised with degenerate skill and industry by the labour of the slaves and natives. But the occupations of a pastoral life were more pleasing to the idleness of the barbarians. In the rich meadows of Venetia, they restored and improved the breed of horses for which that province had once been illustrious;[52] and the Italians beheld with astonishment a foreign race of oxen or buffaloes.[53] The depopulation of Lombardy and the increase of forests afforded an ample range for the pleasures of the chase.[54] That marvellous art which teaches the birds of the air to acknowledge the voice, and execute the commands, of their master had been unknown to the ingenuity of the Greeks and Romans.[55] Scandinavia and Scythia produce the boldest and most tractable falcons;[56] they are tamed and educated by the roving inhabitants, always on horseback and in the field. This favourite amusement of our ancestors was introduced by the barbarians into the Roman provinces; and the laws of Italy esteem the sword and the hawk as of equal dignity and importance in the hands of a noble Lombard.[57]

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[51] Paul, l. ii. c. 31, 32, l. iii. c. 16. The laws of Rotharis, promulgated A.D. 643, do not contain the smallest vestige of this payment of thirds; but they preserve many curious circumstances of the state of Italy and the manners of the Lombards.

[52] The studs of Dionysius of Syracuse, and his frequent victories in the Olympic games, had diffused among the Greeks the fame of the Venetian horses; but the breed was extinct in the time of Strabo (l. v. p. 325 [1, § 4]). Gisulf obtained from his uncle generosarum equarum greges. Paul, l. ii. c. 9. The Lombards afterwards introduced caballi silvatici—wild horses. Paul, l. iv. c. 11.

[53] Tunc (A.D. 596) primum *bubali* in Italiam delati Italiæ populis miracula fuere (Paul Warnefrid, l. iv. c. 11). The buffaloes, whose native climate appears to be Africa and India, are unknown to Europe except in Italy, where they are numerous and useful. The ancients were ignorant of these animals, unless Aristotle (Hist. Animal. l. ii. c. 1, p. 58, Paris, 1783) has described them as the wild oxen of Arachosia. See Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xi. and Supplement, tom. vi.; Hist. Générale des Voyages, tom. i. p. 7, 481, ii. 105, iii. 291, iv. 234, 461, v. 193, vi. 491, viii. 400, x. 666; Pennant's Quadrupedes, p. 24; Dictionnaire d'Hist. Naturelle, par Valmont de Bomare, tom. ii. p. 74. Yet I must not conceal the suspicion that Paul, by a vulgar error, may have applied the name of *bubalus* to the aurochs, or wild bull, of ancient Germany.

Dress and marriage

So rapid was the influence of climate and example that the Lombards of the fourth generation surveyed with curiosity and affright the portraits of their savage forefathers.[58] Their heads were shaven behind, but the shaggy locks hung over their eyes and mouth, and a long beard, represented the name and character of the nation. Their dress consisted of loose linen garments, after the fashion of the Anglo-Saxons, which were decorated, in their opinion, with broad stripes of variegated colours. The legs and feet were clothed in long hose and open sandals; and even in the security of peace a trusty sword was constantly girt to their side. Yet this strange apparel and horrid aspect often concealed a gentle and generous disposition; and, as soon as the rage of battle had subsided, the captives and subjects were sometimes surprised by the humanity of the victor. The vices of the Lombards were the effect of passion, of ignorance, of intoxication; their virtues are the more laudable, as they were not affected by the hypocrisy of social manners, nor imposed by the rigid constraint of laws and education. I should not be apprehensive of deviating from my subject if it were in my power to delineate the private life of the conquerors of Italy, and I shall relate with pleasure the adventurous gallantry of Autharis, which breathes the true spirit of chivalry and romance.[59] After the loss of his promised bride, a Merovingian princess, he sought in marriage the daughter of the king of Bavaria; and Garibald accepted the alliance of the Italian monarch. Impatient of the slow progress of negotiation, the ardent lover escaped from his palace and visited the court of Bavaria in the train of his own embassy. At the public audience, the unknown stranger advanced to the throne, and informed Garibald that the ambassador was indeed the minister of state, but that he alone was the friend of Autharis, who had trusted him with the delicate commission of making a faithful report of the charms of his spouse. Theudelinda was summoned to undergo this important examination, and, after a pause of silent rapture, he hailed her as the queen of Italy, and humbly requested that, according to the custom of the nation, she would present a cup of wine to the first of her new subjects. By the command of her father, she obeyed; Autharis received the cup in his turn, and, in restoring it to the princess, he secretly touched her hand, and drew his own finger over his face and lips. In the evening, Theudelinda imparted to her nurse the indiscreet familiarity of the stranger, and was comforted by the assurance that such boldness could proceed only from the king her husband, who, by his beauty and courage, appeared worthy of her love. The ambassadors were dismissed; no sooner did they reach the confines of Italy than Autharis, raising himself on his horse, darted his battle-axe against a tree with incomparable strength and dexterity "Such," said he to the astonished Bavarians, "such are the strokes of the king of the Lombards". On the approach of a French army, Garibald and his daughter took refuge in the dominions of their ally; and the marriage was consummated in the palace of Verona. At the end of one year, it was dissolved by the death of Autharis; but the virtues of Theudelinda[60] had endeared her to the nation, and she was permitted to bestow, with her hand, the sceptre of the Italian kingdom.

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[54] Consult the xxist Dissertation of Muratori.

[55] Their ignorance is proved by the silence even of those who professedly treat of the arts of hunting and the history of animals. Aristotle (Hist. Animal. l. ix. c. 36, tom. i. p. 586, and the Notes of his last editor, M. Camus, tom. ii. p. 314), Pliny (Hist. Natur. l. x. c. 10), Ælian (de Natur. Animal. l. ii. c. 42), and perhaps Homer (Odyss. xxii. 302-306), describe with astonishment a tacit league and common chase between the hawks and the Thracian fowlers.

[56] Particularly the gerfaut, or gyrfalcon, of the size of a small eagle. See the animated description of M. de Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xvi. p. 239, &c.

[57] Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. part ii. p. 129. This is the xvith law of the emperor Lewis the Pious. His father Charlemagne had falconers in his household as well as huntsmen (Mémoires sur l'ancienne Chevalerie, par M. de St. Palaye, tom. iii. p. 175). I observe in the laws of Rotharis a more early mention of the art of hawking (No. 322); and in Gaul, in the vth century, it is celebrated by Sidonius Apollinaris among the talents of Avitus ([Carm. vii.] 202-207).

[58] The epitaph of Droctulf (Paul, l. iii. c. 19) may be applied to many of his countrymen:

Terribilis visu facies, sed corda benignus,
Longaque robusto pectore barba fuit.

The portraits of the old Lombards might still be seen in the palace of Monza, twelve miles from Milan, which had been founded or restored by queen Theudelinda (l. iv. 22, 23). See Muratori, tom. i. dissertaz. xxiii. p. 300. [Theudelinda's comb, with a gold handle, and a counterfeit hen with chickens, which belonged to her, are shown in the sacristy of the church at Monza, which she founded. Little of the old building remains.]

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[59] The story of Autharis and Theudelinda is related by Paul, l. iii. c. 29, 34 and any fragment of Bavarian antiquity excites the indefatigable diligence of the count de Buat, Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. xi. p. 595-635, tom. xii. p. 1-53.

Government

From this fact, as well as from similar events,[61] it is certain that the Lombards possessed freedom to elect their sovereign, and sense to decline the frequent use of that dangerous privilege. The public revenue arose from the produce of land and the profits of justice. When the independent dukes agreed that Autharis should ascend the throne of his father, they endowed the regal office with a fair moiety of their respective domains. The proudest nobles aspired to the honours of servitude near the person of their prince; he rewarded the fidelity of his vassals by the precarious gift of pensions and *benefices;* and atoned for the injuries of war by the rich foundation of monasteries and churches. In peace a judge, a leader in war, he never usurped the powers of a sole and absolute legislator. The king of Italy convened the national assemblies in the palace, or more probably in the fields, of Pavia; his great council was composed of the persons most eminent by their birth and dignities; but the validity, as well as the execution, of their decrees depended on the approbation of the *faithful* people, the *fortunate* army of the Lombards.

Laws. A.D. 643, &c.

About fourscore years after the conquest of Italy, their traditional customs were transcribed in Teutonic Latin,[62] and ratified by the consent of the prince and people; some new regulations were introduced, more suitable to their present condition; the example of Rotharis was imitated by the wisest of his successors; and the laws of the Lombards have been esteemed the least imperfect of the barbaric codes.[63] Secure by their courage in the possession of liberty, these rude and hasty legislators were incapable of balancing the powers of the constitution or of discussing the nice theory of political government. Such crimes as threatened the life of the sovereign or the safety of the state were adjudged worthy of death; but their attention was principally confined to the defence of the person and property of the subject. According to the strange jurisprudence of the times, the guilt of blood might be redeemed by a fine; yet the high price of nine hundred pieces of gold declares a just sense of the value of a simple citizen. Less atrocious injuries, a wound, a fracture, a blow, an opprobrious word, were measured with scrupulous and almost ridiculous diligence; and the prudence of the legislator encouraged the ignoble practice of bartering honour and revenge for a pecuniary compensation. The ignorance of the Lombards, in the state of Paganism or Christianity, gave implicit credit to the malice and mischief of witchcraft; but the judges of the seventeenth century might have been instructed and confounded by the wisdom of Rotharis, who derides the absurd superstition, and protects the wretched victims of popular or judicial cruelty.[64] The same spirit of a legislator, superior to his age and country, may be ascribed to Luitprand, who condemns, while he tolerates, the impious and inveterate abuse of duels,[65] observing from his own experience that the juster cause had often been oppressed by successful violence. Whatever merit may be discovered in the laws of the Lombards, they are the genuine fruit of the reason of the barbarians, who never admitted the bishops of Italy to a seat in their legislative councils. But the succession of their kings is marked with virtue and ability; the troubled series of their annals is adorned with fair intervals of peace, order, and domestic happiness; and the Italians enjoyed a milder and more equitable government than any of the other kingdoms which had been founded on the ruins of the Western empire.[66]

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[60] Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 263) has justly censured the impertinence of Boccaccio (Gio. iii. Novel. 2), who, without right, or truth, or pretence, has given the pious queen Theudelinda to the arms of a muleteer.

[61] Paul, l. iii. c. 16. The first dissertation of Muratori and the first volume of Giannone's history may be consulted for the state of the kingdom of Italy.

[62] The most accurate edition of the laws of the Lombards is to be found in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. i. part ii. p. 1-181, collated from the most ancient Mss. and illustrated by the critical notes of Muratori. [Ed. F. Bluhme, in Pertz, Mon. Legg. iv. 607 *sqq*. (1868); also small separate oct. ed. (1869).]

[63] Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 1. Les loix des Bourguignons sont assez judicieuses: celles de Rotharis et des autres princes Lombards le sont encore plus.

Misery of Rome

Amidst the arms of the Lombards, and under the despotism of the Greeks, we again inquire into the fate of Rome,[67] which had reached, about the close of the sixth century, the lowest period of her depression. By the removal of the seat of empire, and the successive loss of the provinces, the sources of public and private opulence were exhausted; the lofty tree, under whose shade the nations of the earth had reposed, was deprived of its leaves and branches, and the sapless trunk was left to wither on the ground. The ministers of command and the messengers of victory no longer met on the Appian or Flaminian way; and the hostile approach of the Lombards was often felt and continually feared. The inhabitants of a potent and peaceful capital, who visit without an anxious thought the garden of the adjacent country, will faintly picture in their fancy the distress of the Romans: they shut or opened their gates with a trembling hand, beheld from the walls the flames of their houses, and heard the lamentations of their brethren, who were coupled together like dogs and dragged away into distant slavery beyond the sea and the mountains. Such incessant alarms must annihilate the pleasures and interrupt the labours of a rural life; and the Campagna of Rome was speedily reduced to the state of a dreary wilderness, in which the land is barren, the waters are impure, and the air is infectious. Curiosity and ambition no longer attracted the nations to the capital of the world: but, if chance or necessity directed the steps of a wandering stranger, he contemplated with horror the vacancy and solitude of the city, and might be tempted to ask, where is the senate, and where are the people? In a season of excessive rains, the Tiber swelled above its banks, and rushed with irresistible violence into the valleys of the seven hills. A pestilential disease arose from the stagnation of the deluge, and so rapid was the contagion that fourscore persons expired in an hour in the midst of a solemn procession, which implored the mercy of heaven.[68] A society in which marriage is encouraged and industry prevails soon repairs the accidental losses of pestilence and war; but, as the far greater part of the Romans was condemned to hopeless indigence and celibacy, the depopulation was constant and visible, and the gloomy enthusiasts might expect the approaching failure of the human race.[69] Yet the number of citizens still exceeded the measure of subsistence; their precarious food was supplied from the harvests of Sicily or Egypt; and the frequent repetition of famine betrays the inattention of the emperor to a distant province. The edifices of Rome were exposed to the same ruin and decay; the mouldering fabrics were easily overthrown by inundations, tempests, and earthquakes; and the monks, who had occupied the most advantageous stations, exulted in their base triumph over the ruins of antiquity. It is commonly believed that pope Gregory the First attacked the temples and mutilated the statues of the city; that, by the command of the barbarian, the Palatine library was reduced to ashes; and that the history of Livy was the peculiar mark of his absurd and mischievous fanaticism. The writings of Gregory himself reveal his implacable aversion to the monuments of classic genius; and he points his severest censure against the profane learning of a bishop who taught the art of grammar, studied the Latin poets, and pronounced, with the same voice, the praises of Jupiter and those of Christ.[70] But the evidence of his destructive rage is doubtful and recent; the Temple of Peace or the Theatre of Marcellus have been demolished by the slow operation of ages; and a formal proscription would have multiplied the copies of Virgil and Livy in the countries which were not subject to the ecclesiastical dictator.[71]

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[64] See Leges Rotharis, No. 379, p. 47. Striga is used as the name of a witch. It is of the purest classic origin (Horat. epod. v. 20. Petron. c. 134); and from the words of Petronius (quæ striges comederunt nervos tuos?) it may be inferred that the prejudice was of Italian rather than barbaric extraction.

[65] Quia incerti sumus de judicio Dei, et multos audivimus per pugnam sine justâ causâ suam causam perdere. Sed propter consuetudinem gentem nostram Langobardorum legem impiam vetare non possumus. See p. 74, No. 65, of the laws of Luitprand, promulgated A.D. 724.

[66] Read the history of Paul Warnefrid; particularly l. iii. c. 16. Baronius rejects the praise, which appears to contradict the invectives of pope Gregory the Great; but Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 217) presumes to insinuate that the saint may have magnified the faults of Arians and enemies.

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[67] The passages of the homilies of Gregory which represent the miserable state of the city and country are transcribed in the Annals of Baronius, A.D. 590, No. 16, A.D. 595, No. 2, &c. &c.

[68] The inundation and plague were reported by a deacon, whom his bishop, Gregory of Tours, had dispatched to Rome for some relics. The ingenious messenger embellished his tale and the river with a great dragon and a train of little serpents (Greg. Turon. l. x. c. 1).

The tombs and relics of the apostles

Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle, which again restored her to honour and dominion. A vague tradition was embraced, that two Jewish teachers, a tent-maker and a fisherman, had formerly been executed in the circus of Nero; and at the end of five hundred years their genuine or fictitious relics were adored s the palladium of Christian Rome. The pilgrims of the East nd West resorted to the holy threshold; but the shrines of he apostles were guarded by miracles and invisible terrors; and was not without fear that the pious Catholic approached the bject of his worship. It was fatal to touch, it was dangerous to ehold, the bodies of the saints; and those who from the purest otives presumed to disturb the repose of the sanctuary were ffrighted by visions or punished with sudden death. The uneasonable request of an empress, who wished to deprive the omans of their sacred treasure, the head of St. Paul, was ejected with the deepest abhorrence; and the pope asserted, ost probably with truth, that a linen which had been sanctied in the neighbourhood of his body, or the filings of his chain, hich it was sometimes easy and sometimes impossible to btain, possessed an equal degree of miraculous virtue.[72] But he power as well as virtue of the apostles resided with living nergy in the breast of their successors; and the chair of St. eter was filled under the reign of Maurice by the first and reatest of the name of Gregory.[73] His grandfather Felix had imself been pope, and, as the bishops were already bound by he law of celibacy, his consecration must have been preceded y the death of his wife. The parents of Gregory, Sylvia and ordian, were the noblest of the senate and the most pious f the church of Rome; his female relations were numbered mong the saints and virgins; and his own figure with those of is father and mother were represented near three hundred ears in a family portrait,[74] which he offered to the monastery

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[69] Gregory of Rome (Dialog. l. ii. c. 15) relates a memorable prediction of St. Benedict: Roma a Gentilibus [*leg.*, gentibus] non exterminabitur sed tempestatibus, coruscis turbinibus ac terræ motu [*ins.*, fatigata] in semetipsâ marcescet. Such a prophecy melts into true history, and becomes the evidence of the fact after which it was invented.

[70] Quia in uno se ore cum Jovis laudibus Christi laudes non capiunt, et quam grave nefandumque sit episcopis canere quod nec laico religioso conveniat, ipse considera (l. ix. ep. 4). The writings of Gregory himself attest his innocence o any classic taste or literature.

[71] Bayle (Dictionnaire Critique, tom. ii. p. 598, 599), in a very good article o Grégoire I., has quoted, for the buildings and statues, Platina in Gregorio I.; fo the Palatine library, John of Salisbury (de Nugis Curialium, l. ii. c. 26); and fo Livy, Antoninus of Florence: the oldest of the three lived in the xiith century.

Birth and profession of Gregory the Roman

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[72] Gregor. l. iii. epist. 24, indict. 12, &c. From the epistles of Gregory, and e viiith volume of the Annals of Baronius, the pious reader may collect the articles of holy iron which were inserted in keys or crosses of gold and distributed Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, Constantinople, and Egypt. The pontifical smith ho handled the file must have understood the miracles which it was in his own ower to operate or withhold: a circumstance which abates the superstition of regory at the expense of his veracity.

[73] Besides the epistles of Gregory himself which are methodized by Dupin Bibliothèque Ecclés. tom. v. p. 103-126), we have three Lives of the pope: the wo first written in the viiith and ixth centuries (de Triplici Vitâ St. Greg. Preface o the ivth volume of the Benedictine edition) by the deacons Paul (p. 1-18) and ohn (p. 19-188), and containing much original, though doubtful, evidence; the hird, a long and laboured compilation by the Benedictine editors (p. 199-305). The Annals of Baronius are a copious but partial history. His papal prejudices re tempered by the good sense of Fleury (Hist. Ecclés. tom. viii.), and his hronology has been rectified by the criticism of Pagi and Muratori. [Paul's life f Gregory is a compilation from the Hist. Eccles. of Bede and Gregory's own works. For the methodization of Gregory's Epistles see Appendix 1.]

[74] John the deacon has described them like an eye-witness (l. iv. c. 83, 84); and is description is illustrated by Angelo Rocca, a Roman antiquary (St. Greg.

of St. Andrew. The design and colouring of this picture afford an honourable testimony that the art of painting was cultivated by the Italians of the sixth century; but the most abject ideas must be entertained of their taste and learning, since the epistles of Gregory, his sermons, and his dialogues, are the work of a man who was second in erudition to none of his contemporaries;[75] his birth and abilities had raised him to the [A.D. 573] office of præfect of the city, and he enjoyed the merit of re- [A.D. 576] nouncing the pomp and vanities of this world. His ample patrimony was dedicated to the foundation of seven monasteries,[76] one in Rome,[77] and six in Sicily; and it was the wish of Gregory that he might be unknown in this life and glorious only in the next. Yet his devotion, and it might be sincere, pursued the path which would have been chosen by a crafty and ambitious statesman. The talents of Gregory, and the splendour which accompanied his retreat, rendered him dear and useful to the church; and implicit obedience has been always inculcated as the first duty of a monk. As soon as he had received the character of deacon, Gregory was sent to [A.D. 579] reside at the Byzantine court, the nuncio or minister of the apostolic see; and he boldly assumed, in the name of St. Peter, a tone of independent dignity, which would have been criminal and dangerous in the most illustrious layman of the empire. [c. A.D. 585] He returned to Rome with a just increase of reputation, and, after a short exercise of the monastic virtues, he was dragged from the cloister to the papal throne, by the unanimous voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people. He alone resisted,

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Opera, tom. iv. p. 312-326), who observes that some mosaics of the popes of the viith century are still preserved in the old churches of Rome (p. 321-323). The same walls which represented Gregory's family are now decorated with the martyrdom of St. Andrew, the noble contest of Dominichino and Guido. [The life of Gregory by John, compiled towards the end of the ninth cent. for Pope John VIII., consists largely of extracts from Gregory's letters.]

[75] Disciplinis vero liberalibus, hoc est grammaticâ, rhetoricâ, dialecticâ, ita a puero est institutus, ut, quamvis eo tempore florerent adhuc Romæ studia literarum, tamen nulli in urbe ipsâ secundus putaretur. Paul. Diacon. in Vit. S. Gregor. c. 2.

[76] The Benedictines (Vit. Greg. l. i. p. 205-208) labour to reduce the monasteries of Gregory within the rule of their own order; but, as the question is confessed to be doubtful, it is clear that these powerful monks are in the wrong. See Butler's Lives of the Saints, vol. iii. p. 145, a work of merit: the sense and learning belong to the author—his prejudices are those of his profession.

[77] Monasterium Gregorianum in ejusdem Beati Gregorii ædibus ad clivum Scauri prope ecclesiam SS. Johannis et Pauli in honorem St. Andreæ (John in Vit. Greg. l. i. c. 6, Greg. l. vii. epist. 13). This house and monastery were situate on the side of the Cælian hill which fronts the Palatine; they are now occupied by the Camaldoli; San Gregorio triumphs, and St. Andrew has retired to a small chapel. Nardini, Roma Antica, l. iii. c. 6, p. 100. Descrizzione di Roma tom. i. p. 442-446.

or seemed to resist, his own elevation; and his humble petition that Maurice would be pleased to reject the choice of the Romans could only serve to exalt his character in the eyes of the emperor and the public. When the fatal mandate was proclaimed, Gregory solicited the aid of some friendly merchants to convey him in a basket beyond the gates of Rome, and modestly concealed himself some days among the woods and mountains, till his retreat was discovered, as it is said, by a celestial light.

Pontificate of Gregory the Great or First. A.D. 590, Feb. 8—A.D. 604, March 12

The pontificate of Gregory the *Great,* which lasted thirteen years six months and ten days, is one of the most edifying periods of the history of the church. His virtues, and even his faults, a singular mixture of simplicity and cunning, of pride and humility, of sense and superstition, were happily suited to his station and to the temper of the times. In his rival, the patriarch of Constantinople, he condemned the antichristian title of universal bishop, which the successor of St. Peter was too haughty to concede, and too feeble to assume; and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Gregory was confined to the triple character of bishop of Rome, primate of Italy, and apostle of the West. He frequently ascended the pulpit, and kindled, by his rude though pathetic eloquence, the congenial passions of his audience; the language of the Jewish prophets was interpreted and applied; and the minds of the people, depressed by their present calamities, were directed to the hopes and fears of the invisible world. His precepts and example defined the model of the Roman liturgy,[78] the distribution of the parishes, the calendar of festivals, the order of processions, the service of the priests and deacons, the variety and change of sacerdotal garments. Till the last days of his life, he officiated in the canon of the mass, which continued above three hours; the Gregorian chant[79] has preserved the vocal and instrumental music of the theatre; and the rough voices of the barbarians attempted to imitate the melody of the Roman school.[80] Ex-

[John the Faster]

His spiritual office

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[78] The Lord's prayer consists of half a dozen lines: the Sacramentarius [sacramentarium] and Antiphonarius of Gregory fill 880 folio pages (tom. iii. P. i. p. 1-880); yet these only constitute a part of the *Ordo Romanus,* which Mabillon has illustrated and Fleury has abridged (Hist. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 139-152). [See H. Grisar in Theolog. Zeitsch. 1885; W. Hohaus, Die Bedeutung Gregors des Grossen als liturgischer Schriftsteller, 1889.]

[79] I learn from the Abbé Dubos (Réflexions sur la Poésie et la Peinture, tom. iii. p. 174, 175) that the simplicity of the Ambrosian chant was confined to four *modes,* while the more perfect harmony of the Gregorian comprised the eight modes or fifteen chords of the ancient music. He observes (p. 332) that the connoisseurs admire the preface and many passages of the Gregorian office.

[80] John the deacon (in Vit. Greg. l. ii. c. 7) expresses the early contempt of the

perience had shewn him the efficacy of these solemn and pompous rites, to soothe the distress, to confirm the faith, to mitigate the fierceness, and to dispel the dark enthusiasm, of the vulgar, and he readily forgave their tendency to promote the reign of priesthood and superstition. The bishops of Italy and the adjacent islands acknowledged the Roman pontiff as their special metropolitan. Even the existence, the union, or the translation of episcopal seats was decided by his absolute discretion; and his successful inroads into the provinces of Greece, of Spain, and of Gaul, might countenance the more lofty pretensions of succeeding popes. He interposed to prevent the abuses of popular elections; his jealous care maintained the purity of faith and discipline; and the apostolic shepherd assiduously watched over the faith and discipline of the subordinate pastors. Under his reign, the Arians of Italy and Spain were reconciled to the catholic church, and the conquest of Britain reflects less glory on the name of Cæsar than on that of Gregory the First. Instead of six legions, forty monks were embarked for that distant island, and the Pontiff lamented the austere duties which forbade him to partake the perils of their spiritual warfare. In less that two years he could announce to the archbishop of Alexandria that they had baptized the king of Kent with ten thousand of his Anglo-Saxons, and that the Roman missionaries, like those of the primitive church, were armed only with spiritual and supernatural powers. The credulity or the prudence of Gregory was always disposed to confirm the truths of religion by the evidence of ghosts, miracles, and resurrections;[81] and posterity has paid to *his* memory the same tribute which he freely granted to the virtue of his own or the preceding generation. The celestial honours have been liberally bestowed by the authority of the popes, but Gregory is the last of their own order whom they have presumed to inscribe in the calendar of saints.

[A.D. 597]

and temporal government

Their temporal power insensibly arose from the calamities of the times; and the Roman bishops, who have deluged Europe

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Italians for tramontane singing. Alpina scilicet corpora vocum suarum tonitruis altisone perstrepentia, susceptæ modulationis dulcedinem proprie non resultant quia bibuli gutturis barbara feritas dum inflexionibus et repercussionibus mitem nititur edere cantilenam, naturali quodam fragore quasi plaustra per gradus confuse sonantia rigidas voces jactat, &c. In the time of Charlemagne, the Franks, though with some reluctance, admitted the justice of the reproach. Muratori, Dissert. xxv

[81] A French critic (Petrus Gussanvillus, Opera, tom. ii. p. 105-112) has vindicated the right of Gregory to the entire nonsense of the Dialogues. Dupin (tom v. p. 138) does not think that any one will vouch for the truth of all these miracles I should like to know *how many* of them he believed himself.

[Rectores]

His estates

and alms

and Asia with blood, were compelled to reign as the ministers of charity and peace. I. The church of Rome, as it has been formerly observed, was endowed with ample possessions in Italy, Sicily, and the more distant provinces; and her agents, who were commonly subdeacons, had acquired a civil, and even criminal, jurisdiction over their tenants and husbandmen. The successor of St. Peter administered his patrimony with the temper of a vigilant and moderate landlord;[82] and the epistles of Gregory are filled with salutary instructions to abstain from doubtful or vexatious lawsuits, to preserve the integrity of weights and measures, to grant every reasonable delay, and to reduce the capitation of the slaves of the glebe, who purchased the right of marriage by the payment of an arbitrary fine.[83] The rent or the produce of these estates was transported to the mouth of the Tiber, at the risk and expense of the pope; in the use of wealth he acted like a faithful steward of the church and the poor, and liberally applied to their wants the inexhaustible resources of abstinence and order. The voluminous account of his receipts and disbursements was kept above three hundred years in the Lateran, as the model of Christian economy. On the four great festivals,[84] he divided their quarterly allowance to the clergy, to his domestics, to the monasteries, the churches, the places of burial, the alms-houses, and the hospitals of Rome, and the rest of the diocese. On the first day of every month, he distributed to the poor, according to the season, their stated portion of corn, wine, cheese, vegetables, oil, fish, fresh provisions, cloths, and money; and his treasurers were continually summoned to satisfy, in his name, the extraordinary demands of indigence and merit. The instant distress of the sick and helpless, of strangers and pilgrims, was relieved by the bounty of each day, and of every hour; nor would the pontiff indulge himself in a frugal repast, till he had sent the dishes from his own table to some objects deserving of his compassion. The misery of the times had reduced the nobles and matrons of Rome to accept, without a blush, the benevolence of the church; three thousand virgins received their food and raiment from the hand of their benefactor; and many bishops of Italy escaped from the barbarians to the hospitable threshold of the Vatican. Gregory might justly be styled the Father of his country; and such was the extreme sensibility of his conscience that, for the death of a beggar who had perished in the streets, he interdicted himself during several days from the exercise of sacerdotal functions. II. The misfortunes of Rome involved the apostolical pastor in the business of peace and war; and it might be doubtful to himself whether piety or ambition prompted him to supply the place of his absent sovereign. Gregory awakened the emperor from a long slumber, exposed the guilt or incapacity of the exarch and his inferior ministers, complained that the veterans were withdrawn from Rome for the defence of Spoleto, encouraged the Italians to guard their cities and altars, and condescended, in the crisis of danger, to name the tribunes and to direct the operations of the provincial troops. But the martial spirit of the pope was checked by the scruples of humanity and religion; the imposition of tribute, though it was employed in the Italian war, he freely condemned as odious and oppressive; whilst he protected, against the Imperial edicts, the pious cowardice of the soldiers who deserted a military for a monastic life. If we may credit his own declarations, it would have been easy for Gregory to exterminate the Lombards by their domestic factions, without leaving a king, a duke, or a count, to save that unfortunate nation from the vengeance of their foes. As a christian bishop, he preferred the salutary offices of peace; his mediation appeased the tumult of arms; but he was too conscious of the arts of the Greeks, and the passions of the Lombards, to engage his sacred promise for the observance of the truce. Disappointed in the hope of a general and lasting treaty, he presumed to save his country without the consent of the emperor or the exarch. The sword [A.D. 593] of the enemy was suspended over Rome: it was averted by the mild eloquence and seasonable gifts of the pontiff, who commanded the respect of heretics and barbarians.

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[82] Baronius is unwilling to expatiate on the care of the patrimonies, lest he should betray that they consisted not of *kingdoms* but *farms*. The French writers, the Benedictine editors (tom. iv. l. iii. p. 272, &c.), and Fleury (tom. viii. p. 29, &c.) are not afraid of entering into these humble though useful details; and the humanity of Fleury dwells on the social virtues of Gregory. [On the patrimonies see H. Grisar, Zeitsch. für kathol. Theologie, i. 321 *sqq.* 1877.]

[83] I much suspect that this pecuniary fine on the marriages of villains produced the famous, and often fabulous, right *de cuissage*, *de marquette*, &c. With the consent of her husband, an handsome bride might commute the payment in the arms of a young landlord, and the mutual favour might afford a precedent of local rather than legal tyranny.

[84] [The four occasions were: Easterday, the birthday of the Apostles, the birthday of St. Andrew, Gregory's own birthday.]

The saviour of Rome

The merits of Gregory were treated by the Byzantine court with reproach and insult; but in the attachment of a grateful people he found the purest reward of a citizen and the best right of a sovereign.[85]

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[85] The temporal reign of Gregory I. is ably exposed by Sigonius in the first book de Regno Italiæ. See his works, tom. ii. p. 44-75.

CHAPTER XLVI

Revolutions of Persia after the Death of Chosroes or Nushirvan—His Son Hormouz, a Tyrant, is deposed—Usurpation of Bahram—Flight and Restoration of Chosroes II.—His Gratitude to the Romans—The Chagan of the Avars—Revolt of the Army against Maurice—His Death—Tyranny of Phocas—Elevation of Heraclius—The Persian War—Chosroes subdues Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor—Siege of Constantinople by the Persians and Avars—Persian Expeditions—Victories and Triumph of Heraclius

Contest of Rome and Persia

THE conflict of Rome and Persia was prolonged from the death of Crassus to the reign of Heraclius. An experience of seven hundred years might convince the rival nations of the impossibility of maintaining their conquests beyond the fatal limits of the Tigris and Euphrates. Yet the emulation of Trajan and Julian was awakened by the trophies of Alexander, and the sovereigns of Persia indulged the ambitious hope of restoring the empire of Cyrus.[1] Such extraordinary efforts of power and courage will always command the attention of posterity; but the events by which the fate of nations is not materially changed leave a faint impression on the page of history, and the patience of the reader would be exhausted by the repetition of the same hostilities, undertaken without cause, prosecuted without glory, and terminated without effect. The arts of negotiation, unknown to the simple greatness of the senate and the Cæsars, were assiduously cultivated by the Byzantine princes; and the memorials of their perpetual embassies[2] repeat, with the same uniform prolixity, the language of falsehood and declamation, the insolence of the barbarians, and the servile temper of the tributary Greeks. Lamenting the barren superfluity of materials,

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[1] Missis qui . . . reposcerent . . . veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa Cyro et post Alexandro, per vaniloquentiam ac minas aciebat. Tacit. Annal. vi. 31. Such was the language of the *Arsacides:* I have repeatedly marked the lofty claims of the *Sassanians.*

[2] See the embassies of Menander, extracted and preserved in the xth century by the order of Constantine Porphyrogenitus [cp. Appendix 1].

I have studied to compress the narrative of these uninteresting transactions; but the just Nushirvan is still applauded as the model of Oriental kings, and the ambition of his grandson Chosroes prepared the revolution of the East, which was speedily accomplished by the arms and the religion of the successors of Mahomet.

Conquest of Yemen by Nushirvan. A.D. 570, &c.

In the useless altercations that precede and justify the quarrels of princes, the Greeks and the barbarians accused each other of violating the peace which had been concluded between the two empires about four years before the death of Justinian. The sovereign of Persia and India aspired to reduce under his obedience the province of Yemen or Arabia[3] Felix, the distant land of myrrh and frankincense, which had escaped, rather than opposed, the conquerors of the East. After the defeat of Abrahah under the walls of Mecca,[4] the discord of his sons and brothers gave an easy entrance to the Persians; they chased the strangers of Abyssinia beyond the Red Sea; and a native prince of the ancient Homerites was restored to the throne as the vassal or viceroy of the great Nushirvan.[5] But the nephew of Justinian declared his resolution to avenge the injuries of his Christian ally the prince of Abyssinia, as they suggested a decent pretence to discontinue the annual *tribute*, which was poorly disguised by the name of pension. The churches of Persarmenia were oppressed by the intolerant spirit of the Magi; they secretly invoked the protector of the Christians; and, after the pious murder of their satraps, the rebels were avowed and supported as the brethren and subjects of the Roman emperor. The complaints of Nushirvan were disregarded by the Byzantine court; Justin yielded to the importunities of the Turks, who offered an alliance against the common enemy; and the Persian monarchy was threatened at the same instant by the united forces of Europe, of Æthiopia, and of Scythia. At the age of

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[3] The general independence of the Arabs, which cannot be admitted without many limitations, is blindly asserted in a separate dissertation of the authors of the Universal History, vol. xx. p. 196-250. A perpetual miracle is supposed to have guarded the prophecy in favour of the posterity of Ishmael; and these learned bigots are not afraid to risk the truth of Christianity on this frail and slippery foundation.

[4] [See below, chap. l. p. 333 and 334, note 68.]

[5] D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 477. Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 64, 65. Father Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 646) has proved that, after ten years' peace, the Persian war, which continued twenty years, was renewed A.D. 571 [572]. Mahomet was born A.D. 569 [cp. below, p. 334], in the year of the elephant, or the defeat of Abrahah (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 89, 90, 98); and this account allows two years for the conquest of Yemen.

fourscore, the sovereign of the East would perhaps have chosen the peaceful enjoyment of his glory and greatness; but, as soon **His last war with the Romans. A.D. 572, &c.** as war became inevitable, he took the field with the alacrity of youth, whilst the aggressor trembled in the palace of Constantinople. Nushirvan, or Chosroes, conducted in person the siege of Dara; and, although that important fortress had been left destitute of troops and magazines, the valour of the inhabitants [A.D. 574] resisted above five months the archers, the elephants, and the military engines of the Great King. In the meanwhile his general Adarman advanced from Babylon, traversed the desert, passed the Euphrates, insulted the suburbs of Antioch, reduced [A.D. 573] to ashes the city of Apamea, and laid the spoils of Syria at the feet of his master, whose perseverance in the midst of winter at length subverted the bulwark of the East. But these losses, which astonished the provinces and the court, produced a salutary effect in the repentance and abdication of the emperor Justin; a new spirit arose in the Byzantine councils; and a truce of three years was obtained by the prudence of Tiberius.[6] That [A.D. 576-8] seasonable interval was employed in the preparations of war; and the voice of rumour proclaimed to the world that from the distant countries of the Alps and the Rhine, from Scythia, Mæsia, Pannonia, Illyricum, and Isauria, the strength of the Imperial cavalry was reinforced with one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. Yet the king of Persia, without fear or without faith, resolved to prevent the attack of the enemy; again passed the Euphrates; and, dismissing the ambassadors of Tiberius, arrogantly commanded them to await his arrival at Cæsarea, the metropolis of the Cappadocian provinces. The two armies encountered each other in the battle of Melitene: the [A.D. 576] barbarians, who darkened the air with a cloud of arrows, prolonged their line, and extended their wings across the plain; while the Romans, in deep and solid bodies, expected to prevail in closer action, by the weight of their swords and lances. A Scythian chief, who commanded their right wing, suddenly turned the flank of the enemy, attacked their rear-guard in the presence of Chosroes, penetrated to the midst of the camp, pillaged the royal tent, profaned the eternal fire, loaded a train of camels with the spoils of Asia, cut his way through the Persian host, and returned with songs of victory to his friends, who had consumed the day in single combats or ineffectual skirmishes. The darkness of the night and the separation of the Romans afforded the Persian monarch an opportunity of revenge; and one of their camps was swept away by a rapid and impetuous assault. But the review of his loss and the consciousness of his danger determined Chosroes to a speedy retreat; he burnt, in his passage, the vacant town of Melitene; and, without consulting the safety of his troops, boldly swam the Euphrates on the back of an elephant.[7] After this unsuccessful campaign, the want of magazines, and perhaps some inroad of the Turks, obliged him to disband or divide his forces; the Romans were left masters of the field, and their general Justinian, advancing to the relief of the Persarmenian rebels, erected his standard on the banks of the Araxes. The great Pompey had formerly halted within three days' march of the Caspian;[8] that inland sea was explored, for the first time, by an hostile fleet,[9] and seventy thousand captives were transplanted from Hyrcania to the isle of Cyprus. On the return of spring, Justinian descended into the fertile plains of Assyria, the flames of war approached the residence of Nushirvan, the indignant monarch sunk into the grave, and his last edict restrained his successors from exposing their person in a battle against the Romans. Yet the memory of this transient affront was lost in the glories of a long reign; and his formidable enemies, after indulging their dream of conquest, again solicited a short respite from the calamities of war.[10]

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[6] [The truce of three years was preceded by an armistice of a year (spring 574 to spring 575). The Romans had to pay a sum of money annually for the truce, which did not apply to Persarmenia; cp. John of Ephesus, vi. 8.]

His death. A.D. 579

Tyranny and vices of his son Hormouz [Hormizd]. A.D. 579-590

The throne of Chosroes Nushirvan was filled by Hormouz or Hormisdas, the eldest or the most favoured of his sons. With the kingdoms of Persia and India, he inherited the repuation and example of his father, the service, in every rank, f his wise and valiant officers, and a general system of administration, harmonized by time and political wisdom to promote he happiness of the prince and people. But the royal youth njoyed a still more valuable blessing, the friendship of a sage who had presided over his education, and who always preferred he honour to the interest of his pupil, his interest to his nclination. In a dispute with the Greek and Indian philoophers, Buzurg[11] had once maintained that the most grievous misfortune of life is old age without the remembrance of virtue; and our candour will presume that the same principle compelled him, during three years, to direct the councils of the Persian empire. His zeal was rewarded by the gratitude and docility of Hormouz, who acknowledged himself more indebted to his preceptor than to his parent; but, when age and labour had impaired the strength and perhaps the faculties of this prudent counsellor, he retired from court, and abandoned the youthful monarch to his own passions and those of his favourites. By the fatal vicissitude of human affairs, the same scenes were renewed at Ctesiphon, which had been exhibited in Rome after the death of Marcus Antoninus. The ministers of flattery and corruption, who had been banished by the father, were recalled and cherished by the son; the disgrace and exile of the friends of Nushirvan established their tyranny; and virtue was driven by degrees from the mind of Hormouz, from his palace, and from the government of the state.[12] The faithful agents, the eyes and ears of the king, informed him of the progress of disorder, that the provincial governors flew to their prey with the fierceness of lions and eagles, and that their rapine and injustice

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[7] [Cp. John Eph., vi. 8. The Romans might have followed up their victory, or at least hindered the destruction of Melitene. Their inactivity is ascribed to the mutual jealousies of the commanders.]

[8] He had vanquished the Albanians, who brought into the field 12,000 horse and 60,000 foot; but he dreaded the multitude of venomous reptiles, whose existence may admit of some doubt, as well as that of the neighbouring Amazons. Plutarch, in Pompeio, tom. ii. p. 1165, 1166 [c. 36].

[9] In the history of the world I can only perceive two navies on the Caspian: 1. Of the Macedonians, when Patrocles, the admiral of the kings of Syria, Seleucus and Antiochus, descended most probably the river Oxus, from the confines of India (Plin. Hist. Natur. vi. 21). 2. Of the Russians, when Peter the First conducted a fleet and army from the neighbourhood of Moscow to the coast of Persia (Bell's Travels, vol. ii. p. 325-352). He justly observes that such martial pomp had never been displayed on the Volga.

[10] For these Persian wars and treaties, see Menander in Excerpt. Legat. p. 113 [*leg.* 114], 125 [fr. 33, 36 *et sqq.*, in F. H. G. iv.]. Theophanes Byzant. apud Photium, cod. lxiv. p. 77, 80, 81. Evagrius, l. v. c. 7-15. Theophylact, l. iii. c. 9-16. Agathias, l. iv. p. 140 [c. 29]. [John of Ephesus, vi. 3-13. The last edict

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of Chosroes seems to be a vain invention of the Greeks, credulously accepted by Evagrius and Theophylact.]

[11] Buzurg Mihir may be considered, in his character and station, as the Seneca of the East; but his virtues, and perhaps his faults, are less known than those of the Roman, who appears to have been much more loquacious. The Persian sage was the person who imported from India the game of chess and the fables of Pilpay. Such has been the fame of his wisdom and virtues that the Christians claim him as a believer in the gospel; and the Mahometans revere Buzurg as a premature Musulman. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 218. [Buzurg Mihr is a favourite figure in rhetorical literature, but is unknown to strict history. Cp. Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 251.]

[12] [This dark portrait of Hormizd is based on the accounts of the Greek historians, Theophylactus, Menander, Evagrius (to which add John of Ephesus, vi. 22). The Romans did not forgive him for renewing the war. Moreover Theophylactus doubtless derived his ideas of the character of Hormizd from Chosroes II. and the Persians who accompanied him to Constantinople; and they of course painted it in dark colours. See Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 265. Hormizd attempted to depress the power of the magnates and the priests, and strengthen the royal

would teach the most loyal of his subjects to abhor the name and authority of their sovereign. The sincerity of this advice was punished with death, the murmurs of the cities were despised, their tumults were quelled by military execution; the intermediate powers between the throne and the people were abolished; and the childish vanity of Hormouz, who affected the daily use of the tiara, was fond of declaring that he alone would be the judge as well as the master of his kingdom. In every word and in every action, the son of Nushirvan degenerated from the virtues of his father. His avarice defrauded the troops; his jealous caprice degraded the satraps; the palace, the tribunals, the waters of the Tigris, were stained with the blood of the innocent; and the tyrant exulted in the sufferings and execution of thirteen thousand victims. As the excuse of his cruelty, he sometimes condescended to observe that the fears of the Persians would be productive of hatred, and that their hatred must terminate in rebellion; but he forgot that his own guilt and folly had inspired the sentiments which he deplored, and prepared the event which he so justly apprehended. Exasperated by long and hopeless oppression, the provinces of Babylon, Susa, and Carmania erected the standard of revolt; and the princes of Arabia, India, and Scythia refused the customary tribute to the unworthy successor of Nushirvan. The arms of the Romans, in slow sieges and frequent inroads, afflicted the frontiers of Mesopotamia and Assyria; one of their generals professed himself the disciple of Scipio; and the soldiers were animated by a miraculous image of Christ, whose mild aspect should never have been displayed in the front of battle.[13] At the same time, the eastern provinces of Persia were invaded by the great khan,[14]
[c. A.D. 589] who passed the Oxus at the head of three or four hundred thousand Turks. The imprudent Hormouz accepted their perfidious and formidable aid; the cities of Khorasan or Bactriana were commanded to open their gates; the march of the barbarians towards the mountains of Hyrcania revealed the

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power by the support of the lower classes. It was a bold policy, too bold for his talents.]

[13] See the imitation of Scipio in Theophylact, l. i. c. 14; the image of Christ, l. ii. c. 3. Hereafter I shall speak more amply of the Christian *images*—I had almost said *idols*. This, if I am not mistaken, is the oldest ἀχειροποίητος of divine manufacture; but in the next thousand years many others issued from the same work-shop.

[14] [He is named Shāba by Hishām, apud Tabari (Nöldeke, p. 269); and Remusat identified him with Chao-wu, a khan who is mentioned at this time in the Chinese annals.]

correspondence of the Turkish and Roman arms; and their union must have subverted the throne of the house of Sassan.

Exploits of Bahram. A.D. 590

Persia had been lost by a king; it was saved by a hero. After his revolt, Varanes or Bahram is stigmatized by the son of Hormouz as an ungrateful slave: the proud and ambiguous reproach of despotism, since he was truly descended from the ancient princes of Rei,[15] one of the seven families whose splendid as well as substantial prerogatives exalted them above the heads of the Persian nobility.[16] At the siege of Dara, the valour of Bahram was signalised under the eyes of Nushirvan, and both the father and son successively promoted him to the command of armies, the government of Media, and the superintendence of the palace. The popular prediction which marked him as the deliverer of Persia might be inspired by his past victories and extraordinary figure; the epithet *Giubin* is expressive of the quality of *dry wood;* he had the strength and stature of a giant, and his savage countenance was fancifully compared to that of a wild cat. While the nation trembled, while Hormouz disguised his terror by the name of suspicion, and his servants concealed their disloyalty under the mask of fear, Bahram alone displayed his undaunted courage and apparent fidelity; and, as soon as he found that no more than twelve thousand soldiers would follow him against the enemy, he prudently declared that to this fatal number heaven had reserved the honours of the triumph. The steep and narrow descent of the Pule Rudbar[17] or Hyrcanian rock is the only pass through which an army can penetrate into the territory

[Chobin]

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[15] Ragæ, or Rei, is mentioned in the apocryphal book of Tobit as already flourishing, 700 years before Christ, under the Assyrian empire. Under the foreign names of Europus and Arsatia, this city, 500 stadia to the south of the Caspian gates, was successively embellished by the Macedonians and Parthians (Strabo, l. xi. p. 796 [c. 13, 6]). Its grandeur and populousness in the ixth century is exaggerated beyond the bounds of credibility; but Rei has been since ruined by wars and the unwholesomeness of the air. Chardin, Voyage en Perse, tom. i. p. 279, 280. D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Oriental. p. 714. [Rei or Rayy was a little to the south of Teheran.]

[16] Theophylact, l. iii. c. 18. The story of the seven Persians is told in the third book of Herodotus; and their noble descendants are often mentioned, especially in the fragments of Ctesias. Yet the independence of Otanes (Herodot. l. iii. c. 83, 84) is hostile to the spirit of despotism, and it may not seem probable that the seven families could survive the revolutions of eleven hundred years. They might however be represented by the seven ministers (Brisson, de Regno Persico, l. i. p. 190); and some Persian nobles, like the kings of Pontus (Polyb. l. v. p. 540 [c. 43, § 2]) and Cappadocia (Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxi. tom. ii. p. 517 [c. 19]), might claim their descent from the bold companions of Darius.

[17] See an accurate description of this mountain by Olearius (Voyage en Perse, p. 997, 998), who ascended it with much difficulty and danger in his return from Ispahan to the Caspian sea.

of Rei and the plains of Media. From the commanding heights, a band of resolute men might overwhelm with stones and darts the myriads of the Turkish host: their emperor and his son were transpierced with arrows; and the fugitives were left, without counsel or provisions, to the revenge of an injured people. The patriotism of the Persian general was stimulated by his affection for the city of his forefathers; in the hour of victory every peasant became a soldier, and every soldier an hero; and their ardour was kindled by the gorgeous spectacle of beds and thrones and tables of massy gold, the spoils of Asia, and the luxury of the hostile camp. A prince of a less malignant temper could not easily have forgiven his benefactor, and the secret hatred of Hormouz was envenomed by a malicious report that Bahram had privately retained the most precious fruits of his Turkish victory. But the approach of a Roman army on the side of the Araxes compelled the implacable tyrant to smile and to applaud; and the toils of Bahram were rewarded with the permission of encountering a new enemy, by their skill and discipline more formidable than a Scythian multitude. Elated by his recent success, he dispatched an herald with a bold defiance to the camp of the Romans, requesting them to fix a day of battle, and to choose whether they would pass the river themselves or allow a free passage to the arms of the Great King. The lieutenant of the emperor Maurice preferred the safer alternative, and this local circumstance, which would have enhanced the victory of the Persians, rendered their defeat more bloody and their escape more difficult. But the loss of his subjects and the danger of his kingdom were overbalanced in the mind of Hormouz by the disgrace of his personal enemy; and no sooner had Bahram collected and reviewed his forces than he received from a royal messenger the insulting gift of a distaff, a spinning-wheel, and a complete suit of female apparel. Obedient to the will of his sovereign, he shewed himself to the soldiers in this unworthy disguise; they resented his ignominy and their own; a shout of rebellion ran through the ranks; and the general accepted their oath of fidelity and vows of revenge. A second messenger, who had been commanded to bring the rebel in chains, was trampled under the feet of an elephant, and manifestos were diligently circulated, exhorting the Persians to assert their freedom against an odious and contemptible tyrant. The defection was rapid and universal; his loyal slaves were sacrificed to the public fury; the troops deserted to the

His rebellion

standard of Bahram; and the provinces again saluted the deliverer of his country.

Hormouz is deposed and imprisoned

As the passes were faithfully guarded, Hormouz could only compute the number of his enemies by the testimony of a guilty conscience, and the daily defection of those who, in the hour of his distress, avenged their wrongs or forgot their obligations. He proudly displayed the ensigns of royalty; but the city and palace of Modain had already escaped from the hand of the tyrant. Among the victims of his cruelty, Bindoes, a Sassanian prince, had been cast into a dungeon; his fetters were broken by the zeal and courage of a brother; and he stood before the king at the head of those trusty guards who had been chosen as the ministers of his confinement and perhaps of his death. Alarmed by the hasty intrusion and bold reproaches of the captive, Hormouz looked round, but in vain, for advice or assistance; discovered that his strength consisted in the obedience of others, and patiently yielded to the single arm of Bindoes, who dragged him from the throne to the same dungeon in which he himself had been so lately confined. At the first tumult, Chosroes, the eldest of the sons of Hormouz, escaped from the city; he was persuaded to return by the pressing and friendly invitation of Bindoes, who promised to seat him on his father's throne, and who expected to reign under the name of an inexperienced youth. In the just assurance that his accomplices could neither forgive nor hope to be forgiven, and that every Persian might be trusted as the judge and enemy of the tyrant, he instituted a public trial without a precedent and without a copy in the annals of the East. The son of Nushirvan, who had requested to plead in his own defence, was introduced as a criminal into the full assembly of the nobles and satraps.[18] He was heard with decent attention as long as he expatiated on the advantages of order and obedience, the danger of innovation, and the inevitable discord of those who had encouraged each other to trample on their lawful and hereditary sovereign. By a pathetic appeal to their humanity, he extorted that pity which is seldom refused to the fallen fortunes of a king; and, while they beheld the abject posture and squalid appearance of the prisoner, his tears, his chains, and the marks of ignominious stripes, it was impossible to forget how recently they had adored the divine splendour of his

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[18] The Orientals suppose that Bahram convened this assembly and proclaimed Chosroes, but Theophylact is, in this instance, more distinct and credible.

Elevation of his son Chosroes

diadem and purple. But an angry murmur arose in the assembly as soon as he presumed to vindicate his conduct and to applaud the victories of his reign. He defined the duties of a king, and the Persian nobles listened with a smile of contempt; they were fired with indignation when he dared to vilify the character of Chosroes; and by the indiscreet offer of resigning the sceptre to the second of his sons he subscribed his own condemnation and sacrificed the life of his innocent favourite. The mangled bodies of the boy and his mother were exposed to the people; the eyes of Hormouz were pierced with a hot needle; and the punishment of the father was succeeded by the coronation of his eldest son. Chosroes had ascended the throne without guilt, and his piety strove to alleviate the misery of the abdicated monarch; from the dungeon he removed Hormouz to an apartment of the palace, supplied with liberality the consolations of sensual enjoyment, and patiently endured the furious sallies of his resentment and despair. He might despise the resentment of a blind and unpopular tyrant, but the tiara was trembling on his head, till he could subvert the power, or acquire the friendship, of the great Bahram, who sternly denied the justice of a revolution in which himself and his soldiers, the true representatives of Persia, had never been consulted. The offer of a general amnesty and of the second rank in his kingdom was answered[19] by an epistle from Bahram, friend of the gods, conqueror of men, and enemy of tyrants, the satrap of satraps, general of the Persian armies, and a prince adorned with the title of eleven virtues.[20] He commands Chosroes, the son of Hormouz, to shun the example and fate of his father, to confine the traitors who had been released from their chains, to deposit in some holy place the diadem which he had usurped, and to accept from his gracious benefactor the pardon of his faults and the government of a province. The rebel might not be proud, and the king most assuredly was not humble; but the one was conscious of his strength, the other was sensible of his weakness; and even the modest language of his reply still left room for treaty and reconciliation. Chosroes led into the field the slaves of the palace and the populace of the capital; they beheld with terror the banners of a veteran army; they were encompassed and surprised by the evolutions of the general; and the satraps who had deposed Hormouz received the punishment of their revolt, or expiated their first treason by a second and more criminal act of disloyalty. The life and liberty of Chosroes were saved, but he was reduced to the necessity of imploring aid or refuge in some foreign land; and the implacable Bindoes, anxious to secure an unquestionable title, hastily returned to the palace, and ended, with a bow-string, the wretched existence of the son of Nushirvan.[21]

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[19] [According to Tabari (Nöldeke, p. 278), Chosroes and Bahram had an interview on the banks of the Naharvān.]

[20] See the words of Theophylact, l. iv. c. 7. Βαρὰμ φίλος τοῖς θεοῖς, νικητὴς ἐπιφανὴς, τυράννων ἐχθρὸς, σατράπης μεγιστάνων, τῆς Περσικῆς ἄρχων δυνάμεως, &c. In this answer Chosroes styles himself τῇ νυκτὶ χαριζόμενος ὄμματα . . . ὁ τοὺς Ἄσωνας (the genii) μισθούμενος [c. 8, 5. The meaning of Ἄσωνες is quite obscure]. This is genuine Oriental bombast.

Death of Hormouz. A.D. 590

Chosroes flies to the Romans

While Chosroes dispatched the preparations of his retreat, he deliberated with his remaining friends[22] whether he should lurk in the valleys of Mount Caucasus, or fly to the tents of the Turks, or solicit the protection of the emperor. The long emulation of the successors of Artaxerxes and Constantine increased his reluctance to appear as a suppliant in a rival court; but he weighed the forces of the Romans, and prudently considered that the neighbourhood of Syria would render his escape more easy and their succours more effectual. Attended only by his concubines and a troop of thirty guards, he secretly departed from the capital, followed the banks of the Euphrates, traversed the desert, and halted at the distance of ten miles from Circesium. About the third watch of the night, the Roman præfect was informed of his approach, and he introduced the royal stranger to the fortress at the dawn of day. From thence the king of Persia was conducted to the more honourable residence of Hierapolis;[23] and Maurice dissembled his pride, and displayed his benevolence, at the reception of the letters and ambassadors of the grandson of Nushirvan. They humbly represented the vicissitudes of fortune and the common interest of princes, exaggerated the ingratitude of Bahram, the agent of the evil principle, and urged, with specious argument, that it was for the advantage of the Romans themselves to support the two monarchies which balance the world, the two great luminaries by whose salutary influence it is vivified and adorned. The anxiety of Chosroes was soon relieved by the assurance that the emperor had espoused the cause of justice and royalty; but Maurice prudently declined the expense and delay of his useless visit to Constantinople. In the name of his generous benefactor, a rich diadem was presented to the fugitive prince with an inestimable gift of jewels and gold; a powerful army was assembled on the frontiers of Syria and Armenia, under the command of the valiant and faithful Narses;[24] and this general, of his own nation and his own choice, was directed to pass the Tigris, and never to sheath his sword till he had restored Chosroes to the throne of his ancestors. The enterprise, however splendid, was less arduous than it might appear. Persia had already repented of her fatal rashness, which betrayed the heir of the house of Sassan to the ambition of a rebellious subject; and the bold refusal of the Magi to consecrate his usurpation compelled Bahram to assume the sceptre, regardless of the laws and prejudices of the nation. The palace was soon distracted with conspiracy, the city with tumult, the provinces with insurrection; and the cruel execution of the guilty and the suspected served to irritate rather than subdue the public discontent. No sooner did the grandson of Nushirvan display his own and the Roman banners beyond the Tigris than he was joined, each day, by the increasing multitudes of the nobility and people; and, as he advanced, he received from every side the grateful offerings of the keys of his cities and the heads of his enemies. As soon as Modain was freed from the presence of the usurper, the loyal inhabitants obeyed the first summons of Mebodes at the head of only two thousand horse, and Chosroes accepted the sacred and precious ornaments of the palace as the pledge of their truth and a presage of his approaching success. After the junction of the Imperial troops, which Bahram vainly

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[21] Theophylact (l. iv. c. 7) imputes the death of Hormouz to his son, by whose command he was beaten to death with clubs. I have followed the milder account of Khondemir and Eutychius [and so Tabari, p. 280] and shall always be content with the slightest evidence to extenuate the crime of parricide. [The account of Sebaeos, p. 33-4, also exonerates Chosroes.]

[22] After the battle of Pharsalia, the Pompey of Lucan (l. viii. 256-455) holds a similar debate. He was himself desirous of seeking the Parthians; but his companions abhorred the unnatural alliance; and the adverse prejudices might operate as forcibly on Chosroes and his companions, who could describe, with the same vehemence, the contrast of laws, religion, and manners, between the East and West.

[23] [The letter was dispatched from Circesium, the frontier town (Theophyl., 4, 10); Tabari falsely says, from Antioch (p. 282).]

His return

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[24] In this age there were three warriors of the name of *Narses*, who have been often confounded (Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 640): 1. A Persarmenian, the brother of Isaac and Armatius, who, after a successful action against Belisarius, deserted from his Persian sovereign and afterwards served in the Italian war.—2. The eunuch who conquered Italy.—3. The restorer of Chosroes, who is celebrated in the poem of Corippus (l. iii. 220-227) as excelsus super omnia vertice agmina . . . habitu modestus . . . morum probitate placens, virtute verendus; fulmineus, cautus, vigilans, &c. [Compare above, vol. iv. p. 412, n. 55.]

and final victory

Death of Bahram

truggled to prevent, the contest was decided by two battles on he banks of the Zab and the confines of Media. The Romans, vith the faithful subjects of Persia, amounted to sixty thousand, vhile the whole force of the usurper did not exceed forty housand men; the two generals signalised their valour and bility, but the victory was finally determined by the prevalence f numbers and discipline. With the remnant of a broken army, 3ahram fled towards the eastern provinces of the Oxus;[24a] he enmity of Persia reconciled him to the Turks; but his days vere shortened by poison, perhaps the most incurable of poisons: he stings of remorse and despair, and the bitter remembrance f lost glory. Yet the modern Persians still commemorate the xploits of Bahram; and some excellent laws have prolonged he duration of his troubled and transitory reign.

Restoration and policy of Chosroes. A.D. 591-603

The restoration of Chosroes was celebrated with feasts and xecutions; and the music of the royal banquet was often listurbed by the groans of dying or mutilated criminals. A eneral pardon might have diffused comfort and tranquillity hrough a country which had been shaken by the late revolu-ions; yet, before the sanguinary temper of Chosroes is blamed, ve should learn whether the Persians had not been accustomed ither to dread the rigour, or to despise the weakness, of their overeign. The revolt of Bahram and the conspiracy of the atraps were impartially punished by the revenge or justice of he conqueror; the merits of Bindoes himself could not purify is hand from the guilt of royal blood; and the son of Hormouz vas desirous to assert his own innocence and to vindicate the anctity of kings. During the vigour of the Roman power, everal princes were seated on the throne of Persia by the arms nd the authority of the first Cæsars. But their new subjects vere soon disgusted with the vices or virtues which they had mbibed in a foreign land; the instability of their dominion ave birth to a vulgar observation that the choice of Rome was olicited and rejected with equal ardour by the capricious levity f Oriental slaves.[25] But the glory of Maurice was conspicuous n the long and fortunate reign of his *son* and his ally. A band f a thousand Romans, who continued to guard the person of Chosroes, proclaimed his confidence in the fidelity of the strangers; his growing strength enabled him to dismiss this unpopular aid, but he steadily professed the same gratitude and reverence to his adopted father; and, till the death of Maurice, the peace and alliance of the two empires were faithfully maintained. Yet the mercenary friendship of the Roman prince had been purchased with costly and important gifts: the strong cities of Martyropolis and Dara were restored, and the Persarmenians became the willing subjects of an empire, whose eastern limit was extended, beyond the example of former times, as far as the banks of the Araxes and the neighbourhood of the Caspian. A pious hope was indulged that the church as well as the state might triumph in this revolution; but, if Chosroes had sincerely listened to the Christian bishops, the impression was erased by the zeal and eloquence of the Magi; if he was armed with philosophic indifference, he accommodated his belief, or rather his professions, to the various circumstances of an exile and a sovereign. The imaginary conversion of the king of Persia was reduced to a local and superstitious veneration for Sergius,[26] one of the saints of Antioch, who heard his prayers and appeared to him in dreams; he enriched the shrine with offerings of gold and silver, and ascribed to this invisible patron the success of his arms, and the pregnancy of Sira, a devout Christian and the best beloved of his wives.[27] The beauty of Sira, or Schirin,[28] her wit, her musical talents,

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[24a] [Sebaeos (iii. 3, tr. Patkan., p. 43) says he fled to Balkh and was put to death here by the intrigues of Chosroes. For the romance of Bahrām—composed between he death of Chosroes II. and the fall of the Persian kingdom—see Nöldeke, *op. it.* p. 474 *sqq.*]

[25] Experimentis cognitum est barbaros malle Româ petere reges quam habere. These experiments are admirably represented in the invitation and expulsion of Vonones (Annal. ii. 1-3), Tiridates (Annal. vi. 32-44), and Meherdates (Annal. xi.

10, xii. 10-14). The eye of Tacitus seems to have transpierced the camp of the Parthians and the walls of the harem.

[26] Sergius and his companion Bacchus, who are said to have suffered in the persecution of Maximian, obtained divine honour in France, Italy, Constantinople, and the East. Their tomb at Rasaphe was famous for miracles, and that Syrian town acquired the more honourable name of Sergiopolis. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. v. p. 491-496. Butler's Saints, vol. x. p. 155. [One of the sources used by Tabari transforms Sergius into a general sent by Maurice to restore Chosroes to the throne. For Maurice's Armenian acquisitions cp. Appendix 5.]

[27] Evagrius (l. vi. c. 21) and Theophylact (l. v. c. 13, 14) have preserved the original letters of Chosroes written in Greek, signed with his own hand, and afterwards inscribed on crosses and tables of gold, which were deposited in the church of Sergiopolis. They had been sent to the bishop of Antioch, as primate of Syria.

[28] The Greeks only describe her as a Roman by birth, a Christian by religion; but she is represented as the daughter of the emperor Maurice in the Persian and Turkish romances, which celebrate the love of Khosrou for Schirin, of Schirin for Ferhad, the most beautiful youth of the East. D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. p. 789, 997, 998. [The name Shīrīn is Persian, and Sebaeos expressly states that she was a native of Khūzistān (c. 5, p. 50, Russ. Tr.), but agrees with the other sources that she was a Christian. Tabari (p. 283) states that Maurice gave Chosroes his daughter Maria, and it seems that Persian tradition is unanimous (Nöldeke, *ib.*) in recording that Chosroes married a daughter of the emperor and that she was the mother of Shērōe (Siroes). If Maria had been given to Chosroes at the time of his restoration, the circumstance could hardly fail to have been noticed by Theophylactus; the silence of the Greek sources is, in any case, curious. The chronicle of Michael the Syrian, it is true, supports the statement of Tabari (Journ. Asiat., 1848, Oct., p. 302).]

are still famous in the history or rather in the romances of the East; her own name is expressive, in the Persian tongue, of sweetness and grace; and the epithet of *Parviz*[29] alludes to the charms of her royal lover. Yet Sira never shared the passion which she inspired, and the bliss of Chosroes was tortured by a jealous doubt that, while he possessed her person, she had bestowed her affections on a meaner favourite.[30]

Pride, policy and power of the chagan of the Avars, A.D. 570-600, &c.

While the majesty of the Roman name was revived in the East, the prospect of Europe is less pleasing and less glorious. By the departure of the Lombards and the ruin of the Gepidæ, the balance of power was destroyed on the Danube; and the Avars spread their permanent dominion from the foot of the Alps to the sea-coast of the Euxine. The reign of Baian is the brightest æra of their monarchy; their chagan, who occupied the rustic palace of Attila, appears to have imitated his character and policy;[31] but, as the same scenes were repeated in a smaller circle, a minute representation of the copy would be devoid of the greatness and novelty of the original.[32] The pride of the second Justin, of Tiberius, and Maurice, was humbled by a proud barbarian, more prompt to inflict, than exposed to suffer, the injuries of war; and, as often as Asia was threatened by the Persian arms, Europe was oppressed by the dangerous inroads, or costly friendship, of the Avars. When the Roman envoys approached the presence of the chagan, they were commanded to wait at the door of his tent, till, at the end perhaps of ten or twelve days, he condescended to admit them. If the substance or the style of their message was offensive to his ear, he insulted, with a real or affected fury, their own dignity and that of their prince; their baggage was plundered, and their lives were only saved by the promise of a richer present and a more respectful address. But *his* sacred ambassadors enjoyed and abused an unbounded licence in the midst of Constantinople; they urged, with importunate clamours, the increase of tribute, or the restitution of captives and deserters; and the majesty of the empire was almost equally degraded by a base compliance or by the false and fearful excuses with which they eluded such insolent demands. The chagan had never seen an elephant; and his curiosity was excited by the strange, and perhaps fabulous, portrait of that wonderful animal. At his command, one of the largest elephants of the Imperial stables was equipped with stately caparisons, and conducted by a numerous train to the royal village in the plains of Hungary. He surveyed the enormous beast with surprise, with disgust, and possibly with terror; and smiled at the vain industry of the Romans, who, in search of such useless rarities, could explore the limits of the land and sea. He wished, at the expense of the emperor, to repose in a golden bed. The wealth of Constantinople, and the skilful diligence of her artists, were instantly devoted to the gratification of his caprice; but, when the work was finished, he rejected with scorn a present so unworthy the majesty of a great king.[33] These were the casual sallies of his pride, but the avarice of the chagan was a more steady and tractable passion: a rich and regular supply of silk apparel, furniture, and plate, introduced the rudiments of art and luxury among the tents of the Scythians; their appetite was stimulated by the pepper and cinnamon of India;[34] the annual subsidy or tribute was raised from fourscore to one hundred and twenty thousand pieces of gold; and, after each hostile interruption, the payment of the arrears, with exorbitant interest, was always made the first condition of the new treaty. In the language of a barbarian without guile, the prince of the Avars affected to complain of the insincerity of the Greeks,[35] yet he was not inferior to the most civilised nations in the refinements of dissimulation and perfidy. As the successor of the Lombards, the chagan asserted his claim to the important city of Sirmium, the ancient bulwark of the Illyrian provinces.[36] The plains of the Lower Hungary were covered with the Avar horse, and a fleet of large boats was built in the Hercynian wood, to descend the Danube, and to transport into the Save the materials of a bridge. But, as the strong garrison of Singidunum, which commanded the conflux of the two rivers, might have stopped their passage and baffled his designs, he dispelled their apprehensions by a solemn oath that his views were not hostile to the empire. He swore by his sword, the symbol of the god of war, that he did not, as the enemy of Rome, construct a bridge upon the Save. "If I violate my oath," pursued the intrepid Baian, "may I myself, and the last of my nation, perish by the sword! may the heavens, and fire, the deity of the heavens, fall upon our heads! may the forests and mountains bury us in their ruins! and the Save, returning, against the laws of nature, to his source, overwhelm us in his angry waters!" After this barbarous imprecation, he calmly inquired, what oath was most sacred and venerable among the Christians, what guilt of perjury it was most dangerous to incur. The bishop of Singidunum presented the gospel, which the chagan received with devout reverence. "I swear," said he, "by the God who has spoken in this holy book, that I have neither falsehood on my tongue nor treachery in my heart." As soon as he rose from his knees, he accelerated the labour of the bridge, and dispatched an envoy to proclaim what he no longer wished to conceal. "Inform the emperor," said the perfidious Baian, "that Sirmium is invested on every side. Advise his prudence to withdraw the citizens and their effects, and to resign a city which it is now impossible to relieve or defend." Without the hope of relief, the defence of Sirmium was prolonged above three years; the walls were still untouched; [A.D. 581] but famine was inclosed within the walls, till a merciful capitulation allowed the escape of the naked and hungry inhabitants. Singidunum, at the distance of fifty miles, experienced a more cruel fate: the buildings were rased, and the vanquished people was condemned to servitude and exile.[37] Yet the ruins of Sirmium are no longer visible; the advantageous situation of Singidunum soon attracted a new colony of Sclavonians; and the conflux of the Save and Danube is still guarded by the fortifications of Belgrade, or the *White City*, so often and so obstinately disputed by the Christian and Turkish arms.[38] From Belgrade to the walls of Constantinople a line may be measured of six hundred miles: that line was marked with flames and with blood; the horses of the Avars were alternately bathed in the Euxine and the Adriatic; and the Roman pontiff, alarmed by the approach of a more savage enemy,[39] was reduced to cherish the Lombards as the protectors of Italy. The despair of a captive, whom his country refused to ransom, disclosed to the Avars the invention and practice of military engines;[40] but in the first attempts they were rudely framed and awkwardly managed; and the resistance of Diocletianopolis and Berœa, of [A.D. 587] Philippopolis and Hadrianople, soon exhausted the skill and patience of the besiegers. The warfare of Baian was that of a Tartar, yet his mind was susceptible of a humane and generous sentiment; he spared Anchialus, whose salutary waters had restored the health of the best beloved of his wives; and the Romans confess that their starving army was fed and dismissed by the liberality of a foe. His empire extended over Húngary, Poland, and Prussia, from the mouth of the Danube to that of the Oder;[41] and his new subjects were divided and transplanted

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[29] [The name *parwēz* or *aparwēz* seems to mean "victorious"; cp. Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 275.]

[30] The whole series of the tyranny of Hormouz, the revolt of Bahram, and the flight and restoration of Chosroes, is related by two contemporary Greeks—more concisely by Evagrius (l. vi. c. 16, 17, 18, 19), and most diffusely by Theophylact Simocatta (l. iii. c. 6-18, l. iv. c. 1-16, l. v. c. 1-15); succeeding compilers, Zonaras and Cedrenus, can only transcribe and abridge. The Christian Arabs, Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 200-208) and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 96-98), appear to have consulted some particular memoirs. The great Persian historians of the xvth century, Mirkhond and Khondemir, are only known to me by the imperfect extracts of Schikard (Tarikh, p. 150-155), Texeira, or rather Stevens (Hist. of Persia, p. 182-186), a Turkish Ms. translated by the Abbé Fourmont (Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. vii. p. 325-334), and D'Herbelot (aux mots *Hormouz*, p. 457-459; *Bahram*, p. 174; *Khosrou Parviz*, p. 996). Were I perfectly satisfied of their authority, I could wish these Oriental materials had been more copious. [We can add Tabari and Sebaeos.]

[31] A general idea of the pride and power of the chagan may be taken from Menander (Excerpt. Legat. p. 117, &c. [fr. 27, pp. 232-3, in F. H. G. iv.]) and Theophylact (l. i. c. 3; l. vii. c. 15), whose eight books are much more honourable to the Avar than to the Roman prince. The predecessors of Baian had tasted the liberality of Rome, and *he* survived the reign of Maurice (Buat, Hist. des Peuples Barbares, tom. xi. p. 545). The chagan who invaded Italy A.D. 611 (Muratori, Annali, tom. v. p. 305) was then juvenili ætate florentem (Paul Warnefrid, de Gest. Langobard. l. v. c. 38), the son, perhaps, or the grandson, of Baian. [Baian was succeeded by his eldest son; and he by a younger brother, who was chagan in A.D. 626. See the Relation of the siege of Constantinople in that year ap. Mai, x. p. 424-5. We know not which of the sons was chagan in A.D. 511.]

[32] [The story of the Avar invasions has been told in great detail by Sir H. Howorth, The Avars, in Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1889, p. 721, *sqq.* See also Bury, Later Roman Empire, ii. 116, *sqq.*]

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[33] Theophylact, l. i. c. 5, 6.

[34] Even in the field, the chagan delighted in the use of these aromatics. He solicited as a gift Ἰνδικὰς καρυκίας [leg. καρυκείας], and received πέπερι καὶ φύλλον Ἰνδῶν [al. Ἰνδικὸν], κασίαν τε καὶ τὸν λεγόμενον κόστον. Theophylact, l. vii. c. 13. The Europeans of the ruder ages consumed more spices in their meat and drink than is compatible with the delicacy of a modern palate. Vie Privée de François, tom. ii. p. 162, 163.

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[35] Theophylact, l. vi. c. 6; l. vii. c. 15. The Greek historian confesses the truth and justice of his reproach.

[36] Menander (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 126-132, 174-175 [fr. 63, 64, 65, 66, ap. Müller, F. H. G. iv.]) describes the perjury of Baian and the surrender of Sirmium. We have lost his account of the siege, which is commended by Theophylact, l. i. c. 3. Τὸ δ' ὅπως Μενάνδρῳ [τῷ] περιφανεῖ σαφῶς διηγόρευται. [Cp. John of Ephesus, vi. 24, *sqq.*]

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[37] [We find the chagan again attacking it in A.D. 591.]

[38] See d'Anville, in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 412-443. The Sclavonic name of *Belgrade* is mentioned in the xth century by Constantine Porphyrogenitus; the Latin appellation of *Alba Græca* is used by the Franks in the beginning of the ixth (p. 414).

[39] Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 600, No. 1. Paul Warnefrid (l. iv. c. 38) relates their irruption into Friuli, and (c. 39), the captivity of his ancestors, about A.D. 632. The Sclavi traversed the Adriatic cum multitudine navium, and made a descent in the territory of Sipontum (c. 47).

[40] Even the helepolis, or moveable turret. Theophylact, l. ii. 16, 17.

[41] The arms and alliances of the chagan reached to the neighbourhood of a western sea, fifteen months' journey from Constantinople. The emperor Maurice conversed with some itinerant harpers from that remote country, and only seems to have mistaken a trade for a nation. Theophylact, l. vi. c. 2. [On extent o Avar empire, cp. Appendix 2.]

by the jealous policy of the conqueror.[42] The eastern regions of Germany, which had been left vacant by the emigration of the Vandals, were replenished with Sclavonian colonists; the same tribes are discovered in the neighbourhood of the Adriatic and of the Baltic; and, with the name of Baian himself, the Illyrian cities of Neyss and Lissa are again found in the heart of Silesia. In the disposition both of his troops and provinces, the chagan exposed the vassals, whose lives he disregarded,[43] to the first assault; and the swords of the enemy were blunted before they encountered the native valour of the Avars.

Wars of Maurice against the Avars. A.D. 595-602

The Persian alliance restored the troops of the East to the defence of Europe; and Maurice, who had supported ten years the insolence of the chagan, declared his resolution to march in person against the barbarians. In the space of two centuries, none of the successors of Theodosius had appeared in the field, their lives were supinely spent in the palace of Constantinople; and the Greeks could no longer understand that the name of *emperor*, in its primitive sense, denoted the chief of the armies of the republic. The martial ardour of Maurice was opposed by the grave flattery of the senate, the timid superstition of the patriarch, and the tears of the empress Constantina; and they all conjured him to devolve on some meaner general the fatigues and perils of a Scythian campaign. Deaf to their advice and entreaty, the emperor boldly advanced[44] seven miles from the capital; the sacred ensign of the cross was displayed in the front, and Maurice reviewed, with conscious pride, the arms and numbers of the veterans who had fought and conquered beyond the Tigris. Anchialus was the last term of his progress by sea and land; he solicited, without success, a miraculous answer to his nocturnal prayers; his mind was confounded by the death of a favourite horse, the encounter of a wild boar, a storm of wind and rain, and the birth of a monstrous child; and he forgot

[A.D. 591]

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[42] This is one of the most probable and luminous conjectures of the learned count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples Barbares, tom. xi. p. 546-568). The Tzechi and Serbi are found together near mount Caucasus, in Illyricum, and on the Lower Elbe. Even the wildest traditions of the Bohemians, &c. afford some colour to his hypothesis.

[43] See Fredegarius, in the Historians of France, tom. ii. p. 432. Baian did not conceal his proud insensibility. Ὅτι τοιούτους (not τοσούτους according to a foolish emendation) ἐπαφήσω τῇ Ρωμαικῇ, ὡς εἰ καὶ συμβαίη γέ σφισι θανάτῳ ἁλῶναι, ἀλλ' ἐμοί γε μὴ γενέσθαι συναίσθησιν.

[44] See the march and return of Maurice, in Theophylact, l. v. c. 16, l. vi. c. 1, 2, 3. If he were a writer of taste or genius, we might suspect him of an elegant irony; but Theophylact is surely harmless.

that the best of omens is to unsheath our sword in the defence of our country.[45] Under the pretence of receiving the ambassadors of Persia, the emperor returned to Constantinople, exchanged the thoughts of war for those of devotion, and disappointed the public hope by his absence and the choice of his lieutenants. The blind partiality of fraternal love might

A.D. 593]

excuse the promotion of his brother Peter, who fled with equal disgrace from the barbarians, from his own soldiers, and from the inhabitants of a Roman city. That city, if we may credit the resemblance of name and character, was the famous Azimuntium,[46] which had alone repelled the tempest of Attila. The example of her warlike youth was propagated to succeeding generations; and they obtained, from the first or the second Justin, an honourable privilege, that their valour should be always reserved for the defence of their native country. The brother of Maurice attempted to violate this privilege, and to mingle a patriot band with the mercenaries of his camp; they retired to the church, he was not awed by the sanctity of the place; the people rose in their cause, the gates were shut, the ramparts were manned; and the cowardice of Peter was found equal to his arrogance and injustice. The military fame of

Campaign of Comentiolus. A.D. 600]

Commentiolus[47] is the object of satire or comedy rather than of serious history, since he was even deficient in the vile and vulgar qualification of personal courage. His solemn councils, strange evolutions, and secret orders always supplied an apology for flight or delay. If he marched against the enemy, the pleasant valleys of mount Hæmus opposed an insuperable barrier; but in his retreat he explored, with fearless curiosity, the most difficult and obsolete paths, which had almost escaped the memory of the oldest native. The only blood which he lost was drawn, in a real or affected malady, by the lancet of a surgeon; and his health, which felt with exquisite sensibility the approach of the barbarians, was uniformly restored by the repose and safety of the winter season. A prince who could promote and support this unworthy favourite must derive no glory from the accidental merit of his colleague Priscus.[48] In five successive battles, which seem to have been conducted with skill and resolution, seventeen thousand two hundred barbarians were made prisoners; near sixty thousand, with four sons of the chagan, were slain; the Roman general surprised a peaceful district of the Gepidæ, who slept under the protection of the Avars; and his last trophies were erected on the banks of the Danube and the Theiss. Since the death of Trajan, the arms of the empire had not penetrated so deeply into the old Dacia; yet the success of Priscus was transient and barren; and he was soon recalled by the apprehension that Baian, with dauntless spirit and recruited forces, was preparing to avenge his defeat under the walls of Constantinople.[49]

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[45] Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. Iliad, xii. 243. This noble verse, which unites the spirit of an hero with the reason of a sage, may prove that Homer was in every light superior to his age and country.

[46] Theophylact, l. vii. c. 3. On the evidence of this fact, which had not occurred to my memory, the candid reader will correct and excuse a note in the iiird volume of this history, p. 432, which hastens the decay of Asimus, or Azimuntium: another century of patriotism and valour is cheaply purchased by such a confession.

[47] See the shameful conduct of Commentiolus, in Theophylact, l. ii. c. 10-15, l. vii. c. 13, 14, l. viii. c. 2, 4. [On the chronology of these Avar campaigns in Theophylactus see the editor's article in Eng. Histor. Review, April, 1888.]

State of the Roman armies

The theory of war was not more familiar to the camps of Cæsar and Trajan than to those of Justinian and Maurice.[50] The iron of Tuscany or Pontus still received the keenest temper from the skill of the Byzantine workmen. The magazines were plentifully stored with every species of offensive and defensive arms. In the construction and use of ships, engines, and fortifications, the barbarians admired the superior ingenuity of a people whom they so often vanquished in the field. The science of tactics, the order, evolutions, and stratagems of antiquity, was transcribed and studied in the books of the Greeks and Romans. But the solitude or degeneracy of the provinces could no longer supply a race of men to handle those weapons, to guard those walls, to navigate those ships, and to reduce the theory of war into bold and successful practice. The genius of Belisarius and Narses had been formed without a master, and expired without a disciple. Neither honour, nor patriotism, nor generous superstition, could animate the lifeless bodies of slaves and strangers, who had succeeded to the honours of the legions; it was in the camp alone that the emperor should have exercised a despotic command; it was only in the camps that his authority was disobeyed and insulted; he appeased and inflamed with gold the licentiousness of the troops; but their vices were inherent, their victories were accidental, and their costly maintenance exhausted the substance of a state which they were unable to defend. After a long and pernicious indulgence, the cure of this inveterate evil was undertaken by Maurice; but the rash attempt, which drew destruction on his own head, tended only to aggravate the disease. A reformer should be exempt from the suspicion of interest, and he must possess the confidence and esteem of those whom he proposes to reclaim. The troops of Maurice might listen to the voice of a victorious leader; they disdained the admonitions of statesmen and sophists; and, when they received an edict which deducted from their pay the price of their arms and clothing, they execrated the avarice of a prince insensible of the dangers and fatigues from which he had escaped. The camps both of Asia and Europe were agitated with frequent and furious seditions;[51] the enraged soldiers of Edessa pursued, with reproaches, with threats, with wounds, their trembling generals; they overturned the statues of the emperor, cast stones against the miraculous image of Christ, and either rejected the yoke of all civil and military laws or instituted a dangerous model of voluntary subordination. The monarch, always distant and often deceived, was incapable of yielding or persisting according to the exigence of the moment. But the fear of a general revolt induced him too readily to accept any act of valour or any expression of loyalty, as an atonement for the popular offence; the new reform was abolished as hastily as it had been announced; and the troops, instead of punishment and restraint, were agreeably surprised by a gracious proclamation of immunities and rewards. But the soldiers accepted without gratitude the tardy and reluctant gifts of the emperor; their insolence was elated by the discovery of his weakness and their own strength; and their mutual hatred was inflamed beyond the desire of forgiveness or the hope of reconciliation. The historians of the times adopt the vulgar suspicion that Maurice conspired to destroy the troops whom he had laboured to reform; the misconduct and favour of Commentiolus are imputed to this malevolent design; and every age must condemn

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[48] See the exploits of Priscus, l. viii. c. 2, 3.

[49] The general detail of the war against the Avars may be traced in the first, second, sixth, seventh, and eighth books of the History of the emperor Maurice, by Theophylact Simocatta. As he wrote in the reign of Heraclius, he had no temptation to flatter; but his want of judgment renders him diffuse in trifles and concise in the most interesting facts.

[50] Maurice himself composed xii books on the military art, which are still extant, and have been published (Upsal, 1664) by John Scheffer at the end of the Tactics of Arrian (Fabricius Bibliot. Græca, l. iv. c. 8, tom. iii. p. 278), who promises to speak more fully of his work in its proper place. [This work is not by Maurice. See above, vol. iv. p. 346, n. 15.]

Their discontent

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[51] See the mutinies under the reign of Maurice, in Theophylact, l. iii. c. 1-4, l. vi. c. 7, 8, 10, l. vii. c. 1, l. viii. c. 6, &c.

[A.D. 600]

and rebellion [A.D. 601-2]

Election of Phocas. A.D. 602, October

the inhumanity or avarice[52] of a prince who, by the trifling ransom of six thousand pieces of gold, might have prevented the massacre of twelve thousand prisoners in the hands of the chagan. In the just fervour of indignation, an order was signified to the army of the Danube that they should spare the magazines of the province and establish their winter quarters in the hostile country of the Avars. The measure of their grievances was full: they pronounced Maurice unworthy to reign, expelled or slaughtered his faithful adherents, and under the command of Phocas, a simple centurion, returned by hasty marches to the neighbourhood of Constantinople. After a long series of legal succession, the military disorders of the third century were again revived; yet such was the novelty of the enterprise that the insurgents were awed by their own rashness. They hesitated to invest their favourite with the vacant purple,[53] and, while they rejected all treaty with Maurice himself, they held a friendly correspondence with his son Theodosius and with Germanus the father-in-law of the royal youth. So obscure had been the former condition of Phocas that the emperor was ignorant of the name and character of his rival; but, as soon as he learned that the centurion, though bold in sedition, was timid in the face of danger, "Alas!" cried the desponding prince, "if he is a coward, he will surely be a murderer".

Revolt of Constantinople

Yet, if Constantinople had been firm and faithful the murderer might have spent his fury against the walls; and the rebel army would have been gradually consumed or reconciled by the prudence of the emperor. In the games of the circus, which he repeated with unusual pomp, Maurice disguised with smiles of confidence the anxiety of his heart, condescended to solicit the applause of the *factions*, and flattered their pride by accepting from their respective tribunes a list of nine hundred *blues* and fifteen hundred *greens,* whom he affected to esteem as the solid pillars of his throne. Their treacherous or languid support betrayed his weakness and hastened his fall; the green faction were the secret accomplices of the rebels, and the blues recommended lenity and moderation in a contest with their Roman brethren. The rigid and parsimonious virtues of Maurice had long since alienated the hearts of his subjects: as he walked barefoot in a religious procession, he was rudely assaulted with stones, and his guards were compelled to present their iron maces in the defence of his person. A fanatic monk ran through the streets with a drawn sword, denouncing against him the wrath and the sentence of God, and a vile plebeian, who represented his countenance and apparel, was seated on an ass and pursued by the imprecations of the multitude.[54] The emperor suspected the popularity of Germanus with the soldiers and citizens; he feared, he threatened, but he delayed to strike; the patrician fled to the sanctuary of the church; the people rose in his defence, the walls were deserted by the guards, and the lawless city was abandoned to the flames and rapine of a nocturnal tumult. In a small bark, the unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, escaped to the Asiatic shore, [November 22] but the violence of the wind compelled him to land at the church of St. Autonomus[55] near Chalcedon, from whence he dispatched Theodosius, his eldest son, to implore the gratitude and friendship of the Persian monarch. For himself, he refused to fly: his body was tortured with sciatic pains,[56] his mind was enfeebled by superstition; he patiently awaited the event of the revolution, and addressed a fervent and public prayer to the Almighty, that the punishment of his sins might be inflicted in this world rather than in a future life. After the abdication of

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[52] Theophylact and Theophanes seem ignorant of the conspiracy and avarice of Maurice. [The refusal to ransom the captives *is* mentioned by Theophanes, p. 280, l. 5-11 (ed. de Boor); and also the conspiracy, p. 279, l. 32. See also John of Antioch, fr. 218 b, in F. H. G. v. p. 35.] These charges, so unfavourable to the memory of that emperor, are first mentioned by the author of the Paschal Chronicle (p. 379, 380 [p. 694, ed. Bonn]); from whence Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 77, 78 [c. 13]) has transcribed them. Cedrenus (p. 399 [i. p. 700, ed. Bonn]) has followed another computation of the ransom. [Finlay thinks that many of the prisoners were deserters.]

[53] [It seems quite clear that originally there was no idea of elevating Phocas (except in his own mind); he was chosen simply as leader. The idea of the army was to supersede Maurice by Germanus or Theodosius. The conduct of Germanus is somewhat ambiguous throughout. The narrative is given in greater detail in Bury, Later Roman Empire, ii. 86-92.]

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[54] In their clamours against Maurice, the people of Constantinople branded him with the name of Marcionite or Marcionist: a heresy (says Theophylact, l. viii. c. 9) μετά τινος μωρᾶς εὐλαβείας, εὐήθης τε καὶ καταγέλαστος. Did they only cast out a vague reproach—or had the emperor really listened to some obscure teacher of those ancient Gnostics?

[55] The church of St. Autonomus (whom I have not the honour to know) was 150 stadia from Constantinople (Theophylact, l. viii. c. 9). [It was on the gulf of Nicomedia; Nic. Callist. 18, 40. The life of Autonomus (4th cent.) will be found in Acta Sanct., 12 Sept. iv. 16 *sqq.*] The port of Eutropius, where Maurice and his children were murdered, is described by Gyllius (de Bosphoro Thracio, l. iii. c. xi.) as one of the two harbours of Chalcedon.

[56] The inhabitants of Constantinople were generally subject to the νόσοι ἀρθρίτιδες; and Theophylact insinuates (l. viii. c. 9) that, if it were consistent with the rules of history, he could assign the medical cause. Yet such a digression would not have been more impertinent than his inquiry (l. vii. c. 16, 17) into the annual inundations of the Nile, and all the opinions of the Greek philosophers on that subject.

Maurice, the two factions disputed the choice of an emperor; but the favourite of the blues was rejected by the jealousy of their antagonists, and Germanus himself was hurried along by the crowds, who rushed to the palace of Hebdomon,[57] seven miles from the city, to adore the majesty of Phocas the centurion. A modest wish of resigning the purple to the rank and merit of Germanus was opposed by *his* resolution, more obstinate and equally sincere; the senate and clergy obeyed his summons, and, as soon as the patriarch was assured of his orthodox belief, he consecrated the successful usurper in the church of St. John [Nov. 23] the Baptist. On the third day,[58] amidst the acclamations of a thoughtless people, Phocas made his public entry in a chariot [Nov. 25] drawn by four white horses; the revolt of the troops was rewarded by a lavish donative; and the new sovereign, after visiting the palace, beheld from his throne the games of the hippodrome. In a dispute of precedency between the two factions, his partial judgment inclined in favour of the greens. "Remember that Maurice is still alive!" resounded from the opposite side; and the indiscreet clamour of the blues admonished and stimulated the cruelty of the tyrant. The ministers of death were dispatched to Chalcedon; they dragged the em- [Nov. 27] peror from his sanctuary; and the five sons of Maurice were successively murdered before the eyes of their agonizing parent. At each stroke which he felt in his heart, he found strength to rehearse a pious ejaculation: "Thou art just, O Lord: and thy judgments are righteous". And such, in the last moments, was his rigid attachment to truth and justice that he revealed to the soldiers the pious falsehood of a nurse who presented her own child in the place of a royal infant.[59] The tragic scene was finally closed by the execution of the emperor himself, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the sixty-third of his age. The bodies of the father and his five sons were cast into the sea, their heads were exposed at Constantinople to the insults or pity of the multitude, and it was not till some signs of putrefaction had appeared, that Phocas connived at the private burial of these venerable remains. In that grave, the faults and errors

Death of Maurice and his children. A.D. 602, Nov 27 of Maurice were kindly interred. His fate alone was remembered; and at the end of twenty years, in the recital of the history of Theophylact, the mournful tale was interrupted by the tears of the audience.[60]

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[57] [See above, vol. ii. p. 546, and vol. iii. p. 10, n. 28.]

[58] [On the next day, according to Theophylact, 8, 10.]

[59] From this generous attempt, Corneille has deduced the intricate web of his tragedy of *Heraclius*, which requires more than one representation to be clearly understood (Corneille de Voltaire, tom. v. p. 300); and which, after an interval of some years, is said to have puzzled the author himself (Anecdotes Dramatiques, tom. i. p. 422).

Phocas emperor. A.D. 602, Nov. 23

Such tears must have flowed in secret, and such compassion would have been criminal, under the reign of Phocas, who was peaceably acknowledged in the provinces of the East and West. The images of the emperor and his wife Leontia were exposed in the Lateran to the veneration of the clergy and senate of Rome, and afterwards deposited in the palace of the Cæsars, between those of Constantine and Theodosius. As a subject and a Christian, it was the duty of Gregory to acquiesce in the established government, but the joyful applause with which he salutes the fortune of the assassin has sullied with indelible disgrace the character of the saint. The successor of the apostles might have inculcated with decent firmness the guilt of blood, and the necessity of repentance: he is content to celebrate the deliverance of the people and the fall of the oppressor; to rejoice that the piety and benignity of Phocas have been raised by Providence to the Imperial throne; to pray that his hands may be strengthened against all his enemies; and to express a wish, perhaps a prophecy, that, after a long and triumphant reign, he may be transferred from a temporal to an everlasting kingdom.[61] I have already traced the steps of a revolution so pleasing, in Gregory's opinion, both to heaven and earth; and Phocas does not appear less hateful in the exercise than in the acquisition of power. The pencil of an impartial historian has delineated the portrait of a monster:[62] his diminutive and deformed person, the closeness of his shaggy eye-brows,

A.D. 610, October 4

His character

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[60] The revolt of Phocas and death of Maurice are told by Theophylact Simocatta (l. viii. c. 7-12), the Paschal Chronicle (p. 379, 380), Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 238-244 [ad A.M. 6094]), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 77-80 [c. 13, 14]), and Cedrenus (p. 399-404 [p. 700 *sqq.*, ed. Bonn]).

[61] Gregor. l. xi. epist. 38, indict. vi. Benignitatem vestræ pietatis ad Imperiale fastigium pervenisse gaudemus. Lætentur cæli et exultet terra, et de vestris benignis actibus universæ reipublicæ populus nunc usque vehementer afflictus hilarescat, &c. This base flattery, the topic of Protestant invective, is justly censured by the philosopher Bayle (Dictionnaire Critique, Grégoire I. Not. H. tom. ii. p. 597, 598). Cardinal Baronius justifies the pope at the expense of the fallen emperor.

[62] The images of Phocas were destroyed; but even the malice of his enemies would suffer one copy of such a portrait or caricature (Cedrenus, p. 404 [i. 708, ed. Bonn]) to escape the flames. [A statue to Phocas, erected by the exarch Smaragdus, adorned the Roman Forum. The column was dug up in A.D. 1813 and is one of the most conspicuous objects in the Forum. For the dedication on the base, see C. I. L., 6, 1200.]

is red hair, his beardless chin, and his cheek disfigured and
iscoloured by a formidable scar. Ignorant of letters, of laws,
nd even of arms, he indulged in the supreme rank a more
mple privilege of lust and drunkenness, and his brutal pleasures
ere either injurious to his subjects or disgraceful to himself.
ithout assuming the office of a prince, he renounced the
rofession of a soldier; and the reign of Phocas afflicted Europe
ith ignominious peace, and Asia with desolating war. His
vage temper was inflamed by passion, hardened by fear,
xasperated by resistance or reproach. The flight of Theo-
osius to the Persian court had been intercepted by a rapid
ursuit or a deceitful message: he was beheaded at Nice, and
e last hours of the young prince were soothed by the com-
rts of religion and the consciousness of innocence. Yet his
antom disturbed the repose of the usurper; a whisper was
rculated through the East, that the son of Maurice was still
ive; the people expected their avenger, and the widow and
ughters of the late emperor would have adopted as their son
d brother the vilest of mankind. In the massacre of the
mperial family,[63] the mercy, or rather the discretion, of Phocas
d spared these unhappy females, and they were decently
nfined to a private house. But the spirit of the empress
onstantina, still mindful of her father, her husband, and her
ns, aspired to freedom and revenge. At the dead of night, [A.D. 604?]
e escaped to the sanctuary of St. Sophia; but her tears, and
e gold of her associate Germanus, were insufficient to provoke
insurrection. Her life was forfeited to revenge, and even to
stice; but the patriarch obtained and pledged an oath for her
fety; a monastery was allotted for her prison, and the widow
Maurice accepted and abused the lenity of his assassin. The
scovery or the suspicion of a second conspiracy, dissolved the [A.D. 605]
gagements and rekindled the fury of Phocas. A matron who
mmanded the respect and pity of mankind, the daughter,
fe, and mother of emperors, was tortured like the vilest
alefactor, to force a confession of her designs and associates;
d the empress Constantina, with her three innocent daughters,
s beheaded at Chalcedon, on the same ground which had and tyranny
en stained with the blood of her husband and five sons. After

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[63] The family of Maurice is represented by Ducange (Familiæ Byzantinæ, p.
5, 107, 108): his eldest son Theodosius had been crowned emperor when he
s no more than four years and a half old, and he is always joined with his father
the salutations of Gregory. With the Christian daughters, Anastasia and
eoctiste, I am surprised to find the Pagan name of Cleopatra.

such an example, it would be superfluous to enumerate t
names and sufferings of meaner victims. Their condemnati
was seldom preceded by the forms of trial, and their punis
ment was embittered by the refinements of cruelty: their ey
were pierced, their tongues were torn from the root, the han
and feet were amputated; some expired under the lash, othe
in the flames, others again were transfixed with arrows; and
simple speedy death was mercy which they could rarely obtai
The hippodrome, the sacred asylum of the pleasures and t
liberty of the Romans, was polluted with heads and lim
and mangled bodies; and the companions of Phocas were t
most sensible that neither his favour nor their services cou
protect them from a tyrant, the worthy rival of the Caligul
and Domitians of the first age of the empire.[64]

His fall and death. A.D. 610, October 4

A daughter of Phocas, his only child, was given in marria
to the patrician Crispus,[65] and the *royal* images of the bride a
bridegroom were indiscreetly placed in the circus, by the si
of the emperor. The father must desire that his posteri
should inherit the fruit of his crimes, but the monarch w
offended by this premature and popular association; the tribun
of the green faction, who accused the officious error of the
sculptors, were condemned to instant death; their lives we
granted to the prayers of the people; but Crispus might reaso
ably doubt whether a jealous usurper could forget and pard
his involuntary competition. The green faction was alienat
by the ingratitude of Phocas and the loss of their privilege
every province of the empire was ripe for rebellion; and Her
clius, exarch of Africa, persisted above two years in refusing
tribute and obedience to the centurion who disgraced the thro
of Constantinople. By the secret emissaries of Crispus and t
senate, the independent exarch was solicited to save and
govern his country; but his ambition was chilled by age, a
he resigned the dangerous enterprise to his son Heraclius, a
to Nicetas, the son of Gregory his friend and lieutenant. T
powers of Africa were armed by the two adventurous youths; th

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[64] Some of the cruelties of Phocas are marked by Theophylact, l. viii. c. 13,
15. George of Pisidia, the poet of Heraclius, styles him (Bell. Abaricum, p. 46
49]. Rome, 1777) τῆς τυραννίδος ὁ δυσκάθεκτος καὶ βιοφθόρος δράκων. The latter epit
is just—but the corrupter of life was easily vanquished.

[65] In the writers, and in the copies of those writers, there is such hesitation
tween the names of *Priscus* and *Crispus* (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 111), tha
have been tempted to identify the son-in-law of Phocas with the hero five tin
victorious over the Avars. [Κρίσπος is merely a mistake for Πρίσκος in Mss.
Nicephorus. The mistake does not occur in Theophanes.]

greed that the one should navigate the fleet from Carthage to onstantinople, that the other should lead an army through gypt and Asia, and that the Imperial purple should be the eward of diligence and success. A faint rumour of their underaking was conveyed to the ears of Phocas, and the wife and nother of the younger Heraclius were secured as the hostages f his faith; but the treacherous art of Crispus extenuated the istant peril, the means of defence were neglected or delayed, nd the tyrant supinely slept till the African navy cast anchor n the Hellespont. Their standard was joined at Abydus by he fugitives and exiles who thirsted for revenge; the ships of eraclius, whose lofty masts were adorned with the holy ymbols of religion,[66] steered their triumphant course through he Propontis; and Phocas beheld from the windows of the alace his approaching and inevitable fate. The green faction as tempted, by gifts and promises, to oppose a feeble and ruitless resistance to the landing of the Africans; but the eople, and even the guards, were determined by the well-timed efection of Crispus; and the tyrant was seized by a private nemy, who boldly invaded the solitude of the palace. Stripped f the diadem and purple, clothed in a vile habit, and loaded ith chains, he was transported in a small boat to the Imperial alley of Heraclius, who reproached him with the crimes of his bominable reign. "Wilt thou govern better?" were the last ords of the despair of Phocas. After suffering each variety of sult and torture, his head was severed from his body, the angled trunk was cast into the flames, and the same treatent was inflicted on the statues of the vain usurper and the editious banner of the green faction. The voice of the clergy, he senate, and the people invited Heraclius to ascend the hrone which he had purified from guilt and ignominy; after ome graceful hesitation, he yielded to their entreaties. His oronation was accompanied by that of his wife Eudoxia; and [Eudocia] heir posterity, till the fourth generation, continued to reign over the empire of the East. The voyage of Heraclius had een easy and prosperous; the tedious march of Nicetas was ot accomplished before the decision of the contest; but he bmitted without a murmur to the fortune of his friend, and

Reign of Heraclius. A.D. 610, Oct. 5—A.D. 642, Feb. 11

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[66] According to Theophanes, κιβώτια, and εἰκόνα θεομήτορος. Cedrenus adds an ειροποίητον εἰκόνα τοῦ κυρίου, which Heraclius bore as a banner in the first Persian pedition. See George Pisid. Acroas. i. 140. The manufacture seems to have ourished: but Foggini, the Roman editor (p. 26), is at a loss to determine whether his picture was an original or a copy.

his laudable intentions were rewarded with an equestrian st
and a daughter of the emperor. It was more difficult to
the fidelity of Crispus, whose recent services were recompe
by the command of the Cappadocian army. His arrogance
provoked, and seemed to excuse, the ingratitude of his
sovereign. In the presence of the senate, the son-in-la
Phocas was condemned to embrace the monastic life; and
sentence was justified by the weighty observation of Hera
that the man who had betrayed his father could never be f
ful to his friend.[67]

Chosroes invades the Roman empire. A.D. 603, &c.

Even after his death the republic was afflicted by the cr
of Phocas, which armed with a pious cause the most formid
of her enemies. According to the friendly and equal forn
the Byzantine and Persian courts, he announced his exalta
to the throne; and his ambassador Lilius, who had prese
him with the heads of Maurice and his sons, was the
qualified to describe the circumstances of the tragic sce
However it might be varnished by fiction or sophistry, Cho
turned with horror from the assassin, imprisoned the prete
envoy, disclaimed the usurper, and declared himself the ave
of his father and benefactor. The sentiments of grief and
sentment which humanity would feel, and honour would dic
promoted, on this occasion, the interest of the Persian k
and his interest was powerfully magnified by the national
religious prejudices of the Magi and satraps. In a strai
artful adulation, which assumed the language of freedom,
presumed to censure the excess of his gratitude and friendshi
the Greeks: a nation with whom it was dangerous to conc
either peace or alliance; whose superstition was devoid of t
and justice; and who must be incapable of any virtue, since
could perpetrate the most atrocious of crimes, the imp
murder of their sovereign.[69] For the crime of an ambit
centurion, the nation which he oppressed was chastised with

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[67] See the tyranny of Phocas and the elevation of Heraclius, in Chron. Pa
p. 380-383 [p. 694 *sqq.*, ed. Bonn]; Theophanes, p. 242-250; Nicephorus, p.
Cedrenus, p. 404-407 [i. p. 708 *sqq.*, ed. Bonn], Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 80-
14, 15]. [For the race of Heraclius and Nicetas see Appendix 5.]

[68] Theophylact, l. viii. c. 15. The life of Maurice was composed about the
628 (l. viii. c. 13) by Theophylact Simocatta, ex-præfect, a native of Egypt.
tius, who gives an ample extract of the work (cod. lxv. p. 81-100), gently rep
the affectation and allegory of the style. His preface is a dialogue between
sophy and History; they seat themselves under a plane-tree, and the latter to
her lyre.

[69] Christianis nec pactum esse nec fidem nec fœdus . . . quod si ulla illis
fuisset, regem suum non occidissent. Eutych. Annales. tom. ii. p. 211,
Pocock.

calamities of war; and the same calamities, at the end of twenty years, were retaliated and redoubled on the heads of the Persians.[70] The general who had restored Chosroes to the throne still commanded in the East; and the name of Narses was the formidable sound with which the Assyrian mothers were accustomed to terrify their infants. It is not improbable that a native subject of Persia should encourage his master and his friend to deliver and possess the provinces of Asia. It is still more probable that Chosroes should animate his troops by the assurance that the sword which they dreaded the most would remain in its scabbard or be drawn in their favour. The hero could not depend on the faith of a tyrant, and the tyrant was conscious how little he deserved the obedience of an hero. Narses was removed from his military command; he reared an **[A.D. 604]** independent standard at Hierapolis in Syria; he was betrayed by fallacious promises, and burnt alive in the market-place of Constantinople. Deprived of the only chief whom they could fear or esteem, the bands which he had led to victory were twice broken by the cavalry, trampled by the elephants, and pierced by the arrows of the barbarians; and a great number of the captives were beheaded on the field of battle by the sentence of the victor, who might justly condemn these seditious mercenaries as the authors or accomplices of the death of Maurice. Under the reign of Phocas, the fortifications of Mer- **[Daras lost A.D. 608]** din, Dara, Amida, and Edessa, were successively besieged, reduced, and destroyed, by the Persian monarch; he passed **His conquest of Syria, A.D. 611** the Euphrates, occupied the Syrian cities, Hierapolis, Chalcis, and Berœa or Aleppo, and soon encompassed the walls of Antioch with his irresistible arms. The rapid tide of success discloses the decay of the empire, the incapacity of Phocas, and the disaffection of his subjects; and Chosroes provided a decent apology for their submission or revolt, by an impostor who attended his camp as the son of Maurice [71] and the lawful heir of the monarchy.

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[70] We must now, for some ages, take our leave of contemporary historians, and descend, if it be a descent, from the affectation of rhetoric to the rude simplicity of chronicles and abridgments. Those of Theophanes (Chronograph. p. 244-279) and Nicephorus (p. 3-16) supply a regular, but imperfect series, of the Persian war; and for any additional facts I quote my special authorities. Theophanes, a courtier who became a monk, was born A.D. 748; Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, who died A.D. 829, was somewhat younger: they both suffered in the cause of images. Hankius de Scriptoribus Byzantinis, p. 200-246. [See Appendix 1.]

[71] The Persian historians have been themselves deceived; but Theophanes (p. 244 [A.M. 6095]) accuses Chosroes of the fraud and falsehood; and Eutychius believes (Annal. tom. ii. p. 211) that the son of Maurice, who was saved from the assassins, lived and died a monk on mount Sinai.

The first intelligence from the East which Heraclius
ceived[72] was that of the loss of Antioch; but the
metropolis, so often overturned by earthquakes and pill
by the enemy, could supply but a small and languid strea
treasure and blood. The Persians were equally successful
[A.D. 612] more fortunate in the sack of Cæsarea, the capital of Ca
docia; and, as they advanced beyond the ramparts of
frontier, the boundary of ancient war, they found a less obsti
resistance and a more plentiful harvest. The pleasant val
Damascus has been adorned in every age with a royal
her obscure felicity has hitherto escaped the historian of
[A.D 614] Roman empire; but Chosroes reposed his troops in the
dise of Damascus before he ascended the hills of Lib
or invaded the cities of the Phœnician coast. The conq
of Palestine, A.D 614 of Jerusalem,[73] which had been meditated by Nushirvan,
achieved by the zeal and avarice of his grandson; the rui
the proudest monument of Christianity was vehemently u
by the intolerant spirit of the Magi; and he could enlist,
this holy warfare, an army of six-and-twenty thousand J
whose furious bigotry might compensate, in some degree,
the want of valour and discipline. After the reductio
Galilee and the region beyond the Jordan, whose resist
appears to have delayed the fate of the capital, Jerusalem i
was taken by assault; the sepulchre of Christ, and the sta
churches of Helena and Constantine, were consumed, or at
damaged, by the flames; the devout offerings of three hun
years were rifled in one sacrilegious day; the patriarch Z
ariah, and the *true cross*, were transported into Persia; and
massacre of ninety thousand Christians is imputed to the J
and Arabs who swelled the disorder of the Persian ma
The fugitives of Palestine were entertained at Alexandri
the charity of John the archbishop, who is distinguished am

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[72] Eutychius dates all the losses of the empire under the reign of Phoca
error which saves the honour of Heraclius, whom he brings not from Cart
but Salonica, with a fleet laden with vegetables for the relief of Constanti
(Annal. tom. ii. p. 223, 224). The other Christians of the East, Barhebræus
Asseman. Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 412, 413), Elmacin (Hist. Sarac
13-16), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 98, 99), are more sincere and accurate.
years of the Persian war are disposed in the chronology of Pagi.

[73] On the conquest of Jerusalem, an event so interesting to the church, se
Annals of Eutychius (tom. ii. p. 212-223) and the lamentations of the
Antiochus (apud Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 614, No. 16-26), whos
hundred and twenty-nine homilies are still extant, if what no one reads m
said to be extant.

a crowd of saints by the epithet of *alms-giver;*[74] and the revenues of the church, with a treasure of three hundred thousand pounds, were restored to the true proprietors, the poor of every country and every denomination. But Egypt itself, the only province which had been exempt since the time of Diocletian from foreign and domestic war, was again subdued by the successors of Cyrus.[75] Pelusium, the key of that impervious country, was surprised by the cavalry of the Persians: they passed with impunity the innumerable channels of the Delta, and explored the long valley of the Nile, from the pyramids of Memphis to the confines of Æthiopia. Alexandria might have been relieved by a naval force, but the archbishop and the præfect embarked for Cyprus; and Chosroes entered the second city of the empire, which still preserved a wealthy remnant of industry and commerce. His western trophy was erected, not on the walls of Carthage,[76] but in the neighbourhood of Tripoli; the Greek colonies of Cyrene were finally extirpated; and the conqueror, treading in the footsteps of Alexander, returned in triumph through the sands of the Libyan desert. In the same campaign, another army advanced from the Euphrates to the Thracian Bosphorus; Chalcedon surrendered after a long siege, and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople. The sea-coast of Pontus, the city of Ancyra, and the isle of Rhodes are enumerated among the last conquests of the Great King; and, if Chosroes had possessed any maritime power, his

of Egypt A.D. 616

of Asia Minor, A.D 616, &c.

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[74] The life of this worthy saint is composed by Leontius [of Neapolis], a contemporary bishop; and I find in Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 610, No. 10, &c.) and Fleury (tom. viii. p. 235-242) sufficient extracts of this edifying work. [The Greek text of this Life was first published by H. Gelzer, 1893. The Latin translation will be found in Rosweyde's Vitae Patrum, and in Migne's Patr. Lat., vol. 73, p. 337 *sqq.*]

[75] [The date of the conquest of Egypt is given by Theophanes as A.M. 6107, that is A.D. 615, in which year Chalcedon was also attacked. Nicephorus (p. 9, ed. de Boor) represents the attack on Chalcedon as subsequent to the conquest of Egypt and executed by the same general (Saitos). According to Tabari the keys of Alexandria were delivered to Chosroes in his 28th year, = A.D. 617-618 (p. 219). Nöldeke suggests that the statements may be reconciled by assuming that the keys were not sent till a long time after the conquest. Gelzer (see next note) places the conquest of Egypt in A.D. 619.]

[76] The error of Baronius and many others who have carried the arms of Chosroes to Carthage instead of Chalcedon, is founded on the near resemblance of the Greek words Καλχηδόνα and Καρχηδόνα in the text of Theophanes, &c. which have been sometimes confounded by transcribers and sometimes by critics. [There is no doubt that Χαλκηδόνος given by the Mss. of Theophanes is the true reading, though C. de Boor, in his edition, has introduced Καρχηδόνος from the Latin translation of Anastasius. See C. de Boor, in Hermes, 1890 (zur Chronographie des Theophanes); H. Gelzer, in Rheinisches Museum, 1893 (Chalkedon

boundless ambition would have spread slavery and desolation over the provinces of Europe.

His reign and magnificence

From the long-disputed banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the reign of the grandson of Nushirvan was suddenly extended to the Hellespont and the Nile, the ancient limits of the Persian monarchy. But the provinces, which had been fashioned by the habits of six hundred years to the virtues and vices of the Roman government, supported with reluctance the yoke of the barbarians. The idea of a republic was kept alive by the institutions, or at least by the writings, of the Greeks and Romans, and the subjects of Heraclius had been educated to pronounce the words of liberty and law. But it has always been the pride and policy of Oriental princes to display the titles and attributes of their omnipotence; to upbraid a nation of slaves with their true name and abject condition; and to enforce, by cruel and insolent threats, the rigour of their absolute commands. The Christians of the East were scandalized by the worship of fire and the impious doctrine of the two principles; the Magi were not less intolerant than the bishops; and the martyrdom of some native Persians, who had deserted the religion of Zoroaster,[77] was conceived to be the prelude of a fierce and general persecution. By the oppressive laws of Justinian, the adversaries of the church were made the enemies of the state; the alliance of the Jews, Nestorians, and Jacobites had contributed to the success of Chosroes, and his partial favour to the sectaries provoked the hatred and fears of the Catholic clergy. Conscious of their fear and hatred, the Persian conqueror governed his new subjects with an iron sceptre; and, as if he suspected the stability of his dominion, he exhausted their wealth by exorbitant tributes and licentious rapine, despoiled or demolished the temples of the East, and transported to his hereditary realms the gold, the silver, the precious marbles, the arts, and the artists of the Asiatic cities. In the obscure picture of the calamities of the empire,[78] it is not easy to discern the figure of Chosroes himself, to separate his actions from those of his lieutenants, or to ascertain his personal meri

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oder Karchedon? p. 161), a paper which discusses the chronology of thes Persian conquests.]

[77] The *genuine* acts of St. Anastasius are published in those of the viith gener council, from whence Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 614, 626, 627) and Butl (Lives of the Saints, vol. i. p. 242-248) have taken their accounts. The ho martyr deserted from the Persian to the Roman army, became a monk Jerusalem, and insulted the worship of the Magi, which was then established Cæsarea in Palestine. [For the *Acta* of St. Anastasius see Appendix 1.]

[78] Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 99. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 14.

in the general blaze of glory and magnificence. He enjoyed with ostentation the fruits of victory, and frequently retired from the hardships of war to the luxury of the palace. But in the space of twenty-four years, he was deterred by superstition or resentment from approaching the gates of Ctesiphon; and his favourite residence of Artemita, or Dastagerd,[79] was situate beyond the Tigris, about sixty miles to the north of the capital.[80] The adjacent pastures were covered with flocks and herds; the paradise or park was replenished with pheasants, peacocks, ostriches, roebucks, and wild boars; and the noble game of lions and tigers was sometimes turned loose for the bolder pleasures of the chase. Nine hundred and sixty elephants were maintained for the use or splendour of the Great King; his tents and baggage were carried into the field by twelve thousand great camels and eight thousand of a smaller size;[81] and the royal stables were filled with six thousand mules and horses, among whom the names of Shebdiz and Barid are renowned for their speed or beauty. Six thousand guards successively mounted before the palace gate; the service of the interior apartments was performed by twelve thousand slaves; and in the number of three thousand virgins, the fairest of Asia, some happy concubine might console her master for the age or the indifference of Sira. The various treasures of gold, silver, gems, silk, and aromatics, were deposited in an hundred subterraneous vaults; and the chamber *Badaverd* denoted the accidental gift of the winds which had wafted the spoils of Heraclius into one of the Syrian harbours of his rival. The voice of flattery, and perhaps of fiction, is not ashamed to compute the thirty thousand rich hangings that adorned the walls, the forty thousand columns of silver, or more probably of marble, and plated wood, that supported the roof; and the thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome, to imitate the motions of the planets and the constellations of the zodiac.[82] While

[79] [In Chron. Pasch. Δασταγερ-χοσάρ = Dastagerd-i-Chosrau. In Mart. Anastasii (Act. Sctt. Jan. 22) the place is called *Discarta*, the Aramaic form (Arab *Daskarat*). Cp. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* p. 295; and see below, p. 90, n. 126^{a}.]

[80] D'Anville, Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxxii. p. 568-571.

[81] The difference between the two races consists in one or two humps; the dromedary has only one; the size of the proper camel is larger; the country he comes from, Turkestan or Bactriana; the dromedary is confined to Arabia and Africa. Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. xi. p. 211, &c. Aristot. Hist. Animal. tom. i. l. ii. c. 1, tom. ii. p. 185.

[82] Theophanes, Chronograph. p. 268 [p. 322, ed. de Boor]. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 997. The Greeks describe the decay, the Persians the splendour, of Dastagerd; but the former speak from the modest witness of the eye, the latter from the vague report of the ear.

the Persian monarch contemplated the wonders of his art an power, he received an epistle from an obscure citizen of Mecc inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet as the apostle of Go He rejected the invitation, and tore the epistle. "It is thus exclaimed the Arabian prophet, "that God will tear th kingdom, and reject the supplications, of Chosroes."[83] Place on the verge of the two great empires of the East, Mahom observed with secret joy the progress of their mutual destru tion; and, in the midst of the Persian triumphs, he venture to foretell that, before many years should elapse, victory wou again return to the banners of the Romans.[84]

Distress of Heraclius. A.D. 610-622

At the time when this prediction is said to have been delivere no prophecy could be more distant from its accomplishmen since the first twelve years of Heraclius announced the approac ing dissolution of the empire. If the motives of Chosroes ha been pure and honourable, he must have ended the quarrel wit the death of Phocas, and he would have embraced, as his be ally, the fortunate African who had so generously avenged th injuries of his benefactor Maurice. The prosecution of the wa revealed the true character of the barbarian; and the supplian embassies of Heraclius to beseech his clemency, that he woul spare the innocent, accept a tribute, and give peace to th world, were rejected with contemptuous silence or insolen menace. Syria, Egypt, and the provinces of Asia were subdue by the Persian arms, while Europe, from the confines of Istr to the long wall of Thrace, was oppressed by the Avars, uns tiated with the blood and rapine of the Italian war. They ha coolly massacred their male captives in the sacred field of Pa nonia; the women and children were reduced to servitude; an the noblest virgins were abandoned to the promiscuous lust the barbarians. The amorous matron who opened the gates Friuli passed a short night in the arms of her royal lover; th next evening, Romilda was condemned to the embraces of twel

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[83] The historians of Mahomet, Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. p. 92, 93) a Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 247), date this embassy in the viith year the Hegira, which commences A.D. 628, May 11. Their chronology is erroneou since Chosroes died in the month of February of the same year (Pagi, Critica, to ii. p. 779). [The embassy may have been despatched before the death of Chosro was known; but it must have been received by Siroes.] The count de Boulai villiers (Vie de Mahomed, p. 327, 328) places this embassy about A.D. 615, so after the conquest of Palestine. Yet Mahomet would scarcely have ventured soon on so bold a step.

[84] See the xxxth chapter of the Koran, intitled *the Greeks*. Our honest a learned translator Sale (p. 330, 331) fairly states this conjecture, guess, wager, Mahomet; but Boulainvilliers (p. 329-344), with wicked intentions, labours establish this evident prophecy of a future event, which must, in his opinio embarrass the Christian polemics.

Avars; and the third day the Lombard princess was impaled in the sight of the camp, while the chagan observed, with a cruel smile, that such a husband was the fit recompense of her lewdness and perfidy.[85] By these implacable enemies Heraclius, on either side, was insulted and besieged; and the Roman empire was reduced to the walls of Constantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, and some maritime cities, from Tyre to Trebizond, of the Asiatic coast. After the loss of Egypt, the capital was afflicted by famine and pestilence; and [A.D. 618 ?] the emperor, incapable of resistance and hopeless of relief, had resolved to transfer his person and government to the more secure residence of Carthage.[86] His ships were already laden with the treasures of the palace; but his flight was arrested by the patriarch, who armed the powers of religion in the defence of his country, led Heraclius to the altar of St. Sophia, and extorted a solemn oath that he would live and die with the people whom God had entrusted to his care. The chagan was encamped in the plains of Thrace, but he dissembled his perfidious designs, and solicited an interview with the emperor near the town of Heraclea. Their reconciliation was celebrated with [A.D. 619] equestrian games, the senate and people in their gayest apparel resorted to the festival of peace, and the Avars beheld, with envy and desire, the spectacle of Roman luxury. On a sudden, the hippodrome was encompassed by the Scythian cavalry, who had pressed their secret and nocturnal march; the tremendous sound of the chagan's whip gave the signal of the assault; and Heraclius, wrapping his diadem round his arm, was saved, with extreme hazard, by the fleetness of his horse. So rapid was the pursuit that the Avars almost entered the golden gate of Constantinople with the flying crowds;[87] but the plunder of the

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[85] Paul Warnefrid, de Gestis Langobardorum, l. iv. c. 38, 42. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 305, &c.

[86] [This design seems to have followed the failure of the embassy to Chosroes.]

[87] The Paschal Chronicle, which sometimes introduces fragments of history into a barren list of names and dates, gives the best account of the treason of the Avars, p. 389, 390 [p. 712 *sqq.*, ed. Bonn]. The number of captives is added by Nicephorus. [Theophanes places this attack of the Avars in A.D. 619 (A.M. 6110), the date adopted by Petavius, Gibbon, Muralt, Clinton. But Chron. Pasch. gives A.D. 623, and E. Gerland (Byz. Ztschr., 3, p. 334-7) has argued with much plausibility that this date is right and that the return of Heraclius in A.D. 623 (George Pis. Acroas. iii. 311) was due to *this* danger from the Avars.—It was on this occasion that the raiment of the Virgin was discovered in a coffin at Blachern; and the discovery is related by a contemporary, Theodore Syncellus. The relation has been edited by Combefis (Hist. Haer. Monothel., ii. 755 *sqq.*) and in an improved form by Ch. Loparev (Vizant. Vrem., ii. 592 *sqq.*), who however wrongly refers it to the Russian siege of the city in A.D. 860; see V. Vasilievski, *ib.* iii. 83 *sqq.*]

suburbs rewarded their treason, and they transported beyon
the Danube two hundred and seventy thousand captives. O
the shore of Chalcedon, the emperor held a safer conferenc
with a more honourable foe, who, before Heraclius descende
from his galley, saluted with reverence and pity the majesty c
[Shahin] He solicits peace
the purple. The friendly offer of Sain the Persian general, t
conduct an embassy to the presence of the Great King, was a
cepted with the warmest gratitude, and the prayer for pardo
and peace was humbly presented by the prætorian præfect, th
præfect of the city, and one of the first ecclesiastics of th
patriarchal church.[88] But the lieutenant of Chosroes had fatall
mistaken the intentions of his master. "It was not an embassy,
said the tyrant of Asia, "it was the person of Heraclius, boun
in chains, that he should have brought to the foot of my thron
I will never give peace to the emperor of Rome till he has al
jured his crucified God and embraced the worship of the sun.
Sain was flayed alive, according to the inhuman practice of h
country; and the separate and rigorous confinement of th
ambassadors violated the law of nations and the faith of a
express stipulation. Yet the experience of six years at lengt
persuaded the Persian monarch to renounce the conquest c
Constantinople and to specify the annual tribute or ransom c
the Roman empire: a thousand talents of gold, a thousar
talents of silver, a thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, ar
a thousand virgins. Heraclius subscribed these ignominiou
terms, but the time and space which he obtained to collect suc
treasures from the poverty of the East was industriously en
ployed in the preparations of a bold and desperate attack.

His preparations for war. A.D. 621

Of the characters conspicuous in history, that of Heracliu
is one of the most extraordinary and inconsistent. In th
first and last years of a long reign, the emperor appears t
be the slave of sloth, of pleasure, or of superstition, the car
less and impotent spectator of the public calamities. But th
languid mists of the morning and evening are separated b
the brightness of the meridian sun: the Arcadius of the pala
arose the Cæsar of the camp; and the honour of Rome ar
Heraclius was gloriously retrieved by the exploits and trophi
of six adventurous campaigns. It was the duty of the Byza
tine historians to have revealed the causes of his slumber ar

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[88] Some original pieces, such as the speech or letter of the Roman ambassado
(p. 386-388 [p. 707 *sqq.*, ed. Bonn]), likewise constitute the merit of the Pascl
Chronicle, which was composed, perhaps at Alexandria, under the reign
Heraclius [cp. Appendix 1].

vigilance. At this distance we can only conjecture that he was endowed with more personal courage than political resolution; that he was detained by the charms, and perhaps the arts, of his niece Martina, with whom, after the death of Eudocia, he contracted an incestuous marriage;[89] and that he yielded to the base advice of the counsellors, who urged, as a fundamental law, that the life of the emperor should never be exposed in the field.[90] Perhaps he was awakened by the last insolent demand of the Persian conqueror; but, at the moment when Heraclius assumed the spirit of a hero, the only hopes of the Romans were drawn from the vicissitudes of fortune, which might threaten the proud prosperity of Chosroes and must be favourable to those who had attained the lowest period of depression.[91] To provide for the expenses of war was the first care of the emperor; and, for the purpose of collecting the tribute, he was allowed to solicit the benevolence of the Eastern provinces. But the revenue no longer flowed in the usual channels; the credit of an arbitrary prince is annihilated by his power; and the courage of Heraclius was first displayed in daring to borrow the consecrated wealth of churches under the solemn vow of restoring, with usury, whatever he had been compelled to employ in the service of religion and of the empire. The clergy themselves appear to have sympathized with the public distress, and the discreet patriarch of Alexandria, without admitting the precedent of sacrilege, assisted his sovereign by the miraculous or seasonable revelation of a secret treasure.[92] Of the soldiers who had conspired with Phocas, only two were found to have survived th stroke of time and of the barbarians ;[93] the loss, even of thes seditious veterans, was imperfectly supplied by the new levie of Heraclius, and the gold of the sanctuary united, in the sam camp, the names, and arms, and languages of the East an West. He would have been content with the neutrality of th Avars ; and his friendly entreaty that the chagan would act nc as the enemy but as the guardian of the empire was accon panied with a more persuasive donative of two hundred thou sand pieces of gold. Two days after the festival of Easter,[94] th emperor, exchanging his purple for the simple garb of a peniten and warrior,[95] gave the signal of his departure. To the fait of the people Heraclius recommended his children ; the civil an military powers were vested in the most deserving hands ; an the discretion of the patriarch and senate was authorised t save or surrender the city, if they should be oppressed in h absence by the superior forces of the enemy.

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[89] Nicephorus (p. 10, 11), who brands this marriage with the name of ἄθεσμον and ἀθέμιτον, is happy to observe that of two sons, its incestuous fruit, the elder was marked by Providence with a stiff neck, the younger with the loss of hearing.

[90] George of Pisidia (Acroas. i. 112-125, p. 5), who states the opinions, acquits the pusillanimous counsellors of any sinister views. Would he have excused the proud and contemptuous admonition of Crispus? Ἐπιτωθάζων οὐκ ἐξὸν βασιλεῖ ἔφασκε καταλιμπάνειν βασίλεια, καὶ ταῖς πόρρω ἐπιχωριάζειν δυνάμεσιν [Nic. p. 5, ed. de Boor].

[91] Εἰ τὰς ἐπ' ἄκρον ἠρμένας εὐεξίας
Ἐσφαλμένας λέγουσιν οὐκ ἀπεικότως
Κείσθω τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν κακοῖς τὰ Περσίδος
Ἀντιστρόφως δὲ, &c.

George Pisid. Acroas. i. 51, &c. p. 4.

The Orientals are not less fond of remarking this strange vicissitude; and I remember some story of Khosrou Parviz, not very unlike the ring of Polycrates of Samos.

[92] Baronius gravely relates this discovery, or rather transmutation, of barrels, not of honey, but of gold (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 620, No. 3, &c.). Yet the loan was arbitrary, since it was collected by soldiers, who were ordered to leave the patriarch of Alexandria no more than one hundred pounds of gold. Nicephorus (p. 11), two hundred years afterwards, speaks with ill-humour of this contribution,

[April 5]

First expedition of Heraclius against the Persians A.D. 622

The neighbouring heights of Chalcedon were covered wit tents and arms ; but, if the new levies of Heraclius had bee rashly led to the attack, the victory of the Persians in the sigh of Constantinople might have been the last day of the Roma empire. As imprudent would it have been to advance into th provinces of Asia, leaving their innumerable cavalry to inte cept his convoys, and continually to hang on the lassitude an disorder of his rear.[96] But the Greeks were still masters of th sea ; a fleet of galleys, transports and storeships, was assemble in the harbour ; the barbarians consented to embark ; a stead wind carried them through the Hellespont ; the western an southern coast of Asia Minor lay on their left hand ; the spir of their chief was first displayed in a storm ; and even th eunuchs of his train were excited to suffer and to work b the example of their master. He landed his troops on th confines of Syria and Cilicia, in the gulf of Scanderoon, wher

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which the church of Constantinople might still feel. [The ecclesiastical lo illustrates the religious character of the wars of Heraclius : crusades against t Fire-worshippers who had taken captive the Holy City and the True Cross.]

[93] Theophylact Simocatta, l. viii. c. 12. This circumstance need not excite o surprise. The muster-roll of a regiment, even in time of peace, is renewed in le than twenty or twenty-five years.

[94] [On Easter Monday, April 5, A.D. 622.]

[95] He changed his *purple* for *black* buskins, and dyed them *red* in the blood the Persians (Georg. Pisid. Acroas. iii. 118, 121, 122. See the notes of Foggi p. 35).

[96] [But see next note.]

the coast suddenly turns to the south; and his discernment was expressed in the choice of this important post.[97] From all sides, the scattered garrisons of the maritime cities and the mountains might repair with speed and safety to his Imperial standard. The natural fortifications of Cilicia protected, and even concealed, the camp of Heraclius,[98] which was pitched near Issus, on the same ground where Alexander had vanquished the host of Darius. The angle which the emperor occupied was deeply indented into a vast semicircle of the Asiatic, Armenian, and Syrian provinces; and, to whatsoever point of the circumference he should direct his attack, it was easy for him to dissemble his own motions and to prevent those of the enemy. In the camp of Issus the Roman general reformed the sloth and disorder of the veterans, and educated the new recruits in the knowledge and practice of military virtue. Unfolding the miraculous image of Christ, he urged them to *revenge* the holy altars which had been profaned by the worshippers of fire; addressing them by the endearing appellations of sons and brethren, he deplored the public and private wrongs of the republic. The

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[97] George of Pisidia (Acroas. ii. 10, p. 8) has fixed this important point of the Syrian and Cilician gates. They are elegantly described by Xenophon, who marched through them a thousand years before. A narrow pass of three stadia between steep high rocks (πέτραι ἠλίβατοι) and the Mediterranean, was closed at each end by strong gates, impregnable to the land (παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βίᾳ), accessible by sea (Anabasis, l. i., p. 35, 36, with Hutchison's Geographical Dissertation, p. vi.). The gates were thirty-five parasangs, or leagues, from Tarsus (Anabasis, l. i. p. 33, 34 [c. 4]), and eight or ten from Antioch. (Compare Itinerar. Wesseling, p. 580, 581; Schultens, Index. Geograph. ad calcem Vit. Saladin. p. 9; Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, par M. Otter, tom. i. p. 78, 79.) [Historians have generally followed Quercius in interpreting the Πύλαι of George of Pisidia (= Theoph. p. 303, de Boor) as the Cilician Gates. Tafel has proved that this interpretation is utterly wrong and that the place meant is *Pylae* on the southern side of the Nicomedian Bay, which Heraclius reached by sailing round the cape of Heraeum (Acroas. i. 157). See Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. der Wiss. ix. p. 164, 1852. From Pylae Heraclius proceeded by land (see E. Gerland, Die persischen Feldzüge des Kaisers Herakleios, Byz. Ztschrift. iii. p. 346, 1894) ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν θεμάτων χώρας "to the districts of the themes or regiments" (Eastern Phrygia and Cappadocia?) and thence to the Armenian frontier. The Persian general Shahrbarāz hindered him from invading Persia on the Armenian side, and at the beginning of the winter Heraclius found himself surrounded in the mountains of Pontus, but he extricated himself skilfully, and was on one occasion rescued from an attack by an eclipse of the moon. The battle mentioned in the text concluded the campaign; but its site cannot be fixed. There was no fighting in Cilicia; nor does Cilicia appear in the campaign, except where Shahrbarāz retires there for a brief space, but is forced to return northward, lest Heraclius should invade Persia.]

[98] Heraclius might write to a friend in the modest words of Cicero: "Castra habuimus ea ipsa quæ contra Darium habuerat apud Issum Alexander, imperator haud paulo melior quam aut tu aut ego". Ad Atticum, v. 20. Issus, a rich and flourishing city in the time of Xenophon, was ruined by the prosperity of Alexandria or Scanderoon, on the other side of the bay.

subjects of a monarch were persuaded that they fought in
cause of freedom; and a similar enthusiasm was communica
to the foreign mercenaries, who must have viewed with eq
indifference the interest of Rome and of Persia. Heraclius h
self, with the skill and patience of a centurion, inculcated
lessons of the school of tactics, and the soldiers were assiduou
trained in the use of their weapons and the exercises and evo
tions of the field. The cavalry and infantry in light or he
armour were divided into two parties; the trumpets were fixe
the centre, and their signals directed the march, the char
the retreat, or pursuit; the direct or oblique order, the deep
extended phalanx; to represent in fictitious combat the ope
tions of genuine war. Whatever hardship the emperor impo
on the troops, he inflicted with equal severity on himself; th
labour, their diet, their sleep were measured by the inflex
rules of discipline; and, without despising the enemy, t
were taught to repose an implicit confidence in their own val
and the wisdom of their leader. Cilicia was soon encompas
with the Persian arms; but their cavalry hesitated to enter
defiles of mount Taurus, till they were circumvented by
evolutions of Heraclius, who insensibly gained their rear, wh
he appeared to present his front in order of battle. By a f
motion, which seemed to threaten Armenia, he drew th
against their wishes to a general action. They were temp
by the artful disorder of his camp; but, when they advance
combat, the ground, the sun, and the expectation of b
armies, were unpropitious to the barbarians; the Romans
cessfully repeated their tactics in a field of battle;[99] and
event of the day declared to the world that the Persians w
not invincible and that an hero was invested with the pur
Strong in victory and fame, Heraclius boldly ascended
heights of mount Taurus, directed his march through the pl
of Cappadocia, and established his troops for the winter sea
in safe and plentiful quarters on the banks of the river Haly
His soul was superior to the vanity of entertaining Consta
[A.D. 623] nople with an imperfect triumph; but the presence of

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[99] Foggini (Annotat. p. 31) suspects that the persons were deceived by the φ
πεπληγμένη of Ælian (Tactic. c. 48), an intricate spiral motion of the army. H
serves (p. 28) that the military descriptions of George of Pisidia are transcrib
the Tactics of the emperor Leo.

[100] George of Pisidia, an eye-witness (Acroas. ii. 122, &c.), described in
acroaseis or cantos, the first expedition of Heraclius. The poem has been
(1777) published at Rome; but such vague and declamatory praise is far
corresponding with the sanguine hopes of Pagi, D'Anville, &c.

emperor was indispensably required to soothe the restless and rapacious spirit of the Avars.

His second expedition. A.D. 623, 624 625

Since the days of Scipio and Hannibal, no bolder enterprise has been attempted than that which Heraclius achieved for the deliverance of the empire.[101] He permitted the Persians to oppress for a while the provinces, and to insult with impunity the capital, of the East; while the Roman emperor explored his perilous way through the Black Sea [102] and the mountains of Armenia, penetrated into the heart of Persia,[103] and recalled the armies of the Great King to the defence of their bleeding country. With a select band of five thousand soldiers, Heraclius sailed from Constantinople to Trebizond; assembled his

[Heraclius leaves Constantinople, March 15 celebrates Easter, April 20, at Nicomedia, A.D. 624]

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[101] Theophanes (p. 256 [p. 306, ed. de Boor]) carries Heraclius swiftly (κατὰ τάχος) into Armenia. Nicephorus (p. 11), though he confounds the two expeditions, defines the province of Lazica. Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 231) has given the 5000 men, with the more probable station of Trebizond. [Nicephorus and George Monachus throw the three expeditions of Heraclius into one.]

[102] From Constantinople to Trebizond, with a fair wind, four or five days; from thence to Erzerom, five; to Erivan, twelve; to Tauris, ten: in all thirty-two. Such is the Itinerary of Tavernier (Voyages, tom. i. p. 12-56), who was perfectly conversant with the roads of Asia. Tournefort, who travelled with a pasha, spent ten or twelve days between Trebizond and Erzerom (Voyage du Levant, tom. iii. lettre xviii.); and Chardin (Voyages, tom. i. p. 249-254) gives the more correct distance of fifty-three parasangs, each of 5000 paces (what paces?) between Erivan and Tauris. [It has been shown by Gerland (*op. cit.*, p. 345) that in none of his three expeditions did Heraclius reach the scene of operations by sailing across the Euxine. In regard to this second expedition, the assumption (resting on the statements of Nicephorus and George Monachus) is disproved by the narrative of the Armenian historian Sebaeos. From him we learn that Heraclius proceeded from Chalcedon to Cæsarea in Cappadocia. This shows that a result of the first expedition was the setting free of Chalcedon from the Persian occupation. From Cæsarea, he marched northward, crossed the Euphrates, reached Karin or Erzerūm, and thence entered the valley of the Araxes, and destroyed the towns of Dovin and Nakitchevan (Sebaeos, c. 26, p. 102, Russ. transl. by Patkanian). A brilliant emendation of Prof. H. Gelzer has restored to a passage of George of Pisidia a reference to the capture of Dovin. Heracliad, 2, 163—

ὡς ἐν παρέργῳ συμφορᾶς τοῦδ᾽ ὁ βίος.

Read—

ὡς ἐν παρέργῳ συμφορὰς τοῦ Δούβιος.

Then Heraclius entered Adherbijan, destroyed a fine temple at Ganzaca (Tavriz), and followed Chosroes in the direction of Dastagerd (Theophanes, p. 307). But a new army had been formed under Shāhīn, and Shahrbarāz was approaching with his forces from the west (Sebaeos, *ib.*); they were to join at Nisibis. The news of their movements forced Heraclius to abandon his advance on Dastagerd and retreat to Albania. The campaign has been thoroughly discussed by E. Gerland, *op. cit.*]

[103] The expedition of Heraclius into Persia is finely illustrated by M. d'Anville (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 559-573). He discovers the situation of Gandzaca, Thebarma, Dastagerd, &c. with admirable skill and learning; but the obscure campaign of 624 [probably 625] he passes over in silence. [The date of the first campaign of the second expedition, namely the campaign in Adherbijan, is probably 624 (not 623). See Gerland, *op. cit.*]

forces which had wintered in the Pontic regions ; and, from th mouth of the Phasis to the Caspian Sea, encouraged his subjec and allies to march with the successor of Constantine under th faithful and victorious banner of the cross. When the legio of Lucullus and Pompey first passed the Euphrates, they blushe at their easy victory over the natives of Armenia. But the lon experience of war had hardened the minds and bodies of tha effeminate people ; their zeal and bravery were approved in th service of a declining empire ; they abhorred and feared th usurpation of the house of Sassan, and the memory of persecution envenomed their pious hatred of the enemies of Chris The limits of Armenia, as it had been ceded to the emper Maurice, extended as far as the Araxes ; the river submitted t the indignity of a bridge ;[104] and Heraclius, in the footsteps [c. June 21] Mark Antony, advanced towards the city of Tauris or Gandzaca,[105] the ancient and modern capital of one of the province of Media. At the head of forty thousand men, Chosroes himse had returned from some distant expedition to oppose the progress of the Roman arms ; but he retreated on the approach Heraclius, declining the generous alternative of peace or battle. Instead of half a million of inhabitants, which hav been ascribed to Tauris under the reign of the Sophys, the cit contained no more than three thousand houses ; but the valu of the royal treasures was enhanced by a tradition that the were the spoils of Crœsus, which had been transported by Cyru from the citadel of Sardes. The rapid conquests of Heracliu were suspended only by the winter season ; a motive of prudence, or superstition,[106] determined his retreat into the province of Albania, along the shores of the Caspian ; and his tent were most probably pitched in the plains of Mogan,[107] th favourite encampment of Oriental princes. In the course of this successful inroad, he signalised the zeal and revenge of a Christian emperor: at his command, the soldiers extinguished the fire, and destroyed the temples of the Magi; the statues of Chosroes, who aspired to divine honours, were abandoned to the flames; and the ruins of Thebarma or Ormia,[108] which had given birth to Zoroaster himself, made some atonement for the injuries of the holy sepulchre. A purer spirit of religion was shewn in the relief and deliverance of fifty thousand captives. Heraclius was rewarded by their tears and grateful acclamations; but this wise measure, which spread the fame of his benevolence, diffused the murmurs of the Persians against the pride and obstinacy of their own sovereign.

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[104] Et pontem indignatus Araxes. Virgil, Æneid, viii. 728. The river Arax is noisy, rapid, vehement, and, with the melting of the snows, irresistible ; t strongest and most massy bridges are swept away by the current ; and its *indign tion* is attested by the ruins of many arches near the old town of Zulfa. Voyag de Chardin, tom. i. p. 252. [For the cessions to Maurice cp. Appendix 4.]

[105] Chardin, tom. i. p. 255-259. With the Orientals (D'Herbelot, Bibliot Orient. p. 834), he ascribes the foundation of Tauris, or Tebris, to Zobeide, t wife of the famous Caliph Haroun Alrashid ; but it appears to have been mo ancient ; and the names of Gandzaca, Gazaca, Gaza, are expressive of the roy treasure. The number of 550,000 inhabitants is reduced by Chardin from 1,100,00 the popular estimate.

[106] He opened the gospel, and applied or interpreted the first casual passage the name and situation of Albania. Theophanes, p. 258 [p. 308, de Boor].

[107] The heath of Mogan, between the Cyrus and the Araxes, is sixty parasan in length and twenty in breadth (Olearius, p. 1023, 1024), abounding in wate and fruitful pastures (Hist. de Nadir Shah, translated by Mr. Jones from

Amidst the glories of the succeeding campaign, Heraclius is almost lost to our eyes and to those of the Byzantine historians.[109] From the spacious and fruitful plains of Albania, the emperor appears to follow the chain of Hyrcanian mountains, to descend into the province of Media or Irak, and to carry his victorious arms as far as the royal cities of Casbin and Ispahan, which had

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Persian Ms. part ii. p. 2, 3). See the encampments of Timur (Hist. par Sherefeddin Ali, l. v. c. 37; l. vi. c. 13) and the coronation of Nadir Shah (Hist. Persanne, p. 3-13, and the English Life by Mr. Jones, p. 64, 65). [From the expression of Theophanes, τὰ ἄκρα τῆς 'Αλβανίας, "the heights of Albania," Albania being level, Gerland concludes that Theophanes used the name for all the land north of the Araxes. According to Sebaeos Heraclius wintered in the mountain regions near Nakitchevan (Russ. transl., p. 103).]

[108] Thebarma and Ormia, near the lake Spauto, are proved to be the same city by D'Anville (Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxviii. p. 564, 565). It is honoured as the birth-place of Zoroaster, according to the Persians (Schultens, Index Geograph. p. 48); and their tradition is fortified by M. Perron d'Anquetil (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xxxi. p. 375), with some texts from *his*, or *their*, Zandavesta. [It is almost certain that Θηβαρμαῖς in Theophanes (p. 308) is a mistake for Βηθαρμαῖς, as Hoffmann has suggested (Syrische Akten persischer Märtyrer, p. 252). Βηθαρμαῖς would mean the province Bēth Armāyē, in which Dastagerd was situate. The great fire-temple which Heraclius destroyed was at Gazaka (Sebaeos, c. 26). Cp. Gerland, *op. cit.*, p. 354.]

[109] I cannot find, and (what is much more) M. d'Anville does not attempt to seek, the Salban, Tarantum, territory of the Huns, &c. mentioned by Theophanes (p. 260-262). Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 231, 232), an insufficient author, names Asphahan; and Casbin is most probably the city of Sapor. Ispahan is twenty-four days' journey from Tauris, and Casbin half way between them (Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 63-82). [Salban has been identified with a village Αλι (Sebaeos, p. 103), in the district of Arjish, north of Lake Van (Gerland, *op. cit.*, p. 360). Taranton is Derindeh on the Aksu, a western tributary of the Euphrates; it is west of Melitene. The very difficult and uncertain operations in the lands north of the Araxes, and between Lake Van and the upper Euphrates, from end of A.D. 624 to spring of A.D. 626, are discussed by Gerland (p. 355 *sqq.*). An Armenian writer of the tenth century, Moses Kaλankataci, throws some light, independent of Sebaeos, here.]

never been approached by a Roman conqueror. Alarmed by the danger of his kingdom, the powers of Chosroes were already recalled from the Nile and the Bosphorus, and three formidable armies[110] surrounded, in a distant and hostile land, the camp of the emperor. The Colchian allies prepared to desert his standard; and the fears of the bravest veterans were expressed, rather than concealed, by their desponding silence. "Be not terrified," said the intrepid Heraclius, "by the multitude of your foes. With the aid of Heaven, one Roman may triumph over a thousand barbarians. But, if we devote our lives for the salvation of our brethren, we shall obtain the crown of martyrdom, and our immortal reward will be liberally paid by God and posterity." These magnanimous sentiments were supported by the vigour of his actions. He repelled the threefold attack of the Persians, improved the divisions of their chiefs, and, by a well-concerted train of marches, retreats, and successful actions, finally chased them from the field into the fortified cities of Media and Assyria. In the severity of the winter season, [Αλι] Sarbaraza deemed himself secure in the walls of Salban; he was surprised by the activity of Heraclius, who divided his troops [A.D. 625-6] and performed a laborious march in the silence of the night. The flat roofs of the houses were defended with useless valour against the darts and torches of the Romans; the satraps and nobles of Persia, with their wives and children, and the flower of their martial youth, were either slain or made prisoners. The general escaped by a precipitate flight, but his golden armour was the prize of the conqueror; and the soldiers of Heraclius enjoyed the wealth and repose which they had so nobly deserved. On the return of spring, the emperor traversed in seven days the mountains of Curdistan, and passed without resistance the rapid stream of the Tigris. Oppressed by the weight of their spoils and captives, the Roman army halted under the walls of Amida; and Heraclius informed the senate of Constantinople of his safety and success, which they had [March, A.D. 626] already felt by the retreat of the besiegers. The bridges of the Euphrates were destroyed by the Persians; but, as soon as the emperor had discovered a ford, they hastily retired to defend the banks of the Sarus,[111] in Cilicia. That river, an impetuous

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[110] [Under Shahrbarāz, Shāhīn, and Shāhraplakan (= Sarablangas).]

[111] At ten parasangs from Tarsus, the army of the younger Cyrus passed the Sarus, three plethra in breadth; the Pyramus, a stadium in breadth, ran five parasangs farther to the east (Xenophon, Anabas. l. i. p. 33, 34 [c. 4]).

[c. April, A.D. 626]

torrent, was about three hundred feet broad; the bridge was fortified with strong turrets; and the banks were lined with barbarian archers. After a bloody conflict, which continued till the evening, the Romans prevailed in the assault, and a Persian of gigantic size was slain and thrown into the Sarus by the hand of the emperor himself. The enemies were dispersed and dismayed; Heraclius pursued his march to Sebaste in Cappadocia; and, at the expiration of three years, the same coast of the Euxine applauded his return from a long and victorious expedition.[112]

Deliverance of Constantinople from the Persians and Avars, A.D. 626

[Shahrbaraz]

Instead of skirmishing on the frontier, the two monarchs who disputed the empire of the East aimed their desperate strokes at the heart of their rival. The military force of Persia was wasted by the marches and combats of twenty years, and many of the veterans, who had survived the perils of the sword and the climate, were still detained in the fortresses of Egypt and Syria. But the revenge and ambition of Chosroes exhausted his kingdom; and the new levies of subjects, strangers, and slaves, were divided into three formidable bodies.[113] The first army of fifty thousand men, illustrious by the ornament and title of the *golden spears*, was destined to march against Heraclius; the second was stationed to prevent his junction with the troops of his brother Theodorus; and the third was commanded to besiege Constantinople, and to second the operations of the chagan, with whom the Persian king had ratified a treaty of alliance and partition. Sarbar, the general of the third army, penetrated through the provinces of Asia to the well-known camp of Chalcedon, and amused himself with the destruction of the sacred and profane buildings of the Asiatic suburbs, while he impatiently waited the arrival of his Scythian friends on the opposite side of the Bosphorus. On the twenty-ninth of June, thirty thousand barbarians, the vanguard of the Avars, forced the long wall, and drove into the capital a promiscuous crowd of peasants, citizens, and soldiers. Fourscore thousand[114] of his native subjects, and of the vassal tribes of Gepidæ, Russians, Bulgarians, and Sclavonians, advanced under the standard of the chagan; a month was spent in marches and negotiations; but the whole city was invested on the thirty-first of July, from the suburbs of Pera and Galata to the Blachernæ and seven towers; and the inhabitants descried with terror the flaming signals of the European and Asiatic shores. In the meanwhile the magistrates of Constantinople repeatedly strove to purchase the retreat of the chagan; but their deputies were rejected and insulted; and he suffered the patricians to stand before his throne, while the Persian envoys, in silk robes, were seated by his side. "You see," said the haughty barbarian, "the proofs of my perfect union with the Great King; and his lieutenant is ready to send into my camp a select band of three thousand warriors. Presume no longer to tempt your master with a partial and inadequate ransom; your wealth and your city are the only presents worthy of my acceptance. For yourselves, I shall permit you to depart, each with an under-garment and a shirt; and, at my entreaty, my friend Sarbar will not refuse a passage through his lines. Your absent prince, even now a captive or a fugitive, has left Constantinople to its fate; nor can you escape the arms of the Avars and Persians, unless you could soar into air like birds, unless like fishes you could dive into the waves."[115] During ten successive days the capital was assaulted by the Avars, who had made some progress in the science of attack; they advanced to sap or batter the wall, under the cover of the impenetrable tortoise; their engines discharged a perpetual volley of stones and darts; and twelve lofty towers of wood exalted the combatants to the height of the neighbouring ramparts. But the senate and people were animated by the spirit of Heraclius, who had detached to their relief a body of twelve thousand cuirassiers; the powers of fire and mechanics were used with superior art and success in the defence of Constantinople; and the galleys, with two and three ranks of oars, commanded the Bosphorus, and rendered the Persians the idle spectators of the defeat of their allies. The Avars were repulsed; a fleet of Sclavonian canoes was destroyed in the harbour; the vassals of the chagan threatened to desert, his provisions were exhausted, and, after burning his engines, he gave the signal of a slow and formidable retreat. The devotion of the Romans ascribed this signal deliverance to the virgin Mary; but the mother of Christ would surely have condemned their inhuman murder of the Persian envoys, who were entitled to the rights of humanity, if they were not protected by the laws of nations.[116]

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[112] George of Pisidia (Bell. Abaricum, 246-265, p. 49) celebrates with truth the persevering courage of the three campaigns (τρεῖς περιδρόμους) against the Persians.

[113] Petavius (Annotationes ad Nicephorum, p. 62, 63, 64) discriminates the names and actions of five Persian generals, who were successively sent against Heraclius.

[114] This number of eight myriads is specified by George of Pisidia (Bell. Abar. 219). The poet (50-88) clearly indicates that the old chagan lived till the reign of Heraclius, and that his son and successor was born of a foreign mother. Yet Foggini (Annotat. p. 57) has given another interpretation to this passage. [Cp. above, p. 53, n. 31.]

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[115] A bird, a frog, a mouse, and five arrows, had been the present of the Scythian king to Darius (Herodot. l. iv. c. 131, 132). Substituez une lettre à ces signes (says Rousseau, with much good taste), plus ella sera menaçante moins elle effrayera: ce ne cera qu'une fanfarronade dont Darius n'eut fait que rire (Emile, tom. iii. p. 146). Yet I much question whether the senate and people of Constantinople *laughed* at this message of the chagan.

Alliances and conquests of Heraclius

After the division of his army, Heraclius prudently retired to the banks of the Phasis, from whence he maintained a defensive war against the fifty thousand gold spears of Persia. His anxiety was relieved by the deliverance of Constantinople; his hopes were confirmed by a victory of his brother Theodorus;[117] and to the hostile league of Chosroes with the Avars the Roman emperor opposed the useful and honourable alliance of the Turks. At his liberal invitation, the horde of Chozars[118] **[Khazars]** transported their tents from the plains of the Volga to the mountains of Georgia; Heraclius received them in the neighbourhood of Teflis,[119] and the khan with his nobles dismounted from their horses, if we may credit the Greeks, and fell prostrate on the ground, to adore the purple of the Cæsar. Such voluntary homage and important aid were entitled to the warmest acknowledgments; and the emperor, taking off his own diadem, placed it on the head of the Turkish prince, whom he saluted with a tender embrace and the appellation of son. After a sumptuous banquet, he presented Ziebel with the plate and ornaments, the gold, the gems, and the silk, which had been used at the Imperial table, and, with his own hand, distributed rich jewels and earrings to his new allies. In a secret interview, he produced the portrait of his daughter Eudocia,[120] condescended to flatter the barbarian with the promise of a fair and *august* bride, obtained an immediate succour of forty thousand horse, and negotiated a strong diversion of the Turkish arms on the side of the Oxus.[121] The Persians in their turn, retreated with precipitation; in the camp of Edessa, Heraclius reviewed an army of seventy thousand Romans and strangers; and some months were successfully employed in the recovery of the cities of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, whose fortifications had been imperfectly restored. Sarbar still maintained the important station of Chalcedon; but the jealousy of Chosroes, or the artifice of Heraclius, soon alienated the mind of that powerful satrap from the service of his king and country. A messenger was intercepted with a real or fictitious mandate to [Kardarigan] the cadarigan, or second in command, directing him to send, without delay, to the throne the head of a guilty or unfortunate general. The dispatches were transmitted to Sarbar himself; and, as soon as he read the sentence of his own death, he dexterously inserted the names of four hundred officers, assembled a military council, and asked the *cadarigan*, whether he was prepared to execute the commands of their tyrant? The Persians unanimously declared that Chosroes had forfeited the sceptre; a separate treaty was concluded with the government of Constantinople; and, if some considerations of honour or policy restrained Sarbar from joining the standard of Heraclius, the emperor was assured that he might prosecute, without interruption, his designs of victory and peace.

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[116] The Paschal Chronicle (p. 392-397 [p. 716 *sqq.*]) gives a minute and authentic narrative of the siege and deliverance of Constantinople. Theophanes (p. 264 [p. 316, ed. de Boor]) adds some circumstances; and a faint light may be obtained from the smoke of George of Pisidia, who has composed a poem (de Bello Abarico, p. 45-54) to commemorate this auspicious event. [There is another minute account of this siege preserved in many Mss. and printed by Mai in Nova Patrum Bibliotheca, vol. 6, 1853. V. Vasilievski has made it probable that its author is Theodore Syncellus, who was one of the deputies to the chagan. See Viz. Vremenn., iii. p. 91-2.]

[117] [Over Shāhīn.]

[118] The power of the Chozars prevailed in the viith, viiith, and ixth centuries. They were known to the Greeks, the Arabs, and, under the name of *Kosa*, to the Chinese themselves. De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. part ii. p. 507-509.

[119] [An Armenian source states that the Khazars, who had invaded Persian territory in a previous year, now joined Heraclius in a siege of Tiflis. But a Persian general entered the town and successfully defied the besiegers. Zhebu, the chagan of the Khazars, then withdrew to his own land, but in the following year sent auxiliaries to the Emperor. See Gerland, *op. cit.*, p. 364. With the exception of these events in connexion with the Khazars, the year from autumn A.D. 626 to autumn A.D. 627 is a blank.]

His third expedition, A.D. 627

Deprived of his firmest support, and doubtful of the fidelity of his subjects, the greatness of Chosroes was still conspicuous in its ruins. The number of five hundred thousand may be interpreted as an Oriental metaphor, to describe the men and arms, the horses and elephants, that covered Media and Assyria against the invasion of Heraclius. Yet the Romans boldly advanced from the Araxes to the Tigris, and the timid prudence of Rhazates was content to follow them by forced [Rahzadh] marches through a desolate country, till he received a peremptory mandate to risk the fate of Persia in a decisive battle. Eastward of the Tigris, at the end of the bridge of Mosul, the great Nineveh had formerly been erected;[122] the city, and even the ruins of the city, had long since disappeared;[123] the vacant space afforded a spacious field for the operations of the two armies. But these operations are neglected by the Byzantine historians, and, like the authors of epic poetry and romance, they ascribe the victory not to the military conduct, but to the personal valour, of their favourite hero. On this memorable day, Heraclius, on his horse Phallas,[124] surpassed the bravest of his warriors: his lip was pierced with a spear, the steed was **and victories, December 1, &c.** wounded in the thigh, but he carried his master safe and victorious through the triple phalanx of the barbarians. In the heat of the action, three valiant chiefs were successively slain by the sword and lance of the emperor; among these was Rhazates himself; he fell like a soldier, but the sight of his head scattered grief and despair through the fainting ranks of the Persians. His armour of pure and massy gold, the shield of one hundred and twenty plates, the sword and belt, the saddle and cuirass, adorned the triumph of Heraclius, and, if he had not been faithful to Christ and his mother, the champion of Rome might have offered the fourth *opime* spoils to the Jupiter of the Capitol.[125] In the battle of Nineveh, which was fiercely fought from daybreak to the eleventh hour, twenty-eight **[Dec. 12, Sunday]** standards, beside those which might be broken or torn, were taken from the Persians; the greatest part of their army was cut in pieces, and the victors, concealing their own loss, passed the night on the field. They acknowledged that on this occasion it was less difficult to kill than to discomfit the soldiers of Chosroes; amidst the bodies of their friends, no more than two bow-shot from the enemy, the remnant of the Persian cavalry stood firm till the seventh hour of the night; about the eighth hour they retired to their unrifled camp, collected their baggage, and dispersed on all sides, from the want of orders rather than of resolution. The diligence of Heraclius was not less admirable in the use of victory; by a march of forty-eight miles in four-and-twenty hours, his vanguard occupied the bridges of the [Lesser Zab crossed Dec. 23] great and the lesser Zab; and the cities and palaces of Assyria were open for the first time to the Romans. By a just gradation of magnificent scenes, they penetrated to the royal seat of Dastagerd, and, though much of the treasure had been removed, and much had been expended, the remaining wealth appears to have exceeded their hopes, and even to have satiated their avarice. Whatever could not be easily transported they consumed with fire, that Chosroes might feel the anguish of those wounds which he had so often inflicted on the provinces of the empire; and justice might allow the excuse, if the desolation had been confined to the works of regal luxury, if national hatred, military licence, and religious zeal had not wasted with equal rage the habitations and the temples of the guiltless subject. The recovery of three hundred Roman standards, and the deliverance of the numerous captives of Edessa and Alexandria, reflect a purer glory on the arms of Heraclius. From the palace of Dastagerd,[126] he pursued his march within a few miles of Modain or Ctesiphon, till he was stopped, on the banks of the Arba, by the difficulty of the passage, the rigour of the season, and perhaps the fame of an impregnable capital.[126a] The [Feb.-March] return of the emperor is marked by the modern name of the [Zarasp] city of Sherhzour; he fortunately passed mount Zara before the snow, which fell incessantly thirty-four days; and the [March 11] citizens of Gandzaca, or Tauris, were compelled to entertain his soldiers and their horses with an hospitable reception.[127]

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[120] Epiphania, or Eudocia, the only daughter of Heraclius and his first wife Eudocia, was born at Constantinople on the 7th of July, A.D. 611, baptized the 15th of August, and crowned (in the oratory of St. Stephen in the palace) the 4th of October of the same year. At this time she was about fifteen. Eudocia was afterwards sent to her Turkish husband, but the news of his death stopped her journey and prevented the consummation (Ducange, Familiæ Byzantin. p. 118).

[121] Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 13-16) gives some curious and probable facts; but his numbers are rather too high—300,000 Romans assembled at Edessa—500,000 Persians killed at Nineveh. The abatement of a cipher is scarcely enough to restore his sanity.

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[122] Ctesias (apud Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. ii. p. 115, edit. Wesseling [c. 3]) assigns 480 stadia (perhaps only thirty-two miles) for the circumference of Nineveh. Jonas talks of three days' journey: the 120,000 persons described by the prophet as incapable of discerning their right hand from their left may afford about 700,000 persons of all ages for the inhabitants of that ancient capital (Goguet, Origines des Loix, &c. tom. iii. part i. p. 92, 93) which ceased to exist 600 years before Christ. The western suburb still subsisted, and is mentioned under the name of Mosul in the first age of the Arabian caliphs.

[123] Niebuhr (Voyage en Arabie, &c. tom. ii. p. 286) passed over Nineveh without perceiving it. He mistook for a ridge of hills the old rampart of brick or earth. It is said to have been 100 feet high, flanked with 1500 towers, each of the height of 200 feet.

[124] [φάλβας, ὁ λεγόμενος Δόρκων (Theoph. p. 318). *Dorcon* seems to have been the name of the steed, φάλβας (cf. φαλιός) to describe its colour (white ?).]

[125] Rex regia arma fero (says Romulus, in the first consecration) . . . bina postea (continues Livy, i. 10) inter tot bella opima parta sunt spolia, adeo rara ejus fortuna decoris. If Varro (apud Pomp. Festum, p. 306, edit. Dacier) could justify his liberality in granting the *opime* spoils even to a common soldier who had slain the king or general of the enemy, the honour would have been much more cheap and common.

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[126] [Dastagerd lay not far from Bagdad, near the present Shahrābān.]

[126a] [Sebaeos (c. 27, p. 105-6) ascribes the Emperor's retreat into Adharbijan to fear of being cut off by Shahrbarāz.]

[127] In describing this last expedition of Heraclius, the facts, places, and the dates of Theophanes (p. 265-271 [A.M. 6118]) are so accurate and authentic that he must have followed the original letters of the emperor, of which the Paschal

Flight of Chosroes. A.D. 627, Dec. 29

When the ambition of Chosroes was reduced to the defence of his hereditary kingdom, the love of glory, or even the sense of shame, should have urged him to meet his rival in the field. In the battle of Nineveh, his courage might have taught the Persians to vanquish, or he might have fallen with honour by the lance of a Roman emperor. The successor of Cyrus chose rather, at a secure distance, to expect the event, to assemble the relics of the defeat, and to retire by measured steps before the march of Heraclius, till he beheld with a sigh the once loved mansions of Dastagerd. Both his friends and enemies were persuaded that it was the intention of Chosroes to bury himself under the ruins of the city and palace; and, as both might have been equally adverse to his flight, the monarch of Asia, with Sira and three concubines, escaped through an hole in the wall nine days before the arrival of the Romans. The slow and stately procession in which he shewed himself to the prostrate crowd was changed to a rapid and secret journey; and the first evening he lodged in the cottage of a peasant, whose humble door would scarcely give admittance to the Great King.[128] His superstition was subdued by fear; on the third day, he entered with joy the fortifications of Ctesiphon; yet he still doubted of his safety till he had opposed the river Tigris to the pursuit of the Romans. The discovery of his flight agitated with terror and tumult the palace, the city, and the camp of Dastagerd; the satraps hesitated whether they had most to fear from their sovereign or the enemy; and the females of the harem were astonished and pleased by the sight of mankind, till the jealous husbands of three thousand wives again confined them to a more distant castle. At his command the army of Dastagerd retreated to a new camp: the front was covered by the Arba, and a line of two hundred elephants; the troops of the more distant provinces successively arrived; and the vilest domestics of the king and satraps were enrolled for the last defence of the throne. It was still in the power of Chosroes to obtain a reasonable peace; and he was repeatedly pressed by the messengers of Heraclius to spare the blood of his subjects, and to relieve an humane conqueror

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Chronicle has preserved (p. 398-402 [727-734, ed. Bonn]) a very curious specimen. [Theophanes seems here to have put various sources together.]

[128] The words of Theophanes are remarkable: εἰσῆλθε Χοσρόης εἰς οἶκον γεωργοῦ μηδαμινοῦ μεῖναι, οὐ [μόλις] χωρηθεὶς ἐν τῇ τούτου θύρᾳ, ἣν ἰδὼν ἔσχατον Ἡράκλειος ἐθαύμασε (p. 269 [p. 323, ed. de Boor]). Young princes who discover a propensity to war should repeatedly transcribe and translate such salutary texts.

from the painful duty of carrying fire and sword through th fairest countries of Asia. But the pride of the Persian ha not yet sunk to the level of his fortune; he derived a momentary confidence from the retreat of the emperor; he wept wit impotent rage over the ruins of his Assyrian palaces; and disregarded too long the rising murmurs of the nation, wh complained that their lives and fortunes were sacrificed to th obstinacy of an old man. That unhappy old man was himsel tortured with the sharpest pains both of mind and body; and in the consciousness of his approaching end, he resolved to fi a tiara on the head of Merdaza, the most favoured of his sons But the will of Chosroes was no longer revered, and Siroes who gloried in the rank and merit of his mother Sira, had conspired with the malecontents to assert and anticipate the right of primogeniture.[129] Twenty-two satraps, they styled themselves patriots, were tempted by the wealth and honours of new reign: to the soldiers, the heir of Chosroes promised a increase of pay; to the Christians the free exercise of thei religion; to the captives liberty and rewards; and to the natio instant peace and the reduction of taxes. It was determine by the conspirators that Siroes, with the ensigns of royalty should appear in the camp; and, if the enterprise should fai his escape was contrived to the Imperial court. But the nev monarch was saluted with unanimous acclamations; the fligh of Chosroes (yet where could he have fled?) was rudely arrested eighteen sons were massacred before his face, and he was throw into a dungeon, where he expired on the fifth day. The Greek and modern Persians minutely describe how Chosroes was insulted, and famished, and tortured, by the command of a inhuman son, who so far surpassed the example of his father but at the time of his death, what tongue could relate the stor of the parricide? what eye could penetrate into the *tower o darkness?* According to the faith and mercy of his Christia enemies, he sunk without hope into a still deeper abyss;[13

He is deposed, A.D. 628, Feb. 25

and murdered by his son Siroes, Feb. 28

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[129] The authentic narrative of the fall of Chosroes is contained in the letter c Heraclius (Chron. Paschal. p. 398 [p. 727]), and the history of Theophanes (p 271 [p. 326, ed. de Boor]).

[130] On the first rumour of the death of Chosroes, an Heracliad in two canto was instantly published at Constantinople by George of Pisidia (p. 97-105). A priest and a poet might very properly exult in the damnation of the public enem (ἐμπεσὼν ἐν [*leg.* τῷ] ταρτάρῳ [Acr. i.], v. 56): but such mean revenge is unworth of a king and a conqueror; and I am sorry to find so much black superstitio (θεομάχος Χοσρόης ἔπεσε καὶ ἐπτωματίσθη εἰς τὰ καταχθόνια . . . εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἀκατάσβεστο &c.) in the letter of Heraclius: he almost applauds the parricide of Siroes as an ac of piety and justice.

and it will not be denied that tyrants of every age and sect are the best entitled to such infernal abodes. The glory of the house of Sassan ended with the life of Chosroes; his unnatural son enjoyed only eight months the fruit of his crimes; and in the space of four years the regal title was assumed by nine candidates, who disputed, with the sword or dagger, the fragments of an exhausted monarchy. Every province and each city of Persia was the scene of independence, of discord, and of blood, and the state of anarchy prevailed about eight years longer, till the factions were silenced and united under the common yoke of the Arabian caliphs.[131]

Treaty of peace between the two empires A.D. 628, March, &c.

As soon as the mountains became passable, the emperor received the welcome news of the success of the conspiracy, the death of Chosroes, and the elevation of his eldest son to the throne of Persia. The authors of the revolution, eager to display their merits in the court or camp of Tauris, preceded the ambassadors of Siroes, who delivered the letters of their master to his *brother* the emperor of the Romans.[132] In the language of the usurpers of every age, he imputes his own crimes to the Deity, and, without degrading his equal majesty, he offers to reconcile the long discord of the two nations, by a treaty of peace and alliance more durable than brass or iron. The conditions of the treaty were easily defined and faithfully executed. In the recovery of the standards and prisoners which had fallen into the hands of the Persians, the emperor imitated the example of Augustus: their care of the national dignity was celebrated by the poets of the times; but the decay of genius may be measured by the distance between Horace and George of Pisidia: the subjects and brethren of Heraclius were redeemed from persecution, slavery, and exile; but, instead of the Roman eagles, the true wood of the holy cross was restored to the importunate demands of the successor of Constantine. The victor was not ambitious of enlarging the weakness of the empire; the son of Chosroes abandoned without regret the conquests of his father; the Persians who evacuated the cities of Syria and Egypt were honourably conducted to the frontier;

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[131] The best Oriental accounts of this last period of the Sassanian kings are found in Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 251-256), who dissembles the parricide of Siroes, D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 789), and Assemanni (Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 415-420). [For chronological list of the chief usurpers, see Appendix 6.]

[132] The letter of Siroes in the Paschal Chronicle (p. 402 [p. 735, ed. Bonn]) unfortunately ends before he proceeds to business. The treaty appears in its execution in the histories of Theophanes and Nicephorus.

and a war which had wounded the vitals of the two monarchie produced no change in their external and relative situation The return of Heraclius from Tauris to Constantinople was perpetual triumph; and, after the exploits of six glorious campaigns, he peaceably enjoyed the sabbath of his toils. After long impatience, the senate, the clergy, and the people wen forth to meet their hero, with tears and acclamations, wit olive branches and innumerable lamps; he entered the capita in a chariot drawn by four elephants; and, as soon as th emperor could disengage himself from the tumult of public joy he tasted more genuine satisfaction in the embraces of hi mother and his son.[133]

The succeeding year was illustrated by a triumph of a ver different kind, the restitution of the true cross to the hol sepulchre. Heraclius performed in person the pilgrimage o Jerusalem, the identity of the relic was verified by the discree patriarch,[134] and this august ceremony has been commemorate by the annual festival of the exaltation of the cross. Befor the emperor presumed to tread the consecrated ground, he wa instructed to strip himself of the diadem and purple, the pom and vanity of the world; but in the judgment of his clergy th persecution of the Jews was more easily reconciled with th precepts of the gospel. He again ascended his throne to receive the congratulations of the ambassadors of France an India; and the fame of Moses, Alexander, and Hercules[135] wa eclipsed, in the popular estimation, by the superior merit an glory of the great Heraclius. Yet the deliverer of the Eas was indigent and feeble. Of the Persian spoils the mos valuable portion had been expended in the war, distributed t the soldiers, or buried, by an unlucky tempest, in the waves o the Euxine. The conscience of the emperor was oppressed by the obligation of restoring the wealth of the clergy, which he had borrowed for their own defence; a perpetual fund was required to satisfy these inexorable creditors; the provinces, already wasted by the arms and avarice of the Persians, were compelled to a second payment of the same taxes; and the arrears of a simple citizen, the treasurer of Damascus, were commuted to a fine of one hundred thousand pieces of gold. The loss of two hundred thousand soldiers[136] who had fallen by the sword was of less fatal importance than the decay of arts, agriculture, and population, in this long and destructive war; and, although a victorious army had been formed under the standard of Heraclius, the unnatural effort appears to have exhausted rather than exercised their strength. While the emperor triumphed at Constantinople or Jerusalem, an obscure town on the confines of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens, and they cut in pieces some troops who advanced to its relief: an ordinary and trifling occurrence, had it not been the prelude of a mighty revolution. These robbers were the apostles of Mahomet; their fanatic valour had emerged from the desert; and in the last eight years of his reign Heraclius lost to the Arabs the same provinces which he had rescued from the Persians.

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[133] The burden of Corneille's song,

"Montrez Héraclius au peuple qui l'attend,"

is much better suited to the present occasion. See his triumph in Theophane (p. 272, 273 [A.M. 6119]), and Nicephorus (p. 15, 16). The life of the mothe and tenderness of the son are attested by George of Pisidia (Bell. Abar. 255, &c p. 49). The metaphor of the Sabbath is used, somewhat profanely, by thes Byzantine Christians.

[134] See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 628, No. 1-4), Eutychius (Annal. tom. i p. 240-248), Nicephorus (Brev. p. 15). The seals of the case had never bee broken; and this preservation of the cross is ascribed (under God) to the devotio of queen Sira.

[135] George of Pisidia, Acroas. iii. de Expedit. contra Persas, 415, &c. an Heracliad. Acroas. i. 65-138. I neglect the meaner parallels of Daniel, Timotheus &c. Chosroes and the chagan were of course compared to Belshazzar, Pharaoh the old serpent, &c.

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[136] Suidas (in Excerpt. Hist. Byzant. p. 46) gives this number; but either the *Persian* must be read for the *Isaurian* war, or this passage does not belong to the *emperor* Heraclius.

CHAPTER XLVII

Theological History of the Doctrine of the Incarnation—The Huma and Divine Nature of Christ—Enmity of the Patriarchs o Alexandria and Constantinople—St. Cyril and Nestorius— Third General Council of Ephesus—Heresy of Eutyches— Fourth General Council of Chalcedon—Civil and Ecclesiastica Discord—Intolerance of Justinian—The Three Chapters—Th Monothelite Controversy—State of the Oriental Sects—I. Th Nestorians—II. The Jacobites—III. The Maronites—IV. Th Armenians—V. The Copts and Abyssinians

The incarnation of Christ

After the extinction of paganism, the Christians in peace an piety might have enjoyed their solitary triumph. But th principle of discord was alive in their bosom, and they wer more solicitous to explore the nature, than to practise the laws of their founder. I have already observed that the disputes o the Trinity were succeeded by those of the Incarnation: alik scandalous to the church, alike pernicious to the state, stil more minute in their origin, still more durable in their effects It is my design to comprise in the present chapter a religiou war of two hundred and fifty years, to represent the ecclesiastical and political schism of the Oriental sects, and to introduc their clamorous or sanguinary contests by a modest inquiry int the doctrines of the primitive church.[1]

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[1] By what means shall I authenticate this previous inquiry, which I have studie to circumscribe and compress?—If I persist in supporting each fact or reflectio by its proper and special evidence, every line would demand a string of testimonies and every note would swell to a critical dissertation. But the numberless passage of antiquity which I have seen with my own eyes are compiled, digested, an illustrated by *Petavius* and *Le Clerc*, by *Beausobre* and *Mosheim*. I shall be content to fortify my narrative by the names and characters of these respectable guides and in the contemplation of a minute or remote object I am not ashamed to borro the aid of the strongest glasses. 1. The *Dogmata Theologica* of Petavius are work of incredible labour and compass; the volumes which relate solely to the incarnation (two folios, vth and vith, of 837 pages) are divided into xvi books—th first of history, the remainder of controversy and doctrine. The Jesuit's learnin is copious and correct; his Latinity is pure, his method clear, his argument profound and well connected; but he is the slave of the fathers, the scourge of heretic the enemy of truth and candour, as often as *they* are inimical to the Cathol

I. A p[illegible] man to the Ebionites

I. A laudable regard for the honour of the first proselytes has countenanced the belief, the hope, the wish, that the Ebionites, or at least the Nazarenes, were distinguished only by their obstinate perseverance in the practice of the Mosaic rites. Their churches have disappeared, their books are obliterated; their obscure freedom might allow a latitude of faith, and the softness of their infant creed would be variously moulded by the zeal or prudence of three hundred years. Yet the most charitable criticism must refuse these sectaries any knowledge of the pure and proper divinity of Christ. Educated in the school of Jewish prophecy and prejudice, they had never been taught to elevate their hopes above an human and temporal Messiah.[2] If they had courage to hail their king when he appeared in a plebeian garb, their grosser apprehensions were incapable of discerning their God, who had studiously disguised his celestial character under the name and person of a mortal.[3] The familiar companions of Jesus of Nazareth conversed with their friend and countryman, who, in all the actions of rational and animal life, appeared of the same species with themselves. His progress from infancy to youth and manhood was marked

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cause. 2. The Arminian Le Clerc, who has composed in a quarto volume (Amsterdam, 1716) the ecclesiastical history of the two first centuries, was free both in his temper and situation; his sense is clear, but his thoughts are narrow; he reduces the reason or folly of ages to the standard of his private judgment, and his impartiality is sometimes quickened, and sometimes tainted, by his opposition to the fathers. See the heretics (Corinthians, lxxx.; Ebionites, ciii.; Carpocratians, cxx.; Valentinians, cxxi.; Basilidians, cxxiii.; Marcionites, cxli., &c.) under their proper dates. 3. The Histoire Critique du Manichéisme (Amsterdam, 1734, 1739, in two vols. in 4to, with a posthumous dissertation sur les Nazarènes, Lausanne, 1745) of M. de Beausobre is a treasure of ancient philosophy and theology. The learned historian spins with incomparable art the systematic thread of opinion, and transforms himself by turns into the person of a saint, a sage, or an heretic. Yet his refinement is sometimes excessive; he betrays an amiable partiality in favour of the weaker side; and, while he guards against calumny, he does not allow sufficient scope for superstition and fanaticism. A copious table of contents will direct the reader to any point that he wishes to examine. 4. Less profound than Petavius, less independent than Le Clerc, less ingenious than Beausobre, the historian Mosheim is full, rational, correct, and moderate. In his learned work, De Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum (Helmstadt, 1753, in 4to), see the *Nazarenes* and *Ebionites*, p. 172-179, 328-332; the Gnostics in general, p. 179, &c.; *Cerinthus*, p. 196-202; Basilides, p. 352-361; Carpocrates, p. 363-367; Valentinus, p. 371-389; Marcion, p. 404-410; the Manichæans, p. 829-837, &c.

[2] Καὶ γὰρ πάντες ἡμεῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων προσδοκῶμεν γενήσεσθαι, says the Jewish Tryphon (Justin. Dialog. p. 207) in the name of his countrymen; and the modern Jews, the few who divert their thoughts from money to religion, still hold the same language and allege the literal sense of the prophets.

[3] Chrysostom (Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. v. c. 9, p. 183) and Athanasius (Petav. Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. i. c. 2, p. 3) are obliged to confess that the divinity of Christ is rarely mentioned by himself or his apostles.

by a regular increase in stature and wisdom; and, after a painful agony of mind and body, he expired on the cross. He lived and died for the service of mankind; but the life and death of Socrates had likewise been devoted to the cause of religion and justice; and, although the stoic or the hero may disdain the humble virtues of Jesus, the tears which he shed over his friend and country may be esteemed the purest evidence of his humanity. The miracles of the gospel could not astonish a people who held, with intrepid faith, the more splendid prodigies of the Mosaic law. The prophets of ancient days had cured diseases, raised the dead, divided the sea, stopped the sun, and ascended to heaven in a fiery chariot. And the metaphorical style of the Hebrews might ascribe to a saint and martyr the adoptive title of SON OF GOD.

His birth and elevation

Yet, in the insufficient creed of the Nazarenes and the Ebionites, a distinction is faintly noticed between the heretics, who confounded the generation of Christ in the common order of nature, and the less guilty schismatics, who revered the virginity of his mother and excluded the aid of an earthly father. The incredulity of the former was countenanced by the visible circumstances of his birth, the legal marriage of his reputed parents, Joseph and Mary, and his lineal claim to the kingdom of David and the inheritance of Judah. But the secret and authentic history has been recorded in several copies of the gospel according to St. Matthew,[4] which these sectaries long preserved in the original Hebrew,[5] as the sole evidence of their faith. The natural suspicions of the husband, conscious of his own chastity, were dispelled by the assurance (in a dream) that his wife was pregnant of the Holy Ghost; and, as this distant and domestic prodigy could not fall under the personal observation of the historian, he must have listened to the same voice which dictated to Isaiah the future conception of a virgin. The son of a virgin, generated by the ineffable operation of the Holy Spirit, was a creature without example or resemblance, superior in every attribute of mind and body to the children of Adam. Since the introduction of the Greek or Chaldean philosophy,[6] the Jews[7] were persuaded of the pre-existence, transmigration, and immortality of souls; and Providence was justified by a supposition that they were confined in their earthly prisons to expiate the stains which they had contracted in a former state.[8] But the degrees of purity and corruption are almost immeasurable. It may be fairly presumed that the most sublime and virtuous of human spirits was infused into the offspring of Mary and the Holy Ghost;[9] that his abasement was the result of his voluntary choice; and that the object of his mission was to purify, not his own, but the sins of the world. On his return to his native skies, he received the immense reward of his obedience: the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah, which had been darkly foretold by the prophets, under the carnal images of peace, of conquest, and of dominion. Omnipotence could enlarge the human faculties of Christ to the extent of his celestial office. In the language of antiquity, the title of God has not been severely confined to the first parent, and his incomparable minister, his only begotten Son, might claim, without presumption, the religious, though secondary, worship of a subject world.

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[4] The two first chapters of St. Matthew did not exist in the Ebionite copies (Epiphan. Hæres. xxx. 13); and the miraculous conception is one of the last articles which Dr. Priestley has curtailed from his scanty creed.

[5] It is probable enough that the first of the gospels for the use of the Jewish converts was composed in the Hebrew or Syriac idiom: the fact is attested by a chain of fathers—Papias, Irenæus, Origen, Jerom, &c. It is devoutly believed by the Catholics, and admitted by Casaubon, Grotius, and Isaac Vossius, among the Protestant critics. But this Hebrew gospel of St. Matthew is most unaccountably lost; and we may accuse the diligence or fidelity of the primitive churches, who have preferred the unauthorised version of some nameless Greek. Erasmus and his followers, who respect our Greek text as the original gospel, deprive themselves of the evidence which declares it to be the work of an apostle. See Simon, Hist. Critique, &c. tom. iii. c. 5-9, p. 47-101 and the Prolegomena of Mill and Wetstein to the New Testament.

II. A pure God to the Docetes

II. The seeds of the faith, which had slowly arisen in the rocky and ungrateful soil of Judea, were transplanted, in full maturity to the happier climes of the Gentiles; and the strangers Rome or Asia, who never beheld the manhood, were the mor readily disposed to embrace the divinity, of Christ. The poly theist and the philosopher, the Greek and the barbarian, wer alike accustomed to conceive a long succession, an infinite chai of angels, or dæmons, or deities, or æons, or emanations, issuin from the throne of light. Nor could it seem strange or in credible that the first of these æons, the *Logos*, or Word of Go of the same substance with the Father, should descend upo earth to deliver the human race from vice and error and to con duct them in the paths of life and immortality. But the pre vailing doctrine of the eternity and inherent pravity of matte infected the primitive churches of the East. Many among th Gentile proselytes refused to believe that a celestial spirit, a undivided portion of the first essence, had been personall united with a mass of impure and contaminated flesh; an in their zeal for the divinity, they piously abjured the humanity of Christ. While his blood was still recent on Mount Calvary, the *Docetes*, a numerous and learned sect of Asiatics, invente the *phantastic* system, which was afterwards propagated by th Marcionites, the Manichæans, and the various names of th Gnostic heresy.[11] They denied the truth and authenticity the gospels, as far as they relate the conception of Mary, th birth of Christ, and the thirty years that preceded the exercis of his ministry. He first appeared on the banks of the Jorda in the form of perfect manhood; but it was a form only, an not a substance: an human figure created by the hand Omnipotence to imitate the faculties and actions of a man an to impose a perpetual illusion on the senses of his friends an

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[6] The metaphysics of the soul are disengaged by Cicero (Tusculan. l. i.) and Maximus of Tyre (Dissertat. xvi.) from the intricacies of dialogue, which sometimes amuse, and often perplex, the readers of the *Phaedrus*, the *Phaedon*, and the *Laws* of Plato.

[7] The disciples of Jesus were persuaded that a man might have sinned before he was born (John ix. 2), and the Pharisees held the transmigration of virtuous souls (Joseph. de Bell. Judaico, l. ii. c. 7 [*leg.* c. 8, § 11]) and a modern Rabbi is modestly assured that Hermes, Pythagoras, Plato, &c. derived their metaphysics from his illustrious countrymen.

[8] Four different opinions have been entertained concerning the origin of human souls. 1. That they are eternal and divine. 2. That they were created in a separate state of existence, before their union with the body. 3. That they have been propagated from the original stock of Adam, who contained in himself the mental as well as the corporeal seed of his posterity. 4. That each soul is occasionally created and embodied in the moment of conception.—The last of these sentiments appears to have prevailed among the moderns; and our spiritual history is grown less sublime, without becoming more intelligible.

[9] ῞Οτι ἡ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ψυχὴ, ἡ τοῦ ᾿Αδὰμ ἦν—was one of the fifteen heresies imputed to Origen, and denied by his apologist (Photius, Bibliothec. cod. cxvii. p. 296). Some of the Rabbis attribute one and the same soul to the persons of Adam, David, and the Messiah.

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[10] Apostolis adhuc in sæculo superstitibus, apud Judæam Christi sangui recente, PHANTASMA domini corpus asserebatur. Hieronym. advers. Lucifer. 8. The epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans, and even the gospel according to John, are levelled against the growing error of the Docetes, who had obtained t much credit in the world (1 John iv. 1, 5).

[11] About the year 200 of the Christian æra, Irenæus and Hippolytus refuted t thirty-two sects, τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως, which had multiplied to fourscore in t time of Epiphanius (Phot. Biblioth. cod. cxx., cxxi., cxxii.). The five books Irenæus exist only in barbarous Latin; but the original might perhaps be found some monastery of Greece. [Fragments of the original are preserved in Hippolyt Eusebius, &c.; and possibly the whole text existed in the sixteenth century (Zah Zeitsch. f. Kirchengeschichte, ii., 288, 1878). The short work of Hippolyt (σύνταγμα πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις) referred to by Photius (cod. cxxi.) is lost; but a larger treatise entitled κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος (also known as Λαβύρινθ bks. iv.-x. were discovered on Mount Athos in 1842, and bk. i. is the well-know *Philosophumena* which used to be attributed to Origen.]

enemies. Articulate sounds vibrated on the ears of the disciples; but the image which was impressed on their optic nerve eluded the more stubborn evidence of the touch, and they enjoyed the spiritual, not the corporeal, presence of the Son of God. The rage of the Jews was idly wasted against an impassive phantom; and the mystic scenes of the passion and death, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, were represented on the theatre of Jerusalem for the benefit of mankind. If it were urged that such ideal mimicry, such incessant deception, was unworthy of the God of truth, the Docetes agreed with too many of their orthodox brethren in the justification of pious falsehood. In the system of the Gnostics, the Jehovah of Israel, the creator of this lower world, was a rebellious, or at least an ignorant, spirit. The Son of God descended upon earth to abolish his temple and his law; and, for the accomplishment of this salutary end, he dexterously transferred to his own person the hope and prediction of a temporal Messiah.

His incorruptible body

One of the most subtle disputants of the Manichæan school has pressed the danger and indecency of supposing that the God of the Christians, in the state of an human fœtus, emerged at the end of nine months from a female womb. The pious horror of his antagonists provoked them to disclaim all sensual circumstances of conception and delivery; to maintain that the divinity passed through Mary like a sun-beam through a plate of glass; and to assert that the seal of her virginity remained unbroken even at the moment when she became the mother of Christ. But the rashness of these concessions has encouraged a milder sentiment of those of the Docetes, who taught, not that Christ was a phantom, but that he was clothed with an impassible and incorruptible body. Such, indeed, in the more orthodox system, he has acquired since his resurrection, and such he must have always possessed, if it were capable of pervading, without resistance or injury, the density of intermediate matter. Devoid of its most essential properties, it might be exempt from the attributes and infirmities of the flesh. A fœtus that could increase from an invisible point to its full maturity, a child that could attain the stature of perfect manhood, without deriving any nourishment from the ordinary sources, might continue to exist without repairing a daily waste by a daily supply of external matter. Jesus might share the repasts of his disciples without being subject to the calls of thirst or hunger; and his virgin purity was never sullied by the involuntary stains of sensual concupiscence. Of a body thus singularly constituted, a question would arise, by what means, and of what materials it was originally framed; and our sounder theology is startle by an answer which was not peculiar to the Gnostics, that bot the form and the substance proceeded from the divine essence The idea of pure and absolute spirit is a refinement of moder philosophy; the incorporeal essence, ascribed by the ancients t human souls, celestial beings, and even the Deity himself, doe not exclude the notion of extended space; and their imagination was satisfied with a subtle nature of air, or fire, or æther incomparably more perfect than the grossness of the materia world. If we define the place, we must describe the figure, o the Deity. Our experience, perhaps our vanity, represents th powers of reason and virtue under an human form. The Anthropomorphites, who swarmed among the monks of Egypt and th Catholics of Africa, could produce the express declaration o Scripture that man was made after the image of his Creator.[12] The venerable Serapion, one of the saints of the Nitrian desert relinquished, with many a tear, his darling prejudice; and bewailed, like an infant, his unlucky conversion, which had stole away his God and left his mind without any visible object o faith or devotion.[13]

III. Double nature of Cerinthus

III. Such were the fleeting shadows of the Docetes. A mor substantial, though less simple, hypothesis was contrived b Cerinthus of Asia,[14] who dared to oppose the last of the apostle Placed on the confines of the Jewish and Gentile world, h laboured to reconcile the Gnostic with the Ebionite, by con fessing in the same Messiah the supernatural union of a man and a God; and this mystic doctrine was adopted with many fanciful improvements by Carpocrates, Basilides, and Valentine,[15] the heretics of the Egyptian school. In their eyes, JESUS of Nazareth was a mere mortal, the legitimate son of Joseph and Mary; but he was the best and wisest of the human race, selected as the worthy instrument to restore upon earth the worship of the true and supreme Deity. When he was baptized in the Jordan, the CHRIST, the first of the æons, the Son of God himself, descended on Jesus in the form of a dove, to inhabit his mind and direct his actions during the allotted period of his ministry. When the Messiah was delivered into the hands of the Jews, the Christ, an immortal and impassible being, forsook his earthly tabernacle, flew back to the *pleroma* or world of spirits, and left the solitary Jesus to suffer, to complain, and to expire. But the justice and generosity of such a desertion are strongly questionable; and the fate of an innocent martyr, at first impelled, and at length abandoned, by his divine companion, might provoke the pity and indignation of the profane. Their murmurs were variously silenced by the sectaries who espoused and modified the double system of Cerinthus. It was alleged that, when Jesus was nailed to the cross, he was endowed with a miraculous apathy of mind and body, which rendered him insensible of his apparent sufferings. It was affirmed that these momentary though real pangs would be abundantly repaid by the temporal reign of a thousand years reserved for the Messiah in his kingdom of the new Jerusalem. It was insinuated that, if he suffered, he deserved to suffer; that human nature is never absolutely perfect; and that the cross and passion might serve to expiate the venial transgressions of the son of Joseph, before his mysterious union with the Son of God.[16]

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[12] The pilgrim Cassian, who visited Egypt in the beginning of the vth centur observes and laments the reign of anthropomorphism among the monks, who we not conscious that they embraced the system of Epicurus (Cicero, de Nat. Deoru i. 18, 34). Ab universo propemodum genere monachorum, qui per totam provinciam Ægyptum morabantur, pro simplicitatis errore susceptum est, ut e contrario memoratum pontificem (*Theophilus*) velut hæresi gravissimâ depravatu pars maxima seniorum ab universo fraternitatis corpore decerneret detestandu (Cassian, Collation. x. 2). As long as St. Augustin remained a Manichæan, h was scandalized by the anthropomorphism of the vulgar Catholics.

[13] Ita est in oratione senex mente confusus, eo quod illam ἀνθρωπόμορφον imagine Deitatis, quam proponere sibi in oratione consueverat, aboleri de suo corde sentire ut in amarissimos fletus crebrosque singultus repente prorumpens, in terra prostratus, cum ejulatu validissimo proclamaret; "Heu me miserum! tulerunt me Deum meum, et quem nunc teneam non habeo, vel quem adorem aut interpellem jam nescio". Cassian, Collat. x. 2 [*leg.* 3].

[14] St. John and Cerinthus (A.D. 80, Cleric. Hist. Eccles. p. 493) accidentally m in the public bath of Ephesus; but the apostle fled from the heretic, lest th building should tumble on their heads. This foolish story, reprobated by D Middleton (Miscellaneous Works, vol. ii.), is related however by Irenæus (iii. 3 on the evidence of Polycarp, and was probably suited to the time and residence Cerinthus. The obsolete, yet probably the true, reading of 1 John iv. 3—ὃ λύ τὸν Ἰησοῦν—alludes to the double nature of that primitive heretic.

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[15] The Valentinians embraced a complex and almost incoherent system. 1. Both Christ and Jesus were æons, though of different degrees; the one acting as the rational soul, the other as the divine spirit, of the Saviour. 2. At the time of the passion, they both retired, and left only a sensitive soul and an human body. 3. Even that body was æthereal, and perhaps apparent. Such are the laborious conclusions of Mosheim. But I much doubt whether the Latin translator understood Irenæus, and whether Irenæus and the Valentinians understood themselves.

[16] The heretics abused the passionate exclamation of "My God, my God, why hast thou *forsaken* me?" Rousseau, who has drawn an eloquent but indecent parallel between Christ and Socrates, forgets that not a word of impatience or despair escaped from the mouth of the dying philosopher. In the Messiah such sentiments could be only apparent; and such ill-sounding words are properly explained as the application of a psalm and prophecy.

IV. Divine incarnation of Apollinaris

IV. All those who believe the immateriality of the soul, a specious and noble tenet, must confess, from their present experience, the incomprehensible union of mind and matter. A similar union is not inconsistent with a much higher, or even with the highest degree, of mental faculties ; and the incarnation of an æon or archangel, the most perfect of created spirits does not involve any positive contradiction or absurdity. In the age of religious freedom, which was determined by the counci of Nice, the dignity of Christ was measured by private judgment according to the indefinite rule of scripture, or reason, or tradition. But, when his pure and proper divinity had been established on the ruins of Arianism, the faith of the Catholics trembled on the edge of a precipice where it was impossible to recede, dangerous to stand, dreadful to fall ; and the manifold inconveniences of their creed were aggravated by the sublime character of their theology. They hesitated to pronounce *tha* God himself, the second person of an equal and consubstantial trinity, was manifested in the flesh ;[17] *that* a being who pervades the universe had been confined in the womb of Mary ; *that* his eternal duration had been marked by the days and months and years of human existence ; *that* the Almighty had been scourged and crucified ; *that* his impassible essence had felt pain and anguish ; *that* his omniscience was not exempt from ignorance and *that* the source of life and immortality expired on Mount Calvary. These alarming consequences were affirmed with unblushing simplicity by Apollinaris,[18] bishop of Laodicea, and one of the luminaries of the church. The son of a learned grammarian, he was skilled in all the sciences of Greece ; eloquence erudition, and philosophy, conspicuous in the volumes of Apollinaris, were humbly devoted to the service of religion. Th worthy friend of Athanasius, the worthy antagonist of Julian, he bravely wrestled with the Arians and Polytheists, and, though he affected the rigour of geometrical demonstration, his commentaries revealed the literal and allegorical sense of the scriptures. A mystery which had long floated in the looseness of popular belief was defined by his perverse diligence in a technical form; and he first proclaimed the memorable words, "One incarnate nature of Christ," which are still re-echoed with hostile clamours in the churches of Asia, Egypt, and Æthiopia. He taught that the Godhead was united or mingled with the body of a man; and that the *Logos*, the eternal wisdom, supplied in the flesh the place and office of an human soul. Yet, as the profound doctor had been terrified at his own rashness, Apollinaris was heard to mutter some faint accents of excuse and explanation. He acquiesced in the old distinction of the Greek philosophers between the rational and sensitive soul of man; that he might reserve the *Logos* for intellectual functions, and employ the subordinate human principle in the meaner actions of animal life. With the moderate Docetes, he revered Mary as the spiritual, rather than as the carnal, mother of Christ, whose body either came from heaven, impassible and incorruptible, or was absorbed, and as it were transformed, into the essence of the Deity. The system of Apollinaris was strenuously encountered by the Asiatic and Syrian divines, whose schools are honoured by the names of Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom, and tainted by those of Diodorus, Theodore, and Nestorius. But the person of the aged bishop of Laodicea, his character and dignity, remained inviolate; and his rivals, since we may not suspect them of the weakness of toleration, were astonished, perhaps, by the novelty of the argument, and diffident of the final sentence of the Catholic church. Her judgment at length inclined in their favour; the heresy of Apollinaris was condemned, and the separate congregations of his disciples were proscribed by the Imperial laws. But his principles were secretly entertained in the monasteries of Egypt, and his enemies felt the hatred of Theophilus and Cyril, the successive patriarchs of Alexandria.

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[17] This strong expression might be justified by the language of St. Paul (1 Tim iii. 16), but we are deceived by our modern Bibles. The word ὃ (*which*) wa altered to θεός (*God*) at Constantinople in the beginning of the vith century : th true reading, which is visible in the Latin and Syriac versions, still exists in th reasoning of the Greek as well as of the Latin fathers ; and this fraud, with that c the *three witnesses of St. John*, is admirably detected by Sir Isaac Newton. (Se his two letters translated by M. de Missy, in the Journal Britannique, tom. xv. p 148-190, 351-390.) I have weighed the arguments, and may yield to the authority of the first of philosophers, who was deeply skilled in critical and theologica studies.

[18] For Apollinaris and his sect, see Socrates, l. ii. c. 46, l. iii. c. 16; Sozomen l. v. c. 18, l. vi. c. 25, 27; Theodoret, l. v. 3, 10, 11 ; Tillemont, Mémoire Ecclésiastiques, tom. vii. p. 602, 638, Not. p. 789-794, in 4to, Venise, 1732. Th contemporary saints always mention the bishop of Laodicea as a friend an brother. The style of the more recent historians is harsh and hostile ; yet Philostorgius compares him (l. viii. c. 11-15) to Basil and Gregory.

V. Orthodox consent and verbal disputes

V. The grovelling Ebionite and the fantastic Docetes were rejected and forgotten; the recent zeal against the errors of Apollinaris reduced the Catholics to a seeming agreement with the double nature of Cerinthus. But, instead of a temporary and occasional alliance, *they* established, and *we* still embrace, the substantial, indissoluble, and everlasting union of a perfect

God with a perfect man, of the second person of the trinity with a reasonable soul and human flesh. In the beginning of the fifth century, the *unity* of the *two natures* was the prevailing doctrine of the church. On all sides it was confessed that the mode of their co-existence could neither be represented by our ideas nor expressed by our language. Yet a secret and incurable discord was cherished between those who were most apprehensive of confounding, and those who were most fearful of separating, the divinity and the humanity of Christ. Impelled by religious frenzy, they fled with adverse haste from the error which they mutually deemed most destructive of truth and salvation. On either hand they were anxious to guard, they were jealous to defend, the union and the distinction of the two natures, and to invent such forms of speech, such symbols of doctrine, as were least susceptible of doubt or ambiguity. The poverty of ideas and language tempted them to ransack art and nature for every possible comparison, and each comparison misled their fancy in the explanation of an incomparable mystery. In the polemic microscope an atom is enlarged to a monster, and each party was skilful to exaggerate the absurd or impious conclusions that might be extorted from the principles of their adversaries. To escape from each other, they wandered through many a dark and devious thicket, till they were astonished by the horrid phantoms of Cerinthus and Apollinaris, who guarded the opposite issues of the theological labyrinth. As soon as they beheld the twilight of sense and heresy, they started, measured back their steps, and were again involved in the gloom of impenetrable orthodoxy. To purge themselves from the guilt or reproach of damnable error, they disavowed their consequences, explained their principles, excused their indiscretions, and unanimously pronounced the sounds of concord and faith. Yet a latent and almost invisible spark still lurked among the embers of controversy: by the breath of prejudice and passion, it was quickly kindled to a mighty flame, and the verbal disputes[19] of the Oriental sects have shaken the pillars of the church and state.

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[19] I appeal to the confession of two Oriental prelates, Gregory Abulpharagius the Jacobite primate of the East, and Elias the Nestorian metropolitan of Damascus (see Asseman. Bibliothec. Oriental. tom. ii. p. 291, tom. iii. p. 514, &c.), that the Melchites, Jacobites, Nestorians, &c. agree in the *doctrine*, and differ only in the *expression*. Our most learned and rational divines—Basnage, Le Clerc, Beausobre, La Croze, Mosheim, Jablonski—are inclined to favour this charitable judgment; but the zeal of Petavius is loud and angry, and the moderation of Dupin is conveyed in a whisper.

Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria. A.D. 412, Oct. 18 – A.D. 444, June 27

The name of CYRIL of Alexandria is famous in controversial story, and the title of *saint* is a mark that his opinions and his party have finally prevailed. In the house of his uncle, the archbishop Theophilus, he imbibed the orthodox lessons of zeal and dominion, and five years of his youth were profitably spent in the adjacent monasteries of Nitria. Under the tuition of the abbot Serapion, he applied himself to ecclesiastical studies with such indefatigable ardour, that in the course of *one* sleepless night he has perused the four gospels, the catholic epistles, and the epistle to the Romans. Origen he detested; but the writings of Clemens and Dionysius, of Athanasius and Basil, were continually in his hands; by the theory and practice of dispute, his faith was confirmed and his wit was sharpened; he extended round his cell the cobwebs of scholastic theology, and meditated the works of allegory and metaphysics, whose remains, in seven verbose folios, now peaceably slumber by the side of their rivals.[20] Cyril prayed and fasted in the desert, but his thoughts (it is the reproach of a friend [21]) were still fixed on the world; and the call of Theophilus, who summoned him to the tumult of cities and synods, was too readily obeyed by the aspiring hermit. With the approbation of his uncle, he assumed the office, and acquired the fame, of a popular preacher. His comely person adorned the pulpit, the harmony of his voice resounded in the cathedral, his friends were stationed to lead or second the applause of the congregation,[22] and the hasty notes of the scribes preserved his discourses, which in their effect, though not in their composition, might be compared with those of the Athenian orators. The death of Theophilus expanded and realised the hopes of his nephew. The clergy of Alexandria was divided; the soldiers and their general supported the claims of the archdeacon; but a resistless multitude, with voices and with hands, asserted the cause of their favourite; and, after a period of thirty-nine years, Cyril was seated on the throne of Athanasius.[23]

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[20] La Croze (Hist. du Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 24) avows his contempt for the genius and writings of Cyril. De tous les ouvrages des anciens, il y en a peu qu'on lise avec moins d'utilité; and Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. iv. p. 42-52), in words of respect, teaches us to despise them.

[21] Of Isidore of Pelusium (l. i. epist. 25, p. 8). As the letter is not of the most creditable sort, Tillemont, less sincere than the Bollandists, affects a doubt whether *this* Cyril is the nephew of Theophilus (Mém. Ecclès. tom. xiv. p. 268).

[22] A grammarian is named by Socrates (l. vii. 13) διάπυρος δὲ ἀκροατὴς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυρίλλου καθεστὼς καὶ περὶ τὸ κρότους ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις αὐτοῦ ἐγείρειν ἦν σπουδαιότατος.

[23] See the youth and promotion of Cyril, in Socrates (l. vii. c. 7) and Renaudot

His tyranny. A.D. 413, 414, 415, &c.

The prize was not unworthy of his ambition. At a distance from the court, and at the head of an immense capital, the patriarch, as he was now styled, of Alexandria, had gradually usurped the state and authority of a civil magistrate. The public and private charities of the city were managed by his discretion; his voice inflamed or appeased the passions of the multitude; his commands were blindly obeyed by his numerous and fanatic *parabolani*,[24] familiarised in their daily office with scenes of death; and the præfects of Egypt were awed or provoked by the temporal power of these Christian pontiffs. Ardent in the prosecution of heresy, Cyril auspiciously opened his reign by oppressing the Novatians, the most innocent and harmless of the sectaries. The interdiction of their religious worship appeared in his eyes a just and meritorious act; and he confiscated their holy vessels, without apprehending the guilt of sacrilege. The toleration and even the privileges of the Jews, who had multiplied to the number of forty thousand, were secured by the laws of the Cæsars and Ptolemies and a long prescription of seven hundred years since the foundation of Alexandria. Without any legal sentence, without any royal mandate, the patriarch, at the dawn of day, led a seditious multitude to the attack of the synagogues. Unarmed and unprepared, the Jews were incapable of resistance; their houses of prayer were levelled with the ground; and the episcopal warrior, after rewarding his troops with the plunder of their goods, expelled from the city the remnant of the unbelieving nation. Perhaps he might plead the insolence of their prosperity, and their deadly hatred of the Christians, whose blood they had recently shed in a malicious or accidental tumult. Such crimes would have deserved the animadversion of the magistrate; but in this promiscuous outrage, the innocent were confounded with the guilty, and Alexandria was impoverished by the loss of a wealthy and industrious colony. The zeal of

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(Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 106, 108). The Abbé Renaudot drew his materials from the Arabic history of Severus, bishop of Hermopolis Magna, or Ashmunein, in the xth century, who can never be trusted, unless our assent is extorted by the internal evidence of facts.

[24] The *Parabolani* of Alexandria were a charitable corporation, instituted during the plague of Gallienus, to visit the sick, and to bury the dead. They gradually enlarged, abused, and sold the privileges of their order. Their outrageous conduct under the reign of Cyril provoked the emperor to deprive the patriarch of their nomination, and to restrain their number to five or six hundred. But these restraints were transient and ineffectual. See the Theodosian Code, l. xvi. tit. ii., and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv. p. 276-278. [Cp. above, vol. ii. p. 319.]

Cyril exposed him to the penalties of the Julian law; but in a feeble government and a superstitious age he was secure of impunity, and even of praise. Orestes complained; but his just complaints were too quickly forgotten by the ministers of Theodosius, and too deeply remembered by a priest who affected to pardon, and continued to hate, the præfect of Egypt. As he passed through the streets, his chariot was assaulted by a band of five hundred of the Nitrian monks; his guards fled from the wild beasts of the desert; his protestations that he was a Christian and a Catholic were answered by a volley of stones, and the face of Orestes was covered with blood. The loyal citizens of Alexandria hastened to his rescue; he instantly satisfied his justice and revenge against the monk by whose hand he had been wounded, and Ammonius expired under the rod of the lictor. At the command of Cyril, his body was raised from the ground and transported in solemn procession to the cathedral; the name of Ammonius was changed to that of Thaumasius the *wonderful;* his tomb was decorated with the trophies of martyrdom; and the patriarch ascended the pulpit to celebrate the magnanimity of an assassin and a rebel. Such honours might incite the faithful to combat and die under the banners of the saint; and he soon prompted, or accepted, the sacrifice of a virgin, who professed the religion of the Greeks, and cultivated the friendship of Orestes. Hypatia, the daughter of Theon the mathematician,[25] was initiated in her father's studies; her learned comments have elucidated the geometry of Apollonius and Diophantus, and she publicly taught, both at Athens and Alexandria, the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. In the bloom of beauty and in the maturity of wisdom, the modest maid refused her lovers and instructed her disciples; the persons most illustrious for their rank or merit were impatient to visit the female philosopher; and Cyril beheld, with a jealous eye, the gorgeous train of horses and slaves who crowded the door of her academy. A rumour was spread among the Christians that the daughter of Theon was the only obstacle to the reconciliation of the præfect and the archbishop; and that obstacle was speedily removed. On a fatal day, in the holy season of Lent, Hypatia [A.D. 415] was torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the church, and inhumanly butchered by the hands of Peter the reader and a troop of savage and merciless fanatics: her flesh was scraped from her bones with sharp oyster shells,[26] and her quivering limbs were delivered to the flames. The just progress of inquiry and punishment was stopped by seasonable gifts; but the murder of Hypatia has imprinted an indelible stain on the character and religion of Cyril of Alexandria.[27]

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[25] For Theon, and his daughter Hypatia, see Fabricius, Bibliothec. tom. viii. p. 210, 211. Her article in the Lexicon of Suidas is curious and original. Hesychius (Meursii Opera, tom. vii. p. 295, 296) observes that she was prosecuted διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν σοφίαν; and an epigram in the Greek Anthology (l. i. c. 76, p. 159, edit. Brodæi) celebrates her knowledge and eloquence. She is honourably mentioned (Epist. 10, 15, 16, 33-80, 124, 135, 153) by her friend and disciple the philosophic bishop Synesius. [W. A. Meyer, Hypatia von Alexandria, 1886.]

Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople. A.D. 428, April 10

Superstition, perhaps, would more gently expiate the blood of a virgin than the banishment of a saint; and Cyril had accompanied his uncle to the iniquitous synod of the Oak. When the memory of Chrysostom was restored and consecrated, the nephew of Theophilus, at the head of a dying faction, still maintained the justice of his sentence; nor was it till after a tedious delay and an obstinate resistance that he yielded to the consent of the Catholic world.[28] His enmity to the Byzantine pontiffs[29] was a sense of interest, not a sally of passion; he envied their fortunate station in the sunshine of the Imperial court; and he dreaded their upstart ambition, which oppressed the metropolitans of Europe and Asia, invaded the provinces of Antioch and Alexandria, and measured their diocese by the limits of the empire. The long moderation of Atticus, the mild usurper of the throne of Chrysostom, suspended the animosities of the eastern patriarchs; but Cyril was at length awakened by the exaltation of a rival more worthy of his esteem and hatred. After the short and troubled reign of Sisinnius bishop of Constantinople, the factions of the clergy and people were appeased by the choice of the emperor, who, on this occasion, consulted the voice of fame, and invited the merit of a stranger. Nestorius,[30] a native of Germanicia and a monk of Antioch, was recommended by the austerity of his life and the eloquence of his sermons; but the first homily which he preached before the devout Theodosius betrayed the acrimony and impatience of his zeal. "Give me, O Cæsar!" he exclaimed, "give me the earth purged of heretics, and I will give you in exchange the kingdom of heaven. Exterminate with me, the heretics; and with you, I will exterminate the Persians." On the fifth day, as if the treaty had been already signed, the patriarch of Constantinople discovered, surprised, and attacked a secret conventicle of the Arians; they preferred death to submission; the flames that were kindled by their despair soon spread to the neighbouring houses, and the triumph of Nestorius was clouded by the name of *incendiary*. On either side of the Hellespont, his episcopal vigour imposed a rigid formulary of faith and discipline; a chronological error concerning the festival of Easter was punished as an offence against the church and state. Lydia and Caria, Sardes and Miletus, were purified with the blood of the obstinate Quartodecimans; and the edict of the emperor, or rather of the patriarch, enumerates three and twenty degrees and denominations in the guilt and punishment of heresy.[31] But the sword of persecution, which Nestorius so furiously wielded, was soon turned against his own breast. Religion was the pretence; but, in the judgment of a contemporary saint, ambition was the genuine motive of episcopal warfare.[32]

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[26] Ὀστράκοις ἀνεῖλον καὶ μεληδὸν δεασπάσαντες, &c. Oyster shells were plentifully strewed on the sea-beach before the Cæsareum. I may therefore prefer the literal sense, without rejecting the metaphorical version of *tegulae*, tiles, which is used by M. de Valois. I am ignorant, and the assassins were probably regardless, whether their victim was yet alive. [ἀνεῖλον means simply *killed* (by cutting her throat?), not *scraped*.]

[27] These exploits of St. Cyril are recorded by Socrates (l. vii. c. 13, 14, 15); and the most reluctant bigotry is compelled to copy an historian who coolly styles the murderers of Hypatia ἄνδρες τὸ φρόνημα ἔνθερμοι. At the mention of that injured name, I am pleased to observe a blush even on the cheek of Baronius (A.D. 415, No. 48).

[28] He was deaf to the entreaties of Atticus of Constantinople, and of Isidore of Pelusium, and yielded only (if we may believe Nicephorus, l. xiv. c. 18) to the personal intercession of the Virgin. Yet in his last years he still muttered that John Chrysostom had been justly condemned (Tillemont. Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv. p. 278-282; Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 412, No. 46-64).

[29] See their characters in the history of Socrates (l. vii. c. 25-28); their power and pretensions, in the huge compilation of Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 80-91).

[A.D. 428]

His heresy. A.D. 429-431

In the Syrian school, Nestorius had been taught to abhor the confusion of the two natures, and nicely to discriminate the humanity of his *master* Christ from the divinity of the *Lord* Jesus.[33] The Blessed Virgin he revered as the mother of Christ, but his ears were offended with the rash and recent title of mother of God,[34] which had been insensibly adopted since the origin of the Arian controversy. From the pulpit of Constantinople, a friend of the patriarch, and afterwards the patriarch himself, repeatedly preached against the use, or the abuse, of a word [35] unknown to the apostles, unauthorised by the church, and which could only tend to alarm the timorous, to mislead the simple, to amuse the profane, and to justify, by a seeming resemblance, the old genealogy of Olympus.[36] In his calmer moments Nestorius confessed that it might be tolerated or excused by the union of the two natures and the communication of their *idioms;*[37] but he was exasperated, by contradiction, to disclaim the worship of a new-born, an infant Deity, to draw his inadequate similes from the conjugal or civil partnerships of life, and to describe the manhood of Christ as the robe, the instrument, the tabernacle of his Godhead. At these blasphemous sounds, the pillars of the sanctuary were shaken. The unsuccessful competitors of Nestorius indulged their pious or personal resentments; the Byzantine clergy was secretly displeased with the intrusion of a stranger; whatever is superstitious or absurd, might claim the protection of the monks; and the people were interested in the glory of their virgin patroness.[38] The sermons of the archbishop and the service of the altar were disturbed by seditious clamour; his authority and doctrine were renounced by separate congregations; every wind scattered round the empire the leaves of controversy; and the voice of the combatants on a sonorous theatre re-echoed in the cells of Palestine and Egypt. It was the duty of Cyril to enlighten the zeal and ignorance of his innumerable monks: in the school of Alexandria, he had imbibed and professed the incarnation of one nature; and the successor of Athanasius consulted his pride and ambition when he rose in arms against another Arius, more formidable and more guilty, on the second throne of the hierarchy. After a short correspondence, in which the rival prelates disguised their hatred in the hollow language of respect and charity, the patriarch of Alexandria denounced to the prince and people, to the East and to the West, the damnable errors of the Byzantine pontiff. From the East, more especially from Antioch, he obtained the ambiguous counsels of toleration and silence, which were addressed to both parties while they favoured the cause of Nestorius. But the Vatican received with open arms the messengers of Egypt. The vanity of Celestine was flattered by the appeal; and the partial version of a monk decided the faith of the pope, who, with his Latin clergy, was ignorant of the language, the arts, and the theology of the Greeks. At the head of an Italian synod, Celestine weighed the merits of the cause, approved the creed of Cyril, condemned the sentiments and person of Nestorius, degraded the heretic from his episcopal dignity, allowed a respite of ten days for recantation and penance, and delegated to his enemy the execution of this rash and illegal sentence. But the patriarch of Alexandria, whilst he darted the thunders of a god, exposed the errors and passions of a mortal; and his twelve anathemas[39] still torture the orthodox slaves who adore the memory of a saint, without forfeiting their allegiance to the synod of Chalcedon. These bold assertions are indelibly tinged with the colours of the Apollinarian heresy; but the serious, and perhaps the sincere, professions of Nestorius have satisfied the wiser and less partial theologians of the present times.[40]

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[30] His elevation and conduct are described by Socrates (l. vii. c. 29, 31); and Marcellinus seems to have applied the loquentiæ satis, sapientiæ parum, of Sallust.

[31] Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 65, with the illustrations of Baronius (A.D. 428, No. 25, &c.), Godefroy (ad locum), and Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 208).

[32] Isidore of Pelusium (l. iv. epist. 57). His words are strong and scandalous—τί θαυμάζεις, εἰ καὶ νῦν περὶ πρᾶγμα θεῖον καὶ λόγου κρεῖττον διαφωνεῖν προσποιοῦνται ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἐκβακχευόμενοι; Isidore is a saint, but he never became a bishop; and I half suspect that the pride of Diogenes trampled on the pride of Plato.

[33] La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 44-53; Thesaurus Epistolicus La Crozianus, tom. iii. p. 276-280) has detected the use of ὁ δεσπότης and ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, which in the ivth, vth, and vith centuries discriminates the school of Diodorus of Tarsus and his Nestorian disciples.

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[34] Θεοτόκος—*Deipara:* as in zoology we familiarly speak of oviparous and viviparous animals. It is not easy to fix the invention of this word, which La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 16) ascribes to Eusebius of Cæsarea and the Arians. The orthodox testimonies are produced by Cyril and Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. v. c. 15, p. 254, &c.); but the veracity of the saint is questionable, and the epithet of θεοτόκος so easily slides from the margin to the text of a Catholic Ms.

[35] Basnage, in his Histoire de l'Eglise, a work of controversy (tom. i. p. 505), justifies the mother, by the blood, of God (Acts xx. 28, with Mill's various readings). But the Greek Mss. are far from unanimous; and the primitive style of the blood of Christ is preserved in the Syriac version, even in those copies which were used by the Christians of St. Thomas on the coast of Malabar (La Croze, Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 347). The jealousy of the Nestorians and Monophysites has guarded the purity of their text.

[36] The Pagans of Egypt already laughed at the new Cybele of the Christians (Isidor. l. i. epist. 54): a letter was forged in the name of Hypatia, to ridicule the theology of her assassin (Synodicon, c. 216, in iv. tom. Concil. p. 484). In the article of NESTORIUS, Bayle has scattered some loose philosophy on the worship of the Virgin Mary.

[37] The ἀντίδοσις of the Greeks, a mutual loan or transfer of the idioms or properties of each nature to the other—of infinity to man, passibility to God, &c. Twelve rules on this nicest of subjects compose the Theological Grammar of Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. tom. v. l. iv. c. 14, 15, p. 209, &c.).

[38] See Ducange, C. P. Christiana, l. i. p. 30, &c

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[39] Concil. tom. iii. p. 943. They have never been *directly* approved by the church (Tillemont, Mém. Eccles. tom. xiv. p. 368-372). I almost pity the agony of rage and sophistry with which Petavius seems to be agitated in the vith book of his Dogmata Theologica.

[40] Such as the rational Basnage (ad tom. i. Variar. Lection, Canisii in Præfat. c. ii. p. 11-23) and La Croze, the universal scholar (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 16-20. De l'Ethiopie, p. 26, 27. Thesaur. Epist. p. 176, &c. 283, 285). His free sentence is confirmed by that of his friends Jablonski (Thesaur. Epist. tom. i. p. 193-201) and Mosheim (idem, p. 304: Nestorium crimine caruisse est et mea

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Yet neither the emperor nor the primate of the East were disposed to obey the mandate of an Italian priest; and a synod of the Catholic, or rather of the Greek, church was unanimously demanded as the sole remedy that could appease or decide this ecclesiastical quarrel.[41] Ephesus, on all sides accessible by sea and land, was chosen for the place, the festival of Pentecost for the day, of the meeting; a writ of summons was despatched to each metropolitan, and a guard was stationed to protect and confine the fathers till they should settle the mysteries of heaven and the faith of the earth. Nestorius appeared, not as a criminal, but as a judge; he depended on the weight rather than the number of his prelates; and his sturdy slaves from the baths of Zeuxippus were armed for every service of injury or defence. But his adversary Cyril was more powerful in the weapons both of the flesh and of the spirit. Disobedient to the letter, or at least to the meaning, of the royal summons, he was attended by fifty Egyptian bishops, who expected from their patriarch's nod the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He had contracted an intimate alliance with Memnon bishop of Ephesus. The despotic primate of Asia disposed of the ready succours of thirty or forty episcopal votes; a crowd of peasants, the slaves of the church, was poured into the city to support with blows and clamours a metaphysical argument; and the people zealously asserted the honour of the virgin, whose body reposed within the walls of Ephesus.[42] The fleet which had transported Cyril from Alexandria was laden with the riches of Egypt; and he disembarked a numerous body of mariners, slaves, and fanatics, enlisted with blind obedience under the banner of St. Mark and the mother of God. The fathers, and even the guards, of the council were awed by this martial array; the adversaries of Cyril and Mary were insulted in the streets

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sententia); and three more respectable judges will not easily be found. Asseman, a learned and modest slave, can *hardly* discern (Bibliothec. Orient. tom. iv. p. 190-224) the guilt and error of the Nestorians.

[41] The origin and progress of the Nestorian controversy, till the synod of Ephesus, may be found in Socrates (l. vii. c. 32), Evagrius (l. i. c. 1, 2), Liberatus (Brev. c. 1-4), the original Acts (Concil. tom. iii. p. 551-991, edit. Venise, 1728), the Annals of Baronius and Pagi, and the faithful collections of Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv. p. 283-377).

[42] The Christians of the four first centuries were ignorant of the death and burial of Mary. The tradition of Ephesus is affirmed by the synod (ἔνθα ὁ θεολόγος Ἰωάννης, καὶ ἡ θεοτόκος παρθένος ἡ ἁγία Μαρία. Concil. tom. iii. p. 1102); yet it has been superseded by the claim of Jerusalem; and her *empty* sepulchre, as it was shewn to the pilgrims, produced the fable of her resurrection and assumption, in which the Greek and Latin churches have piously acquiesced. See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 48, No. 6, &c.) and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. i. p. 467-477).

or threatened in their houses; his eloquence and liberality made a daily increase in the number of his adherents; and the Egyptian soon computed that he might command the attendance and the voices of two hundred bishops.[43] But the author of the twelve anathemas foresaw and dreaded the opposition of John of Antioch, who with a small, though respectable, train of metropolitans and divines was advancing by slow journeys from the distant capital of the East. Impatient of a delay which he stigmatized as voluntary and culpable,[44] Cyril announced the opening of the synod sixteen days after the festival of Pentecost. Nestorius, who depended on the near approach of his Eastern friends, persisted, like his predecessor Chrysostom, to disclaim the jurisdiction and to disobey the summons of his enemies; they hastened his trial, and his accuser presided in the seat of judgment. Sixty-eight bishops, twenty-two of metropolitan rank, defended his cause by a modest and temperate protest; they were excluded from the counsels of their brethren. Candidian, in the emperor's name, requested a delay of four days; the profane magistrate was driven with outrage and insult from the assembly of the saints. The whole of this momentous transaction was crowded into the compass of a summer's day; the bishops delivered their separate opinions; but the uniformity of style reveals the influence or the hand of a master, who had been accused of corrupting the public evidence of their acts and subscriptions.[45] Without a dissenting voice, they recognised in the epistles of Cyril the Nicene creed and the doctrine of the fathers: but the partial extracts from the letters and homilies of Nestorius were interrupted by curses and anathemas; and the heretic was degraded from his episcopal and ecclesiastical dignity. The sentence, maliciously inscribed to the new Judas, was affixed and proclaimed in the

Condemnation of Nestorius. June 22

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[43] The Acts of Chalcedon (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1405, 1408) exhibit a lively picture of the blind, obstinate servitude of the bishops of Egypt to their patriarch.

[44] Civil or ecclesiastical business detained the bishops at Antioch till the 18th of May. Ephesus was at the distance of thirty days' journey; and ten days more may be fairly allowed for accidents and repose. The march of Xenophon over the same ground enumerates above 260 parasangs or leagues; and this measure might be illustrated from ancient and modern itineraries, if I knew how to compare the speed of an army, a synod, and a caravan. John of Antioch is reluctantly acquitted by Tillemont himself (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv. p. 386-389).

[45] *Μεμφόμενον μὴ κατὰ τὸ δέον τὰ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ συντεθῆναι ὑπομνήματα, πανουργίᾳ δὲ καί τινι ἀθέσμῳ καινοτομίᾳ Κυρίλλου τεχνάζοντος.* Evagrius, l. i. c. 7. The same imputation was urged by Count Irenæus (tom. iii. p. 1249); and the orthodox critics do not find it an easy task to defend the purity of the Greek or Latin copies of the Acts.

streets of Ephesus ; the weary prelates, as they issued from th church of the mother of God, were saluted as her champions and her victory was celebrated by the illuminations, the songs and the tumult of the night.

Opposition of the Orientals. June 27, &c.

On the fifth day, the triumph was clouded by the arrival an indignation of the Eastern bishops. In a chamber of the inn before he had wiped the dust from his shoes, John of Antioc gave audience to Candidian the Imperial minister ; who relate his ineffectual efforts to prevent or to annul the hasty violenc of the Egyptian. With equal haste and violence, the Orienta synod of fifty bishops degraded Cyril and Memnon from thei episcopal honours, condemned, in the twelve anathemas, th purest venom of the Apollinarian heresy, and described th Alexandrian primate as a monster, born and educated for th destruction of the church.[46] *His* throne was distant and inac cessible ; but they instantly resolved to bestow on the flock o Ephesus the blessing of a faithful shepherd. By the vigilanc of Memnon, the churches were shut against them, and a stron garrison was thrown into the cathedral. The troops, under th command of Candidian, advanced to the assault ; the outguard were routed and put to the sword ; but the place was impreg nable : the besiegers retired ; their retreat was pursued by vigorous sally ; they lost their horses, and many of the soldier were dangerously wounded with clubs and stones. Ephesus the city of the Virgin, was defiled with rage and clamour, wit sedition and blood ; the rival synods darted anathemas an excommunications from their spiritual engines ; and the cour of Theodosius was perplexed by the adverse and contradictor narratives of the Syrian and Egyptian factions. During a bus period of three months, the emperor tried every method, ex cept the most effectual means of indifference and contempt, t reconcile this theological quarrel. He attempted to remove o intimidate the leaders by a common sentence of acquittal o condemnation ; he invested his representatives at Ephesus wit ample power and military force ; he summoned from eithe party eight chosen deputies to a free and candid conference i the neighbourhood of the capital, far from the contagion o popular frenzy. But the Orientals refused to yield, and th Catholics, proud of their numbers and of their Latin allies rejected all terms of union or toleration. The patience of the meek Theodosius was provoked, and he dissolved, in anger, this episcopal tumult, which at the distance of thirteen centuries assumes the venerable aspect of the third œcumenical council.[47] "God is my witness," said the pious prince, "that I am not the author of this confusion. His providence will discern and punish the guilty. Return to your provinces, and may your private virtues repair the mischief and scandal of your meeting." They returned to their provinces; but the same passions which had distracted the synod of Ephesus were diffused over the Eastern world. After three obstinate and equal campaigns, John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria condescended to explain and embrace; but their seeming re-union must be imputed rather to prudence than to reason, to the mutual lassitude rather than to the Christian charity of the patriarchs.

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[46] Ὁ δὲ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τεχθεὶς καὶ τραφείς. After the coalition of Joh and Cyril, these invectives were mutually forgotten. The style of declamatio must never be confounded with the genuine sense which respectable enemies enter tain of each other's merit (Concil. tom. iii. p. 1244).

Victory of Cyril. A.D 431-435

The Byzantine pontiff had instilled into the royal ear a baleful prejudice against the character and conduct of his Egyptian rival. An epistle of menace and invective,[48] which accompanied the summons, accused him as a busy, insolent, and envious priest, who perplexed the simplicity of the faith, violated the peace of the church and state, and, by his artful and separate addresses to the wife and sister of Theodosius, presumed to suppose, or to scatter, the seeds of discord in the Imperial family. At the stern command of his sovereign, Cyril had repaired to Ephesus, where he was resisted, threatened, and confined, by the magistrates in the interest of Nestorius and the Orientals; who assembled the troops of Lydia and Ionia to suppress the fanatic and disorderly train of the patriarch. Without expecting the royal licence, he escaped from his guards, precipitately embarked, deserted the imperfect synod, and retired to his episcopal fortress of safety and independence. But his artful emissaries, both in the court and city, successfully laboured to appease the resentment, and to conciliate the favour, of the emperor. The feeble son of Arcadius was alternately swayed by his wife and sister, by the eunuchs and women of the palace; superstition and avarice were their ruling passions; and the orthodox chiefs were assiduous in their endeavours to alarm the former and to gratify the latter. Constantinople and the suburbs were sanctified with frequent monasteries, and the holy abbots, Dalmatius and Eutyches,[49] had devoted their zeal and fidelity to the cause of Cyril, the worship of Mary, and the unity of Christ. From the first moment of their monastic life, they had never mingled with the world, or trod the profane ground of the city. But in this awful moment of the danger of the church, their vow was superseded by a more sublime and indispensable duty. At the head of a long order of monks and hermits, who carried burning tapers in their hands and chaunted litanies to the mother of God, they proceeded from their monasteries to the palace. The people was edified and inflamed by this extraordinary spectacle, and the trembling monarch listened to the prayers and adjurations of the saints, who boldly pronounced that none could hope for salvation unless they embraced the person and the creed of the orthodox successor of Athanasius. At the same time every avenue of the throne was assaulted with gold. Under the decent names of *eulogies* and *benedictions*, the courtiers of both sexes were bribed according to the measure of their power and rapaciousness. But their incessant demands despoiled the sanctuaries of Constantinople and Alexandria; and the authority of the patriarch was unable to silence the just murmur of his clergy, that a debt of sixty thousand pounds had already been contracted to support the expense of this scandalous corruption.[50] Pulcheria, who relieved her brother from the weight of an empire, was the firmest pillar of orthodoxy; and so intimate was the alliance between the thunders of the synod and the whispers of the court that Cyril was assured of success if he could displace one eunuch and substitute another in the favour of Theodosius. Yet the Egyptian could not boast of a glorious or decisive victory. The Emperor, with unaccustomed firmness, adhered to his promise of protecting the innocence of the Oriental bishops; and Cyril softened his anathemas, and confessed, with ambiguity and reluctance, a twofold nature of Christ, before he was permitted to satiate his revenge against the unfortunate Nestorius.[51]

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[47] See the Acts of the Synod of Ephesus, in the original Greek, and a Latin version almost contemporary (Concil. tom. iii. p. 991-1339) with the Synodicon adversus Tragœdiam Irenæi (tom. iv. p. 235-497), the Ecclesiastical Histories of Socrates (l. vii. c. 34) and Evagrius (l. i. c. 3, 4, 5), and the Breviary of Liberatus (in Concil. tom. vi. p. 419-459, c. 5, 6), and the Mémoires Ecclés. of Tillemont (tom. xiv. p. 377-487).

[48] Ταραχὴν (says the emperor in pointed language) τό γε ἐπὶ σαυτῷ καὶ χωρισμὸν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐμβέβληκας . . . ὡς θρασυτέρας ὁρμῆς πρεπούσης μᾶλλον ἢ ἀκριβείας . . . καὶ ποικιλίας μᾶλλον τούτων ἡμῖν ἀρκούσης ἤπερ ἁπλότητος . . . παντὸς μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερέως . . . τά τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, τά τε τῶν βασιλέων μέλλειν χωρίζειν βούλεσθαι, ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἀφορμῆς ἑτέρας εὐδοκιμήσεως. I should be curious to know how much Nestorius paid for these expressions so mortifying to his rival.

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[49] Eutyches, the heresiarch Eutyches, is honourably named by Cyril as a friend, a saint, and the strenuous defender of the faith. His brother, the abbot Dalmatius, is likewise employed to bind the emperor and all his chamberlains *terribili conjuratione*. Synodicon, c. 203, in Concil. tom. iv. p. 467.

[50] Clerici qui hic sunt contristantur, quod ecclesia Alexandrina nudata sit hujus causâ turbelæ: et debet præter illa quæ hinc transmissa sint *auri libras mille quingentas*. Et nunc et scriptum est ut præstet; sed de tuâ ecclesiâ præsta avaritiæ quorum nosti, &c. This curious and original letter, from Cyril's archdeacon to his creature the new bishop of Constantinople, has been unaccountably preserved in an old Latin version (Synodicon, c. 203; Concil. tom. iv. p. 465-468). The mask is almost dropped, and the saints speak the honest language of interest and confederacy.

Exile of Nestorius. A.D. 435

The rash and obstinate Nestorius, before the end of the synod, was oppressed by Cyril, betrayed by the court, and faintly supported by his Eastern friends. A sentiment of fear or indignation prompted him, while it was yet time, to affect the glory of a voluntary abdication;[52] his wish, or at least his request, was readily granted; he was conducted with honour from Ephesus to his old monastery of Antioch; and, after a short pause, his successors, Maximian and Proclus, were acknowledged as the lawful bishops of Constantinople. But in the silence of his cell the degraded patriarch could no longer resume the innocence and security of a private monk. The past he regretted, he was discontented with the present, and the future he had reason to dread; the Oriental bishops successively disengaged their cause from his unpopular name; and each day decreased the number of the schismatics who revered Nestorius as the confessor of the faith. After a residence at Antioch of four years, the hand of Theodosius subscribed an edict,[53] which ranked him with Simon the magician, proscribed his opinions and followers, condemned his writings to the flames, and banished his person first to Petra in Arabia, and at length to Oasis, one of the *islands* of the Libyan desert.[54] Secluded from the church and from the world, the exile was still pursued by the rage of bigotry and war. A wandering tribe of the Blemmyes, or Nubians, invaded his solitary prison; in their retreat they dismissed a crowd of useless captives; but no sooner had Nestorius reached the banks of the Nile than he would gladly have escaped from a Roman and orthodox city to the milder servitude of the savages. His flight was punished as a new crime; the soul of the patriarch inspired the civil and ecclesiastical powers of Egypt; the magistrates, the soldiers, the monks, devoutly tortured the enemy of Christ and St. Cyril; and, as far as the confines of Æthiopia, the heretic was alternately dragged and recalled, till his aged body was broken by the hardships and accidents of these reiterated journeys. Yet his mind was still independent and erect; the president of Thebais was awed by his pastoral letters; he survived the Catholic tyrant of Alexandria, and, after sixteen years' banishment, the synod of Chalcedon would perhaps have restored him to the honours, or at least to the communion, of the church. The death of Nestorius prevented his obedience to their welcome summons;[55] and his disease might afford some colour to the scandalous report that his tongue, the organ of blasphemy, had been eaten by the worms. He was buried in a city of Upper Egypt, known by the names of Chemnis, or Panopolis, or Akmim;[56] but the immortal malice of the Jacobites has persevered for ages to cast stones against his sepulchre, and to propagate the foolish tradition that it was never watered by the rain of heaven, which equally descends on the righteous and the ungodly.[57] Humanity may drop a tear on the fate of Nestorius; yet justice must observe that he suffered the persecution which he had approved and inflicted.[58]

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[51] The tedious negotiations that succeeded the synod of Ephesus are diffusely related in the original Acts (Concil. tom. iii. p. 1339-1771, ad fin. vol. and the Synodicon, in tom. iv.), Socrates (l. vii. c. 28, 35, 40, 41), Evagrius (l. i. c. 6, 7, 8, 12), Liberatus (c. 7-10), Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv. p. 487-676). The most patient reader will thank me for compressing so much nonsense and falsehood in a few lines.

[52] Αὐτοῦ τε αὖ δεηθέντος, ἐπετράπη κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐπαναζεῦξαι μοναστήριον. Evagrius, l. i. c. 7. The original letters in the Synodicon (c. 15, 24, 25, 26) justify the *appearance* of a voluntary resignation, which is asserted by Ebed-Jesu, a Nestorian writer, apud Asseman. Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iii. p. 299, 302. [For this writer see also Wright's Syriac Literature, p. 285 *sqq.*]

[53] See the Imperial letters in the Acts of the Synod of Ephesus (Concil. tom. iii. p. 1730-1735). The odious name of *Simonians*, which was affixed to the disciples of this τερατώδους διδασκαλίας, was designed ὡς ἂν ὀνείδεσι προβληθέντες αἰώνιον ὑπομένοιεν τιμωρίαν τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, καί μήτε ζῶντας τιμωρίας, μήτε θανόντας ἀτιμίας ἐκτὸς ὑπάρχειν. Yet these were Christians! who differed only in names and in shadows.

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[54] The metaphor of islands is applied by the grave civilians (Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. 22, leg. 7) to those happy spots which are discriminated by water and verdure from the Libyan sands. Three of these under the common name of Oasis, or Alvahat: 1. The temple of Jupiter Ammon [Oasis of Siwah]. 2. The middle Oasis [el Kasr], three days' journey to the west of Lycopolis. 3. The southern, where Nestorius was banished, in the first climate and only three days' journey from the confines of Nubia [Great Oasis, or Wah el Khargeh]. See a learned Note of Michaelis (ad Descript. Egypt. Abulfedæ, p. 21, 34).

[55] The invitation of Nestorius to the Synod of Chalcedon is related by Zacharias, bishop of Melitene [Mytilene] (Evagrius, l. ii. c. 2; Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 55), and the famous Xenaias or Philoxenus, bishop of Hierapolis (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 40, &c.), denied by Evagrius and Asseman, and stoutly maintained by La Croze (Thesaur. Epistol. tom. iii. p. 181, &c.). The fact is not improbable; yet it was the interest of the Monophysites to spread the invidious report; and Eutychius (tom. ii. p. 12) affirms that Nestorius died after an exile of seven years, and consequently ten years before the synod of Chalcedon.

[56] Consult d'Anville (Mémoire sur l'Egypte, p. 191), Pocock (Description of the East, vol. i. p. 76), Abulfeda (Descript. Egypt. p. 14) and his commentator Michaelis (Not. p. 78-83), and the Nubian Geographer (p. 42), who mentions, in the xiith century, the ruins and the sugar-canes of Akmim.

Heresy of Eutyches. A.D. 448

Second council of Ephesus. A.D. 449, Aug. 8-11

The death of the Alexandrian primate, after a reign of thirty-two years, abandoned the Catholics to the intemperance of zeal and the abuse of victory.[59] The *monophysite* doctrine (one incarnate nature) was rigorously preached in the churches of Egypt and the monasteries of the East; the primitive creed of Apollinaris was protected by the sanctity of Cyril; and the name of Eutyches, his venerable friend, has been applied to the sect most adverse to the Syrian heresy of Nestorius. His rival, Eutyches, was the abbot, or archimandrite, or superior of three hundred monks, but the opinions of a simple and illiterate recluse might have expired in the cell, where he had slept above seventy years, if the resentment or indiscretion of Flavian, the Byzantine pontiff, had not exposed the scandal to the eyes of the Christian world. His domestic synod was instantly convened, their proceedings were sullied with clamour and artifice, and the aged heretic was surprised into a seeming confession that Christ had not derived his body from the substance of the Virgin Mary. From their partial decree, Eutyches appealed to a general council; and his cause was vigorously asserted by his godson Chrysaphius, the reigning eunuch of the palace, and his accomplice Dioscorus, who had succeeded to the throne, the creed, the talents, and the vices of the nephew of Theophilus. By the special summons of Theodosius, the second synod of Ephesus was judiciously composed of ten metropolitans and ten bishops from each of the six dioceses of the Eastern empire; some exceptions of favour or merit enlarged the number to one hundred and thirty-five; and the Syrian Barsumas, as the chief and representative of the monks, was invited to sit and vote with the successors of the apostles. But the despotism of the Alexandrian patriarch again oppressed the freedom of debate; the same spiritual and carnal weapons were again drawn from the arsenals of Egypt; the Asiatic veterans, a band of archers, served under the orders of Dioscorus; and the more formidable monks, whose minds were inaccessible to reason or mercy, besieged the doors of the cathedral. The general and, as it should seem, the unconstrained voice of the fathers accepted the faith and even the anathemas of Cyril; and the heresy of the two natures was formally condemned in the persons and writings of the most learned Orientals. "May those who divide Christ be divided with the sword, may they be hewn in pieces, may they be burnt alive!" were the charitable wishes of a Christian synod.[60] The innocence and sanctity of Eutyches were acknowledged without hesitation; but the prelates, more especially those of Thrace and Asia, were unwilling to depose their patriarch for the use or even the abuse of his lawful jurisdiction. They embraced the knees of Dioscorus, as he stood with a threatening aspect on the footstool of his throne, and conjured him to forgive the offences, and to respect the dignity, of his brother. "Do you mean to raise a sedition?" exclaimed the relentless tyrant. "Where are the officers?" At these words a furious multitude of monks and soldiers, with staves, and swords, and chains, burst into the church; the trembling bishops hid themselves behind the altar, or under the benches; and, as they were not inspired with the zeal of martyrdom, they successively subscribed a blank paper, which was afterwards filled with the condemnation of the Byzantine pontiff. Flavian was instantly delivered to the wild beasts of this spiritual amphitheatre; the monks were stimulated by the voice and example of Barsumas to avenge the injuries of Christ; it is said that the patriarch of Alexandria reviled, and buffeted, and kicked, and trampled his brother of Constantinople:[61] it is certain that the victim, before he could reach the place of his exile, expired on the third day, of the wounds and bruises which he had received at Ephesus. This second synod has been justly branded as a gang of robbers and assassins ;[62] yet the accusers of Dioscorus would magnify his violence, to alleviate the cowardice and inconstancy of their own behaviour.

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[57] Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 12) and Gregory Bar-Hebræus, or Abulpharagius (Asseman. tom. ii. p. 316), represent the credulity of the tenth and thirteenth centuries.

[58] We are obliged to Evagrius (l. i. c. 7) for some extracts from the letters of Nestorius; but the lively picture of his sufferings is treated with insult by the hard and stupid fanatic.

[59] Dixi Cyrillum, dum viveret, auctoritate suâ effecisse, ne Eutychianismus et Monophysitarum error in nervum erumperet: idque verum puto . . . aliquo . . . honesto modo παλινῳδίαν cecinerat. The learned but cautious Jablonski did not always speak the whole truth. Cum Cyrillo lenius omnino egi, quam si tecum aut cum aliis rei hujus probe gnaris et æquis rerum æstimatoribus sermones privatos conferrem (Thesaur. Epistol. La Crozian. tom. i. p. 197, 198): an excellent key to his dissertations on the Nestorian controversy!

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[60] Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος εἶπεν, ἆρον, καῦσον Εὐσέβιον, οὗτος ζῶν καῇ, οὗτος εἰς δύο γένηται, ὡς ἐμέρισε μερισθῇ . . . εἴ τις λέγει δύο, ἀνάθεμα. At the request of Dioscorus, those who were not able to roar (βοῆσαι) stretched out their hands. At Chalcedon, the Orientals disclaimed these exclamations; but the Egyptians more consistently declared ταῦτα καὶ τότε εἴπομεν καὶ νῦν λέγομεν (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1012).

[61] Ἔλεγε δὲ (Eusebius, bishop of Dorylæum) τὸν Φλαβιανὸν καὶ δειλαίως ἀναιρεθῆναι πρὸς Διοσκόρου ὠθούμενόν τε καὶ λακτιζόμενον; and this testimony of Evagrius (l. ii. c. ii.) is amplified by the historian Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 44 [c. 23]), who affirms that Dioscorus kicked like a wild ass. But the language of Liberatus (Brev. c. 12, in Concil. tom. vi. p. 438) is more cautious; and the acts of Chalcedon, which lavish the names of *homicide*, *Cain*, &c., do not justify so pointed a charge. The monk Barsumas is more particularly accused—ἔσφαξε τὸν μακάριον Φλαυιανὸν, αὐτὸς ἕστηκε καὶ ἔλεγε, σφάξον (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1413).

Council of Chalcedon. A.D. 451, Oct 8–Nov. 1

The faith of Egypt had prevailed ; but the vanquished party was supported by the same pope who encountered without fear the hostile rage of Attila and Genseric. The theology of Leo, his famous *tome* or epistle on the mystery of the incarnation, had been disregarded by the synod of Ephesus ; his authority, and that of the Latin church, was insulted in his legates, who escaped from slavery and death to relate the melancholy tale of the tyranny of Dioscorus and the martyrdom of Flavian. His provincial synod annulled the irregular proceedings of Ephesus ; but, as this step was itself irregular, he solicited the convocation of a general council in the free and orthodox provinces of Italy. From his independent throne the Roman bishop spoke and acted without danger, as the head of the Christians, and his dictates were obsequiously transcribed by Placidia and her son Valentinian, who addressed their Eastern colleague to restore the peace and unity of the church. But the pageant of Oriental royalty was moved with equal dexterity by the hand of the eunuch ; and Theodosius could pronounce, without hesitation, that the church was already peaceful and triumphant, and that the recent flame had been extinguished by the just punishment of the Nestorians. Perhaps the Greeks would be still involved in the heresy of the Monophysites, if the emperor's horse had not fortunately stumbled ; Theodosius expired ; his orthodox sister, Pulcheria, with a nominal husband, succeeded to the throne ; Chrysaphius was burnt, Dioscorus was disgraced, the exiles were recalled, and the *tome* of Leo was subscribed by the Oriental bishops. Yet the pope was disappointed in his favourite project of a Latin council ; he disdained to preside in the Greek synod which was speedily assembled at Nice in Bithynia ; his legates required in a peremptory tone the presence of the emperor ; and the weary fathers were transported to Chalcedon under the immediate eye of Marcian and the senate of Constantinople. A quarter of a mile from the Thracian Bosphorus, the church of St. Euphemia was built on the summit of a gentle though lofty ascent; the triple structure was celebrated as a prodigy of art, and the boundless prospect of the land and sea might have raised the mind of a sectary to the contemplation of the God of the universe. Six hundred and thirty bishops were ranged in order in the nave of the church; but the patriarchs of the East were preceded by the legates, of whom the third was a simple priest; and the place of honour was reserved for twenty laymen of consular or senatorian rank. The gospel was ostentatiously displayed in the centre, but the rule of faith was defined by the papal and Imperial ministers, who moderated the thirteen sessions of the council of Chalcedon.[63] Their partial interposition silenced the intemperate shouts and execrations which degraded the episcopal gravity; but, on the formal accusation of the legates, Dioscorus was compelled to descend from his throne to the rank of a criminal, already condemned in the opinion of his judges. The Orientals, less adverse to Nestorius than to Cyril, accepted the Romans as their deliverers: Thrace, and Pontus, and Asia were exasperated against the murderer of Flavian, and the new patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch secured their places by the sacrifice of their benefactor. The bishops of Palestine, Macedonia, and Greece were attached to the faith of Cyril; but in the face of the synod, in the heat of the battle, the leaders, with their obsequious train, passed from the right to the left wing, and decided the victory by this seasonable desertion. Of the seventeen suffragans who sailed from Alexandria, four were tempted from their allegiance, and the thirteen, falling prostrate on the ground, implored the mercy of the council, with sighs and tears and a pathetic declaration that, if they yielded, they should be massacred, on their return to Egypt, by the indignant people. A tardy repentance was allowed to expiate the guilt or error of the accomplices of Dioscorus; but their sins were accumulated on his head; he neither asked nor hoped for pardon, and the moderation of those who pleaded for a general amnesty was drowned in the prevailing cry of victory and revenge. To save the reputation of his late adherents, some *personal* offences were skilfully detected: his rash and illegal excommunication of the pope, and his contumacious refusal (while he was detained a prisoner) to attend the summons of the synod. Witnesses were introduced to prove the special facts of his pride, avarice, and cruelty; and the fathers heard with abhorrence that the alms of the church were lavished on the female dancers, that his palace, and even his bath, was open to the prostitutes of Alexandria, and that the infamous Pansophia, or Irene, was publicly entertained as the concubine of the patriarch.[64]

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[62] [Yet, as Gelzer has observed, the proceedings at the Robber-synod were not so much more violent than those at synods recognised by the Church.]

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[63] The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (Concil. tom. iv. p. 761-2071) comprehend those of Ephesus (p. 890-1189), which again comprise the synod of Constantinople under Flavian (p. 930-1072); and it requires some attention to disengage this double involution. The whole business of Eutyches, Flavian, and Dioscorus is related by Evagrius (l. i. c. 9-12, and l. ii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4) and Liberatus (Brev. c. 11, 12, 13, 14). Once more, and almost for the last time, I appeal to the diligence of Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xv. p. 479-719). The annals of Baronius and Pagi will accompany me much farther on my long and laborious journey.

Faith of Chalcedon

For these scandalous offences Dioscorus was deposed by the synod and banished by the emperor; but the purity of his faith was declared in the presence, and with the tacit approbation, of the fathers. Their prudence supposed rather than pronounced the heresy of Eutyches, who was never summoned before their tribunal; and they sat silent and abashed, when a bold Monophysite, casting at their feet a volume of Cyril, challenged them to anathematize in his person the doctrine of a saint. If we fairly peruse the acts of Chalcedon as they are recorded by the orthodox party,[65] we shall find that a great majority of the bishops embraced the simple unity of Christ; and the ambiguous concession, that he was formed OF or FROM two natures, might imply either their previous existence, or their subsequent confusion, or some dangerous interval between the conception of the man and the assumption of the God. The Roman theology, more positive and precise, adopted the term most offensive to the ears of the Egyptians, that Christ existed IN two natures; and this momentous particle[66] (which the memory, rather than the understanding, must retain) had almost produced a schism among the Catholic bishops. The *tome* of Leo had been respectfully, perhaps sincerely, subscribed but they protested, in two successive debates, that it was neither expedient nor lawful to transgress the sacred landmarks which had been fixed at Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, according to the rule of scripture and tradition. At length they yielded to the importunities of their masters, but their infallible decree, after it had been ratified with deliberate votes and vehement acclamations, was overturned in the next session by the opposition of the legates and their Oriental friends. It was in vain that a multitude of episcopal voices repeated in chorus "The definition of the fathers is orthodox and immutable! The heretics are now discovered! Anathema to the Nestorians Let them depart from the synod! Let them repair to Rome!"[67] The legates threatened, the emperor was absolute, and a committee of eighteen bishops prepared a new decree, which was imposed on the reluctant assembly. In the name of the fourth general council, the Christ in one person, but *in* two natures was announced to the catholic world; an invisible line was drawn between the heresy of Apollinaris and the faith of St. Cyril; and the road to paradise, a bridge as sharp as a razor was suspended over the abyss by the master-hand of the theological artist. During ten centuries of blindness and servitude Europe received her religious opinions from the oracle of the Vatican; and the same doctrine, already varnished with the rust of antiquity, was admitted without dispute into the creed of the reformers, who disclaimed the supremacy of the Roman pontiff. The synod of Chalcedon still triumphs in the protestant churches; but the ferment of controversy has subsided, and the most pious Christians of the present day are ignorant or careless of their own belief concerning the mystery of the incarnation.

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[64] Μάλιστα ἡ περιβόητος Πανσοφία ἡ καλουμένη Ὀρεινὴ (perhaps Εἰρήνη) περὶ ἧς καὶ ὁ πολυάνθρωπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων δῆμος ἀφῆκε φωνὴν αὐτῆς τε καὶ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ μεμνημένος (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1276). A specimen of the wit and malice of the people is preserved in the Greek Anthology (l. ii. c. 5, p. 188, edit. Wechel.), although the application was unknown to the editor Brodæus. The nameless epigrammatist raises a tolerable pun, by confounding the episcopal salutation of "Peace be to all!" with the genuine or corrupted name of the bishop's concubine:

Εἰρήνη πάντεσσιν, ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν ἐπελθών,
Πῶς δύναται πᾶσιν ἣν μόνος ἔνδον ἔχει;

I am ignorant whether the patriarch, who seems to have been a jealous lover, is the Cimon of a preceding epigram, whose πέος ἑστηκός was viewed with envy and wonder by Priapus himself.

[65] Those who reverence the infallibility of synods may try to ascertain their sense. The leading bishops were attended by partial or careless scribes, who dispersed their copies round the world. Our Greek Mss. are sullied with the false and proscribed reading of ἐκ τῶν φύσεων (Concil. tom. iii. p. 1460); the authentic translation of Pope Leo I. does not seem to have been executed; and the old Latin versions materially differ from the present Vulgate, which was revised (A.D. 550) by Rusticus, a Roman priest, from the best Mss. of the Ἀκοίμητος at Constantinople (Ducange, C. P. Christiana, l. iv. p. 151), a famous monastery of Latins, Greeks, and Syrians. See Concil. tom. iv. p. 1959-2049, and Pagi, Critica, tom. ii. p. 326, &c.

Discord of the East. A.D. 451-482

Far different was the temper of the Greeks and Egyptians under the orthodox reigns of Leo and Marcian. Those pious emperors enforced with arms and edicts the symbol of their faith;[68] and it was declared by the conscience or honour of five hundred bishops that the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon might be lawfully supported, even with blood. The Catholics observed with satisfaction that the same synod was odious both to the Nestorians and the Monophysites;[69] but the Nestorians were less angry, or less powerful, and the East was distracted by the obstinate and sanguinary zeal of the Monophysites. Jerusalem was occupied by an army of monks; in the name of the one incarnate nature, they pillaged, they burnt, they murdered; the sepulchre of Christ was defiled with blood; and the gates of the city were guarded in tumultuous rebellion against the troops of the emperor. After the disgrace and exile of Dioscorus, the Egyptians still regretted their spiritual father, and detested the usurpation of his successor, who was introduced by the fathers of Chalcedon. The throne of Proterius was supported by a guard of two thousand soldiers; he waged a five years' war against the people of Alexandria; and, on the first intelligence of the death of Marcian, he became the victim of their zeal. On the third day before the festival of Easter, the patriarch was besieged in the cathedral and murdered in the baptistery. The remains of his mangled corpse were delivered to the flames, and his ashes to the wind; and the deed was inspired by the vision of a pretended angel: an ambitious monk, who, under the name of Timothy the Cat,[70] succeeded to the place and opinions of Dioscorus. This deadly superstition was inflamed, on either side, by the principle and the practice of retaliation: in the pursuit of a metaphysical quarrel, many thousands[71] were slain, and the Christians of every degree were deprived of the substantial enjoyments of social life and of the invisible gifts of baptism and the holy communion. Perhaps an extravagant fable of the times may conceal an allegorical picture of these fanatics, who tortured each other and themselves. "Under the consulship of Venantius and Celer," says a grave bishop, "the people of Alexandria, and all Egypt, were seized with a strange and diabolical frenzy: great and small, slaves and freedmen, monks and clergy, the natives of the land, who opposed the synod of Chalcedon, lost their speech and reason, barked like dogs, and tore, with their own teeth, the flesh from their hands and arms."[72]

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[66] It is darkly represented in the microscope of Petavius (tom. v. l. iii. c. 5); yet the subtle theologian is himself afraid—ne quis fortasse supervacaneam et nimis anxiam putet hujusmodi vocularum inquisitionem, et ab instituti theologici gravitate alienam (p. 124).

[67] Ἐβόησαν ἢ ὁ ὅρος κρατείτω ἢ ἀπερχόμεθα . . . οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες φανεροὶ γένωνται οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες Νεστοριανοί εἰσιν, οἱ ἀντιλέγοντες εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέλθωσιν (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1449). Evagrius and Liberatus present only the placid face of the synod, and discreetly slide over these embers suppositos cineri doloso.

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[68] See, in the Appendix to the Acts of Chalcedon, the confirmation of the synod by Marcian (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1781, 1783); his letters to the monks of Alexandria (p. 1791), of Mount Sinai (p. 1793), of Jerusalem and Palestine (p. 1798); his laws against the Eutychians (p. 1809, 1811, 1831); the correspondence of Leo with the provincial synods on the revolution of Alexandria (p. 1835-1930).

[69] Photius (or rather Eulogius of Alexandria) confesses in a fine passage the specious colour of this double charge against pope Leo and his synod of Chalcedon (Bibliot. cod. ccxxv. p. 768). He waged a double war against the enemies of the church, and wounded either foe with the darts of his adversary—καταλλήλοις βέλεσι τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐτίτρωσκε. Against Nestorius he seemed to introduce the σύγχυσις of the Monophysites: against Eutyches he appeared to countenance the ὑποστάσεων διαφορά of the Nestorians. The apologist claims a charitable interpretation for the saints; if the same had been extended to the heretics, the *sound* of the controversy would have been lost in the air.

[70] Αἰλουρός from his nocturnal expeditions. In darkness and disguise he crept round the cells of the monastery, and whispered the revelation to his slumbering brethren (Theodor. Lector. l. i. [c. 8]). [Timothy the Cat was exiled and another Timothy, supported by the Emperor Leo, succeeded. This Timothy was called *Basilikos*, his party was the "royal" party; and this is the origin of the name Melchites or royalists (see below, p. 144, n. 112). For these events see Zacharias of Mytilene, Bk. iv.]

he Heno-
icon of Zeno.
.D. 482

The disorders of thirty years at length produced the famous HENOTICON[73] of the emperor Zeno, which in his reign, and in that of Anastasius, was signed by all the bishops of the East, under the penalty of degradation and exile, if they rejected or infringed this salutary and fundamental law. The clergy may smile or groan at the presumption of a layman who defines the articles of faith;[74] yet, if he stoops to the humiliating task, his mind is less infected by prejudice or interest, and the authority of the magistrate can only be maintained by the concord of the people. It is in ecclesiastical story that Zeno appears least contemptible; and I am not able to discern any Manichæan or Eutychian guilt in the generous saying of Anastasius, That it was unworthy of an emperor to persecute the worshippers of Christ and the citizens of Rome. The Henoticon was most pleasing to the Egyptians; yet the smallest blemish has not been described by the jealous and even jaundiced eyes of our orthodox schoolmen, and it accurately represents the Catholic faith of the incarnation, without adopting or disclaiming the peculiar terms or tenets of the hostile sects. A solemn anathema is pronounced against Nestorius and Eutyches; against all heretics by whom Christ is divided, or confounded, or reduced to a phantom. Without defining the number or the article of the word *nature,* the pure system of St. Cyril, the faith of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, is respectfully confirmed; but, instead of bowing at the name of the fourth council, the subject is dismissed by the censure of all contrary doctrines, *if* any such have been taught either elsewhere or at Chalcedon. Under this ambiguous expression the friends and the enemies of the last synod might unite in a silent embrace. The most reasonable Christians acquiesced in this mode of toleration; but their reason was feeble and inconstant, and their obedience was despised as timid and servile by the vehement spirit of their brethren. On a subject which engrossed the thoughts and discourses of men, it was difficult to preserve an exact neutrality; a book, a sermon, a prayer, rekindled the flame of controversy; and the bonds of communion were alternately broken and renewed by the private animosity of the bishops. The space between Nestorius and Eutyches was filled by a thousand shades of language and opinion; the *acephali*[75] of Egypt and the Roman pontiffs, of equal valour though of unequal strength, may be found at the two extremities of the theological scale. The acephali, without a king or a bishop, were separated above three hundred years from the patriarchs of Alexandria, who had accepted the communion of Constantinople, without exacting a formal condemnation of the synod of Chalcedon. For accepting the communion of Alexandria, without a formal approbation of the same synod, the patriarchs of Constantinople were anathematized by the popes. Their inflexible despotism involved the most orthodox of the Greek churches in this spiritual contagion, denied or doubted the validity of their sacraments,[76] and fomented, thirty-five years, the schism of the East and West, till they finally abolished the memory of four Byzantine pontiffs, who had dared to oppose the supremacy of St. Peter.[77] Before that period, the precarious truce of Constantinople and Egypt had been violated by the zeal of the rival prelates. Macedonius, who was suspected of the Nestorian heresy, asserted, in disgrace and exile, the synod of Chalcedon, while the successor of Cyril would have purchased its overthrow with a bribe of two thousand pounds of gold.

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[71] *Φόνους τε τολμηθῆναι μυρίους, αἱμάτων πλήθει μολυνθῆναι μὴ μόνον τὴν γῆν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἀέρα.* Such is the hyperbolic language of the Henoticon.

[72] See the Chronicle of Victor Tunnunensis, in the Lectiones Antiquæ of Canisius, republished by Basnage, tom. i. p. 326.

[73] The Henoticon is transcribed by Evagrius (l. iii. c. 13), and translated by Liberatus (Brev. c. 18). Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 411) and Asseman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 343) are satisfied that it is free from heresy; but Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. i. c. 13, p. 40) most unaccountably affirms: Chalcedonensem ascivit. An adversary would prove that he had never read the Henoticon.

[74] [The Henotikon was of course drawn up by the able Patriarch Acacius. It is an admirable document, and it secured the unity and peace of the Church in the East throughout the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius. It was based on the doctrines of Nicæa and Ephesus, and practically removed the decisions of Chalcedon. From a secular point of view nothing is clearer than that the Council of Chalcedon was a grave misfortune for the Empire. The statesmanlike Henotikon retrieved the blunder, so far as it was possible; and the reopening of the question and reinstatement of the authority of Chalcedon was one of the most criminal acts of Justinian, —a consequence of his Western policy. Reconciliation with the see of Rome was bought by the disunion of the East.]

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[75] See Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 123, 131, 145, 195, 247). They were reconciled by the care of Mark I. (A.D. 799-819); he promoted their chiefs to the bishoprics of Athribis and Talba (perhaps Tava; see d'Anville, p. 82), and supplied the sacraments, which had failed for want of an episcopal ordination.

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agion, and
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f Anastasius.
.D. 508-518

In the fever of the times, the sense, or rather the sound, of a syllable was sufficient to disturb the peace of an empire. The Trisagion[78] (thrice holy), "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts!" is supposed by the Greeks to be the identical hymn which the angels and cherubim eternally repeat before the throne of God, and which, about the middle of the fifth century, was miraculously revealed to the church of Constantinople. The devotion of Antioch soon added "who was crucified for us!" and this grateful address, either to Christ alone or to the whole Trinity, may be justified by the rules of theology, and has been gradually adopted by the Catholics of the East and West. But it had been imagined by a Monophysite bishop;[79] the gift of an enemy was at first rejected as a dire and dangerous blasphemy, and the rash innovation had nearly cost the emperor Anastasius his throne and his life.[80] The people of Constantinople was devoid of any rational principles of freedom; but they held, as a lawful cause of rebellion, the colour of a livery in the races, or the colour of a mystery in the schools. The Trisagion, with and without this obnoxious addition, was chanted in the cathedral by two adverse choirs, and, when their lungs were exhausted, they had recourse to the more solid arguments of sticks and stones; the aggressors were punished by the emperor, and defended by the patriarch; and the crown and mitre were staked on the event of this momentous quarrel. The streets were instantly crowded with innumerable swarms of men, women, and children; the legions of monks, in regular array, marched and shouted, and fought at their head. "Christians! this is the day of martyrdom; let us not desert our spiritual father; anathema to the Manichæan tyrant! he is unworthy to reign." Such was the Catholic cry; and the galleys of Anastasius lay upon their oars before the palace, till the patriarch had pardoned his penitent and hushed the waves of the troubled multitude. The triumph of Macedonius was [A.D. 512] checked by a speedy exile; but the zeal of his flock was again exasperated by the same question, "Whether one of the Trinity had been crucified?" On this momentous occasion the blue and green factions of Constantinople suspended their discord, and the civil and military powers were annihilated in their presence. The keys of the city and the standards of the guards were deposited in the forum of Constantine, the principal station and camp of the faithful. Day and night they were incessantly busied either in singing hymns to the honour of their God or in pillaging and murdering the servants of their prince. The head of his favourite monk, the friend, as they styled him, of the enemy of the Holy Trinity, was borne aloft on a spear; and the firebrands, which had been darted against heretical structures, diffused the undistinguishing flames over the most orthodox buildings. The statues of the emperor were broken, and his person was concealed in a suburb, till, at the end of three days, he dared to implore the mercy of his subjects. Without his diadem and in the posture of a suppliant, Anastasius appeared on the throne of the circus. The Catholics, before his face, rehearsed their genuine Trisagion; they exulted in the offer which he proclaimed by the voice of a herald of abdicating the purple; they listened to the admonition that, since *all* could

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[76] De his quos baptizavit, quos ordinavit Acacius, majorum traditione confectam et veram, præcipue religiosæ solicitudini congruam præbemus sine difficultate medicinam (Gelasius, in epist. i. ad Euphemium, Concil. tom. v. p. 286). The offer of a medicine proves the disease, and numbers must have perished before the arrival of the Roman physician. Tillemont himself (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xvi. p. 372, 642, &c.) is shocked at the proud uncharitable temper of the popes; they are now glad, says he, to invoke St. Flavian of Antioch, St. Elias of Jerusalem, &c. to whom they refused communion whilst upon earth. But cardinal Baronius is firm and hard as the rock of St. Peter.

[77] Their names were erased from the diptych of the church: ex venerabili diptycho, in quo piæ memoriæ transitum ad cælum habentium episcoporum vocabula continentur (Concil. tom. iv. p. 1846). This ecclesiastical record was therefore equivalent to the book of life.

[78] Petavius (Dogmat. Theolog. tom. v. l. v. c. 2, 3, 4, p. 217-225) and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. xiv. p. 713, &c. 799) represent the history and doctrine of the Trisagion. In the twelve centuries between Isaiah and St. Proclus's boy, who was taken up into heaven before the bishop and people of Constantinople, the song was considerably improved. The boy heard the angels sing "Holy God! Holy strong! Holy immortal!"

[79] Peter Gnapheus, the *fuller* (a trade which he had exercised in his monastery) patriarch of Antioch. His tedious story is discussed in the Annals of Pagi (A. D 477-490) and a dissertation of M. de Valois at the end of his Evagrius.

[80] The troubles under the reign of Anastasius must be gathered from th Chronicles of Victor, Marcellinus, and Theophanes. As the last was not publishe

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in the time of Baronius, his critic Pagi is more copious, as well as more correct. [On the church parties of the time see H. Gelzer, Josua Stylites und die damaligen kirchlichen Parteien des Ostens, in Byz. Zeitschrift, i. p. 34 *sqq.*, 1892.]

not reign, they should previously agree in the choice of a sovereign; and they accepted the blood of two unpopular ministers, whom their master, without hesitation, condemned to the lions. These furious but transient seditions were encouraged by the success of Vitalian, who, with an army of Huns and Bulgarians, for the most part idolaters, declared himself the champion of the Catholic faith. In this pious rebellion he depopulated Thrace, besieged Constantinople, exterminated sixty-five thousand of his fellow-Christians, till he obtained the recall of the bishops, the satisfaction of the pope, and the establishment of the council of Chalcedon, an orthodox treaty, reluctantly signed by the dying Anastasius, and more faithfully performed by the uncle of Justinian. And such was the event of the *first* of the religious wars which have been waged in the name, and by the disciples, of the God of peace.[81]

First religious war. A.D. 514

Theological character and government of Justinian. A.D. 519-565

Justinian has been already seen in the various lights of a prince, a conqueror, and a lawgiver: the theologian[82] still remains, and it affords an unfavourable prejudice that his theology should form a very prominent feature of his portrait. The sovereign sympathized with his subjects in their superstitious reverence for living and departed saints; his Code, and more especially his Novels, confirm and enlarge the privileges of the clergy; and, in every dispute between a monk and a layman, the partial judge was inclined to pronounce that truth and innocence and justice were always on the side of the church. In his public and private devotions the emperor was assiduous and exemplary; his prayers, vigils, and fasts displayed the austere penance of a monk; his fancy was amused by the hope or belief of personal inspiration; he had secured the patronage of the Virgin and St. Michael the archangel; and his recovery from a dangerous disease was ascribed to the miraculous succour of the holy martyrs Cosmas and Damian. The capital and the provinces of the East were decorated with the monuments of his religion;[83] and, though the far greater part of these costly structures may be attributed to his taste or ostentation, the zeal of the royal architect was probably quickened by a genuine sense of love and gratitude towards his invisible benefactors. Among the titles of Imperial greatness, the name of *Pious* was most pleasing to his ear; to promote the temporal and spiritual interest of the church was the serious business of his life; and the duty of father of his country was often sacrificed to that of defender of the faith. The controversies of the times were congenial to his temper and understanding; and the theological professors must inwardly deride the diligence of a stranger, who cultivated their art and neglected his own. "What can ye fear," said a bold conspirator to his associates, "from your bigoted tyrant? Sleepless and unarmed he sits whole nights in his closet, debating with reverend grey-beards, and turning over the pages of ecclesiastical volumes."[84] The fruits of these lucubrations were displayed in many a conference, where Justinian might shine as the loudest and most subtle of the disputants; in many a sermon, which, under the name of edicts and epistles, proclaimed to the empire the theology of their master. While the barbarians invaded the provinces, while the victorious legions marched under the banners of Belisarius and Narses, the successor of Trajan, unknown to the camp, was content to vanquish at the head of a synod. Had he invited to these synods a disinterested and rational spectator, Justinian might have learned "*that* religious controversy is the offspring of arrogance and folly; *that* true piety is most laudably expressed by silence and submission; *that* man, ignorant of his own nature, should not presume to scrutinise the nature of his God; and *that* it is sufficient for us to know that power and benevolence are the perfect attributes of the Deity".[85]

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[81] The general history, from the council of Chalcedon to the death of Anastasius, may be found in the Breviary of Liberatus (c. 14-19), the iid and iiid books of Evagrius, the abstract of the two books of Theodore the Reader, the Acts of the Synods, and the Epistles of the Popes (Concil. tom. v.). [Also the Ecclesiastical History of Zacharias of Mytilene.] The series is continued with some disorder in the xvth and xvith tomes of the Mémoires Ecclésiastiques of Tillemont. And here I must take leave for ever of that incomparable guide—whose bigotry is overbalanced by the merits of erudition, diligence, veracity, and scrupulous minuteness. He was prevented by death from completing, as he designed, the vith century of the church and empire.

[82] The strain of the Anecdotes of Procopius (c. 11, 13, 18, 27, 28), with the learned remarks of Alemannus, is confirmed, rather than contradicted, by the Acts of the Councils, the fourth book of Evagrius, and the complaints of the African Facundus in his xiith book—de tribus capitulis, "cum videri doctus appetit importune . . . spontaneis quæstionibus ecclesiam turbat". See Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. iii. c. 35.

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[83] Procop. de Ædificiis, l. i. c. 6, 7, &c. passim.

[84] Ὃς δὴ κάθηται ἀφύλακτος ἐς ἀεὶ ἐπὶ λέσχης τινὸς ἀωρὶ νυκτῶν [*leg.* νύκτωρ] ὁμοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἱερέων γέρουσιν ἄσχετον [*leg.* ἐσχατογέρουσιν] ἀνακυκλεῖν τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια σπουδὴν ἔχων. Procop. de Bell. Goth. l. iii. c. 32. In the Life of St. Eutychius (apud Aleman. ad Procop. Arcan. c. 18) the same character is given with a design to praise Justinian. [Vita Eutychii, by Eustratius, in Migne, Patr. Gr., vol. 86.]

[85] For these wise and moderate sentiments, Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 3) is scourged in the preface of Alemannus, who ranks him among the *political* Christians—sed longe verius hæresium omnium sentinas, prorsusque Atheos—abominable Atheists who preached the imitation of God's mercy to man (ad Hist. Arcan. c. 13).

His persecution

Toleration was not the virtue of the times, and indulgence to rebels has seldom been the virtue of princes. But, when the prince descends to the narrow and peevish character of a disputant, he is easily provoked to supply the defect of argument by the plenitude of power, and to chastise without mercy the perverse blindness of those who wilfully shut their eyes against the light of demonstration. The reign of Justinian was an uniform yet various scene of persecution; and he appears to have surpassed his indolent predecessors both in the contrivance of his laws and the rigour of their execution. The insufficient term of three months was assigned for the conversion or exile of all heretics;[86] and, if he still connived at their precarious stay, they were deprived, under his iron yoke, not only of the benefits of society, but of the common birth-right of men and Christians. At the end of four hundred years, the Montanists of Phrygia[87] still breathed the wild enthusiasm of perfection and prophecy which they had imbibed from their male and female apostles, the special organs of the Paraclete. On the approach of the Catholic priests and soldiers, they grasped with alacrity the crown of martyrdom; the conventicle and the congregation perished in the flames, but these primitive fanatics were not extinguished three hundred years after the death of their tyrant. Under the protection of the Gothic confederates, the church of the Arians at Constantinople had braved the severity of the laws; their clergy equalled the wealth and magnificence of the senate; and the gold and silver which were seized by the rapacious hand of Justinian might perhaps be claimed as the spoils of the provinces and the trophies of the barbarians. A secret remnant of pagans, who still lurked in the most refined and most rustic conditions of mankind, excited the indignation of the Christians, who were, perhaps, unwilling that any strangers should be the witnesses of their intestine quarrels. A bishop was named as the inquisitor of the faith, and his diligence soon discovered, in the court and city, the magistrates,

of heretics

of pagans

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[86] This alternative, a precious circumstance, is preserved by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 63, edit. Venet. 1733 [p. 449, ed. Bonn]), who deserves more credit as he draws towards his end. After numbering the heretics, Nestorians, Eutychians, &c. ne expectent, says Justinian, ut digni veniâ judicentur: jubemus enim ut . . . convicti et aperti hæretici justæ et idoneæ animadversioni subjiciantur. Baronius copies and applauds this edict of the Code (A.D. 527, No. 39, 40).

[87] See the character and principles of the Montanists, in Mosheim, de Rebus Christ. ante Constantinum, p. 410-424. [There is an important investigation of Montanism in Ritschl's Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche, 1857 (ed. 2); the history of the heresy has been treated in a special work by Bonnvetsch, Geschichte des Montanismus, 1878.]

lawyers, physicians, and sophists, who still cherished the superstition of the Greeks. They were sternly informed that they must choose without delay between the displeasure of Jupiter or Justinian, and that their aversion to the gospel could no longer be disguised under the scandalous mask of indifference or impiety. The patrician Photius perhaps alone was resolved to live and to die like his ancestors; he enfranchised himself with the stroke of a dagger, and left his tyrant the poor consolation of exposing with ignominy the lifeless corpse of the fugitive. His weaker brethren submitted to their earthly monarch, underwent the ceremony of baptism, and laboured, by their extraordinary zeal, to erase the suspicion, or to expiate the guilt, of idolatry. The native country of Homer, and the theatre of the Trojan war, still retained the last sparks of his mythology: by the care of the same bishop, seventy thousand Pagans were detected and converted in Asia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria; ninety-six churches were built for the new proselytes; and linen vestments, bibles and liturgies, and vases of gold and silver, were supplied by the pious munificence of Justinian.[88] The Jews, **of Jews** who had been gradually stripped of their immunities, were oppressed by a vexatious law, which compelled them to observe the festival of Easter the same day on which it was celebrated by the Christians.[89] And they might complain with the more reason, since the Catholics themselves did not agree with the astronomical calculations of their sovereign; the people of Constantinople delayed the beginning of their Lent a whole week after it had been ordained by authority; and they had the pleasure of fasting seven days, while meat was exposed for sale by the command of the emperor. The Samaritans of Palestine[90] **of Samaritans** were a motley race, an ambiguous sect, rejected as Jews by the pagans, by the Jews as schismatics, and by the Christians as idolaters. The abomination of the cross had already been planted on their holy mount of Garizim,[91] but the persecution of Justinian offered only the alternative of baptism or rebellion. They chose the latter; under the standard of a desperate leader, they rose in arms, and retaliated their wrongs on the lives, the property, and the temples, of a defenceless people. The Samaritans were finally subdued by the regular forces of the East: twenty thousand were slain, twenty thousand were sold by the Arabs to the infidels of Persia and India, and the remains of that unhappy nation atoned for the crime of treason by the sin of hypocrisy. It has been computed that one hundred thousand Roman subjects were extirpated in the Samaritan war,[92] which converted the once fruitful province into a desolate and smoking wilderness. But in the creed of Justinian the guilt of murder could not be applied to the slaughter of unbelievers; and he piously laboured to establish with fire and sword the unity of the Christian faith.[93]

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[88] Theophan. Chron. p. 153 [A.M. 6022]. John the Monophysite, bishop of Asia, is a more authentic witness of this transaction, in which he was himself employed by the emperor (Asseman. Bib. Orient. tom. ii. p. 85). [See the history of John of Ephesus, 3, 36, 37.]

[89] Compare Procopius (Hist. Arcan. c. 28, and Aleman's Notes) with Theophanes (Chron. p. 190 [A.M. 6038]). The council of Nice has entrusted the patriarch, or rather the astronomers, of Alexandria with the annual proclamation of Easter; and we still read, or rather we do not read, many of the Paschal epistles of St. Cyril. Since the reign of Monophytism [*leg.* Monophysitism] in Egypt, the Catholics were perplexed by such a foolish prejudice as that which so long opposed, among the Protestants, the reception of the Gregorian style.

[90] For the religion and history of the Samaritans, consult Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, a learned and impartial work.

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With these sentiments, it was incumbent on him, at least, to be always in the right. In the first years of his administration, he signalised his zeal as the disciple and patron of orthodoxy; the reconciliation of the Greeks and Latins established the *tome* of St. Leo as the creed of the emperor and the empire; the Nestorians and Eutychians were exposed, on either side, to the double edge of persecution; and the four synods of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and *Chalcedon*, were ratified by the code of a Catholic lawgiver.[94] But, while Justinian strove to

[91] Sichem, Neapolis, Naplous, the ancient and modern seat of the Samaritans, is situate in a valley between the barren Ebal, the mountain of cursing to the north, the fruitful *Garizim*, or mountain of cursing [*leg.* blessing] to the south, ten or eleven hours' travel from Jerusalem. See Maundrell, Journey from Aleppo, &c. p. 59-63.

[92] Procop. Anecdot. c. 11. Theophan. Chron. p. 122 [*leg.* 152; p. 178, ed. de Boor]. John Malala, Chron. tom. ii. p. 62 [p. 447, ed. Bonn]. I remember an observation, half philosophical, half superstitious, that the province which had been ruined by the bigotry of Justinian was the same through which the Mahometans penetrated into the empire.

[93] The expression of Procopius is remarkable; οὐ γάρ οἱ ἐδόκει φόνος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, ἤν γε μὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ δόξης οἱ τελευτῶντες τύχοιεν ὄντες. Anecdot. c. 13.

[94] See the Chronicle of Victor, p. 328, and the original evidence of the laws of Justinian. During the first years of his reign, Baronius himself is in extreme good humour with the emperor, who courted the popes till he got them into his power. [The ecclesiastical policy of Justinian's reign consists of a series of endeavours to undo the consequences of the fatal recognition of the Chalcedonian dogma, which had signalised the accession of Justin. The Monophysites of the East had been alienated, and the attempts to win them back, without sacrificing the newly achieved reconciliation with Rome, proved a failure. The importance of Theodora consisted in her intelligent Monophysitic policy. The deposition of the Monophysite Patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, Anthimus and Severus, in A.D. 536, would never have occurred but for a political reason—to assist the arms

maintain the uniformity of faith and worship, his wife Theodora, whose vices were not incompatible with devotion, had listened to the Monophysite teachers; and the open or clandestine enemies of the church revived and multiplied at the smile of their gracious patroness. The capital, the palace, the nuptial bed, were torn by spiritual discord; yet so doubtful was the sincerity of the royal consorts that their seeming disagreement was imputed by many to a secret and mischievous confederacy against the religion and happiness of their people.[95] The famous dispute of the THREE CHAPTERS,[96] which has filled more volumes than it deserves lines, is deeply marked with this subtle and disingenuous spirit. It was now three hundred years since the body of Origen[97] had been eaten by the worms: his soul, of which he held the pre-existence, was in the hands of its Creator, but his writings were eagerly perused by the monks of Palestine. In these writings the piercing eye of Justinian descried more than ten metaphysical errors; and the primitive doctor, in the company of Pythagoras and Plato, was devoted by the clergy to the *eternity* of hell-fire, which he had presumed to deny. Under the cover of this precedent, a treacherous blow was aimed at the council of Chalcedon. The fathers had listened without impatience to the praise of Theodore of Mopsuestia;[98] and their justice or indulgence had

The three chapters. A.D. 532-69

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of Belisarius in Italy. The ingeniously imagined condemnation of the Three Chapters did not win over the Monophysites, and was regarded in Italy and Africa as an attack on Pope Leo I. and Chalcedon. Gelzer does not go too far when he describes the ecclesiastical measures of Justinian as "a series of mistakes".]

[95] Procopius, Anecdot. c. 13. Evagrius, l. iv. c. 10. If the ecclesiastical never read the secret historian, their common suspicion proves at least the general hatred.

[96] On the subject of the three chapters, the original acts of the vth general council of Constantinople supply much useless, though authentic, knowledge (Concil. tom. vi. p. 1-419). The *Greek* Evagrius is less copious and correct (l. iv. c. 38) than the three zealous *Africans*, Facundus (in his twelve books, de tribus capitulis, which are most correctly published by Sirmond), Liberatus (in his Breviarium, c. 22, 23, 24), and Victor Tununensis in his Chronicle (in tom. i. Antiq. Lect. Canisii, p. 330-334). The Liber Pontificalis, or Anastasius (in Vigilio, Pelagio, &c.), is original, *Italian* evidence. The modern reader will derive some information from Dupin (Bibliot. Eccles. tom. v. p. 189-207) and Basnage (Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 519-541), yet the latter is too firmly resolved to depreciate the authority and character of the popes.

[97] Origen had indeed too great a propensity to imitate the πλάνη and δυσσέβεια of the old philosophers (Justinian, ad Menam in Concil. tom. vi. p. 356). His moderate opinions were too repugnant to the zeal of the church, and he was found guilty of the heresy of treason.

[98] Basnage (Præfat. p. 11-14, ad. tom. i. Antiq. Lect. Canis.) has fairly weighed the guilt and innocence of Theodore of Mopsuestia. If he composed 10,000 volumes, as many errors would be a charitable allowance. In all the subsequent catalogues of heresiarchs, he alone, without his two brethren, is included; and it is the duty of Asseman (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 203-207) to justify the sentence.

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restored both Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Ibas of Edessa to the communion of the church. But the characters of these Oriental bishops were tainted with the reproach of heresy; the first had been the master, the two others were the friends, of Nestorius; their most suspicious passages were accused under the title of the *three chapters;* and the condemnation of their memory must involve the honour of a synod whose name was pronounced with sincere or affected reverence by the Catholic world. If these bishops, whether innocent or guilty, were annihilated in the sleep of death, they would not probably be awakened by the clamour which, after an hundred years, was raised over their grave. If they were already in the fangs of the dæmon, their torments could neither be aggravated nor assuaged by human industry. If in the company of saints and angels they enjoyed the rewards of piety, they must have smiled at the idle fury of the theological insects who still crawled on the surface of the earth. The foremost of these insects, the emperor of the Romans, darted his sting, and distilled his venom, perhaps without discerning the true motives of Theodora and her ecclesiastical faction. The victims were no longer subject to his power, and the vehement style of his edicts could only proclaim their damnation and invite the clergy of the East to join in a full chorus of curses and anathemas. The East, with some hesitation, consented to the voice of her sovereign: the fifth general council, of three patriarchs and one hundred and sixty-five bishops, was held at Constantinople; and the authors, as well as the defenders, of the three chapters were separated from the communion of the saints and solemnly delivered to the prince of darkness. But the Latin churches were more jealous of the honour of Leo and the synod of Chalcedon; and, if they had fought as they usually did under the standard of Rome, they might have prevailed in the cause of reason and humanity. But their chief was a prisoner in the hands of the enemy; the throne of St. Peter, which had been disgraced by the simony, was betrayed by the cowardice, of Vigilius, who yielded, after a long and inconsistent struggle, to the despotism of Justinian and the sophistry of the Greeks. His apostacy provoked the indignation of the Latins, and no more than two bishops could be found who would impose their hands on his deacon and successor Pelagius. Yet the perseverance of the popes insensibly transferred to their adversaries the appellation of schismatics: the Illyrian, African, and Italian churches were oppressed by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, not without some effort of military force;[99] the distant barbarians transcribed the creed of the Vatican; and, in the period of a century, the schism of the three chapters expired in an obscure angle of the Venetian province.[100] But the religious discontent of the Italians had already promoted the conquests of the Lombards, and the Romans themselves were accustomed to suspect the faith, and to detest the government, of their Byzantine tyrant.

Heresy of Justinian. A.D. 564 [Aphthartodocetism]

Justinian was neither steady nor consistent in the nice process of fixing his volatile opinions and those of his subjects. In his youth, he was offended by the slightest deviation from the orthodox line; in his old age, he transgressed the measure of temperate heresy, and the Jacobites, not less than the Catholics, were scandalized by his declaration that the body of Christ was incorruptible, and that his manhood was never subject to any wants and infirmities, the inheritance of our mortal flesh. This *phantastic* opinion was announced in the last edicts of Justinian; and at the moment of his seasonable departure the clergy had refused to subscribe, the prince was prepared to persecute, and the people were resolved to suffer or resist. A bishop of Treves, secure beyond the limits of his power, addressed the monarch of the East in the language of authority and affection. "Most gracious Justinian, remember your baptism and your creed! Let not your grey hairs be defiled with heresy. Recall your fathers from exile, and your followers from perdition. You cannot be ignorant that Italy and Gaul, Spain and Africa, already deplore your fall, and anathematize your name. Unless, without delay, you destroy what you have taught; unless you exclaim with a loud voice, I have erred, I have sinned, anathema to Nestorius, anathema to Eutyches, you deliver your soul to the same flames in which *they* will eternally burn." He died and made no sign.[101] His death restored in some degree the peace of the church, and the reigns of his four successors, Justin, Tiberius, Maurice, and Phocas, are distinguished by a rare, though fortunate, vacancy in the ecclesiastical history of the East.[102]

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[99] See the complaints of Liberatus and Victor, and the exhortations of pope Pelagius to the conqueror and exarch of Italy. Schisma . . . per potestates publicas opprimatur, &c. (Concil. tom. vi. p. 467, &c.). An army was detained to suppress the sedition of an Illyrian city. See Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. iv. c. 25): ὧνπερ ἕνεκα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Χριστιανοὶ διαμάχονται. He seems to promise an ecclesiastical history. It would have been curious and impartial.

[100] The bishops of the patriarchate of Aquileia were reconciled by pope Honorius, A.D. 638 (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. v. p. 376); but they again relapsed, and the schism was not finally extinguished till 698. Fourteen years before, the church of Spain had overlooked the vth general council with contemptuous silence (xiii. Concil. Toletan. in Concil. tom. vii. p. 487-494).

[101] Nicetius, bishop of Treves (Concil. tom. vi. p. 511-513). He himself, like most of the Gallican prelates (Gregor. Epist. l. vii. ep. 5, in Concil. tom. vi. p. 1007), was separated from the communion of the four patriarchs, by his refusal to

Monothe- ontro- y. A.D.

The faculties of sense and reason are least capable of acting on themselves; the eye is most inaccessible to the sight, the soul to the thought; yet we think, and even feel, that *one will*, a sole principle of action, is essential to a rational and conscious being. When Heraclius returned from the Persian war, the orthodox hero consulted his bishops, whether the Christ whom he adored, of one person but of two natures, was actuated by a single or a double will. They replied in the singular, and the emperor was encouraged to hope that the Jacobites of Egypt and Syria might be reconciled by the profession of a doctrine, most certainly harmless, and most probably true, since it was taught even by the Nestorians themselves.[103] The experiment was tried without effect, and the timid or vehement Catholics condemned even the semblance of a retreat in the presence of a subtle and audacious enemy. The orthodox (the prevailing) party devised new modes of speech, and argument, and interpretation; to either nature of Christ they speciously applied a proper and distinct energy; but the difference was no longer visible when they allowed that the human and the divine will were invariably the same.[104] The

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condemn the three chapters. Baronius almost pronounces the damnation of Justinian (A.D. 565, No. 6). [The sources for the heresy of Justinian are: the Life of the Patriarch Eutychius (who was banished for his opposition to the aphthartodocetic doctrine) by his contemporary Eustratius (Acta Sctt. April 6, i. p. 550 *sqq.*); Evagrius (iv. 39-41); a notice in a Constantinopolitan chronicle (the Μέγας χρονογράφος?) preserved in the Ἐκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλ. ἱστορίας published in Cramer's *Anecd. Paris*, 2, p. 111, and copied by Theophanes, *sub.* A.M. 6057; John of Nikiu, ed. Zotenberg, p. 518; Nicephorus, in his list of Patriarchs of Constantinople, in the Χρονογρ. σύντομον, p. 117, ed. de Boor. The great exponent of the doctrine of the incorruptibility of Christ's body was Julian, Bishop of Halicarnassus. His doctrine is stated falsely in the passage of John of Nikiu—at least in the translation. As for Nicetius, cp. Appendix 8.]

[102] After relating the last heresy of Justinian (l. iv. c. 39, 40, 41) and the edict of his successor (l. v. c. 3 [4]), the remainder of the history of Evagrius is filled with civil, instead of ecclesiastical, events.

[103] This extraordinary and perhaps inconsistent doctrine of the Nestorians had been observed by La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 19, 20), and is more fully exposed by Abulpharagius (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 292; Hist. Dynast. p. 91, vers. Latin. Pocock) and Asseman himself (tom. iv. p. 218). They seem ignorant that they might allege the positive authority of the ecthesis. Ὁ μιαρὸς Νεστόριος καίπερ διαιρῶν τὴν θείαν τοῦ Κυρίου ἐνανθρώπησιν, καὶ δύο εἰσάγων υἱούς, (the common reproach of the Monophysites), δύο θελήματα τούτων εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐτόλμησε, τοὐναντίον δὲ ταὐτοβουλίαν τῶν . . . δύο προσώπων ἐδόξασε (Concil. tom. vii. p. 205 [=Mansi, x. 996]).

[104] See the orthodox faith in Petavius (Dogmata Theolog. tom. v. l. ix. c. 6-10, p. 433-447): all the depths of this controversy are sounded in the Greek dialogue

The ecthesis of Heraclius A.D. 639 [638
The type of Constans. A.D. 648

[A.D. 649]

[Pope Marti arrested. A.D. 653]

disease was attended with the customary symptoms; but the Greek clergy, as if satiate with the endless controversy of the incarnation, instilled a healing counsel into the ear of the prince and people. They declared themselves MONOTHELITES (asserters of the unity of will); but they treated the words as new, the questions as superfluous, and recommended a religious silence as the most agreeable to the prudence and charity of the gospel. This law of silence was successively imposed by the *ecthesis* or exposition of Heraclius, the *type* or model of his grandson Constans;[105] and the Imperial edicts were subscribed with alacrity or reluctance by the four patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. But the bishop and monks of Jerusalem sounded the alarm; in the language, or even in the silence, of the Greeks, the Latin churches detected a latent heresy; and the obedience of pope Honorius to the commands of his sovereign was retracted and censured by the bolder ignorance of his successors. They condemned the execrable and abominable heresy of the Monothelites, who revived the errors of Manes, Apollinaris, Eutyches, &c.; they signed the sentence of excommunication on the tomb of St. Peter; the ink was mingled with the sacramental wine, the blood of Christ; and no ceremony was omitted that could fill the superstitious minds with horror and affright. As the representative of the Western church, pope Martin and his Lateran synod anathematized the perfidious and guilty silence of the Greeks. One hundred and five bishops of Italy, for the most part the subjects of Constans, presumed to reprobate his wicked *type* and the impious *ecthesis* of his grandfather, and to confound the authors and their adherents with the twenty-one notorious heretics, the apostates from the church, and the organs of the devil. Such an insult under the tamest reign could not pass with impunity. Pope Martin ended his days on the inhospitable shore of the Tauric Chersonesus, and his oracle, the abbot Maximus, was inhumanly chastised by the amputation of his tongue and his right hand.[106] But the

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between Maximus and Pyrrhus (ad calcem tom. viii. Annal. Baron. p. 755-794 [Migne, Patr. Gr. xci. p. 288 *sqq.*]), which relates a real conference, and produced a short-lived conversion. [See Appendix 1.]

[105] Impiissimam ecthesim . . . scelerosum typum (Concil. tom. vii. p. 366), diabolicæ operations genimina (fors. *germina*, or else the Greek γενήματα, in the original; Concil. p. 363, 364) are the expressions of the xviiith anathema. The epistle of pope Martin to Amandus, a Gallican bishop, stigmatizes the Monothelites and their heresy with equal virulence (p. 392). [The ecthesis declared the singleness of the Will.]

[106] The sufferings of Martin and Maximus are described with pathetic simplicity

VIth general council IId [IIId] of Constantinople. A.D 680, Nov. 7–A.D. 681, Sept. 16

same invincible spirit survived in their successors, and the triumph of the Latins avenged their recent defeat and obliterated the disgrace of the three chapters. The synods of Rome were confirmed by the sixth general council of Constantinople, in the palace and the presence of a new Constantine, a descendant of Heraclius. The royal convert converted the Byzantine pontiff and a majority of the bishops;[107] the dissenters, with their chief, Macarius of Antioch, were condemned to the spiritual and temporal pains of heresy;[108] the East condescended to accept the lessons of the West; and the creed was finally settled which teaches the Catholics of every age that two wills or energies are harmonized in the person of Christ. The majesty of the pope and the Roman synod was represented by two priests, one deacon, and three bishops; but these obscure Latins had neither arms to compel, nor treasures to bribe, nor language to persuade; and I am ignorant by what arts they could determine the lofty emperor of the Greeks to abjure the catechism of his infancy and to persecute the religion of his fathers. Perhaps the monks and people of Constantinople[109] were favourable to the Lateran creed, which is indeed the least favourable of the two; and the suspicion is countenanced by the unnatural moderation of the Greek clergy, who appear in this quarrel to be conscious of their weakness. While the synod debated, a fanatic pro-

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in their original letters and acts (Concil. tom. vii. p. 63-78; Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 656, No. 2, et annos subsequent.). Yet the chastisement of their disobedience, ἐξορία and σώματος αἰκισμός, had been previously announced in the Type of Constans (Concil. tom. vii. p. 240).

[107] Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 368 [*leg.* 348]) most erroneously supposes that the 124 bishops of the Roman synod transported themselves to Constantinople; and, by adding them to the 168 Greeks, thus composes the sixth council of 292 fathers.

[108] [Pope Honorius and the Patriarch Sergius were also condemned. The condemnation of such eminent and saintly men, as Gelzer observes, does not redound to the credit of the council. The position of Honorius is notoriously awkward for the modern doctrine of Papal infallibility.]

[109] The Monothelite Constans was hated by all διά τοι ταῦτα (says Theophanes, Chron. p. 292 [A.M. 6160]) ἐμισήθη σφόδρα [*leg.* σφοδρῶς] παρὰ πάντων. When the Monothelite monk failed in his miracle, the people shouted ὁ λαὸς ἀνεβόησε (Concil. tom. vii. p. 1032). But this was a natural and transient emotion; and I much fear that the latter is an anticipation of orthodoxy in the good people of Constantinople. [Gelzer has well pointed out two reasons for the policy of Constantine. (1) "The monophysite provinces were definitely lost; why then maintain the hated edict of unification, when there was nothing to unite?" (2) Pope Vitalian had loyally supported the Imperial throne against Italian usurpers; the influence of the Roman curia was paramount in the West; and, to keep Roman Italy, it was expedient for the theology of the Byzantine court to submit to that of Rome. (Krumbacher's Gesch. der byz. Litt., p. 955-6.)]

posed a more summary decision, by raising a dead man to life; the prelates assisted at the trial; but the acknowledged failure may serve to indicate that the passions and prejudices of the multitude were not enlisted on the side of the Monothelites. In the next generation, when the son of Constantine was deposed and slain by the disciple of Macarius, they tasted the feast of revenge and dominion; the image or monument of the sixth council was defaced, and the original acts were committed to the flames. But in the second year their patron was cast headlong from the throne, the bishops of the East were released from their occasional conformity, the Roman faith was more firmly replanted by the orthodox successors of Bardanes, and the fine problems of the incarnation were forgotten in the more popular and visible quarrel of the worship of images.[110]

Union of the Greek and Latin churches

Before the end of the seventh century, the creed of the incarnation, which had been defined at Rome and Constantinople, was uniformly preached in the remote islands of Britain and Ireland;[111] the same ideas were entertained, or rather the same words were repeated, by all the Christians whose liturgy was performed in the Greek or the Latin tongue. Their numbers and visible splendour bestowed an imperfect claim to the appellation of Catholics; but in the East they were marked with the less honourable name of *Melchites* or

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[110] The history of Monothelitism may be found in the Acts of the Synods of Rome (tom. vii. p. 77-395, 601-608) and Constantinople (p. 609-1429). Baronius extracted some original documents from the Vatican library; and his chronology is rectified by the diligence of Pagi. Even Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 57-71) and Basnage (Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 541-555) afford a tolerable abridgment. [Besides these documents we have the works of Maximus and Anastasius. See Appendix 1.]

[111] In the Lateran synod of 679, Wilfrid, an Anglo-Saxon bishop, subscribed pro omni Aquilonari parte Britanniæ et Hiberniæ, quæ ab Anglorum et Brittonum, necnon Scotorum et Pictorum gentibus colebantur (Eddius, in Vit. St. Wilfrid. c. 31, apud Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 88). Theodore (magnæ insulæ Britanniæ archiepiscopus et philosophus) was long expected at Rome (Concil. tom. vii. p. 714), but he contented himself with holding (A.D. 680) his provincial synod of Hatfield, in which he received the decrees of pope Martin and the first Lateran council against the Monothelites (Concil. tom. vii. p. 597, &c.). Theodore, a monk of Tarsus in Cilicia, had been named to the primacy of Britain by pope Vitalian (A.D. 668; see Baronius and Pagi), whose esteem for his learning and piety was tainted by some distrust of his national character—ne quid contrarium veritati fidei, Græcorum more, in ecclesiam cui præesset introduceret. The Cilician was sent from Rome to Canterbury, under the tuition of an African guide (Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Anglorum, l. iv. c. 1). He adhered to the Roman doctrine; and the same creed of the incarnation has been uniformly transmitted from Theodore to the modern primates, whose sound understanding is perhaps seldom engaged with that abstruse mystery. [For Theodore see the article of Bishop Stubbs in the Dict. of Christian Biography; cp. Index to Plummer's ed. of Bede, *sub v.*]

Perpetual separation of the Oriental sects

Royalists;[112] of men whose faith, instead of resting on the basis of scripture, reason, or tradition, had been established, and was still maintained, by the arbitrary power of a temporal monarch. Their adversaries might allege the words of the fathers of Constantinople, who profess themselves the slaves of the king; and they might relate, with malicious joy, how the decrees of Chalcedon had been inspired and reformed by the emperor Marcian and his virgin bride. The prevailing faction will naturally inculcate the duty of submission, nor is it less natural that dissenters should feel and assert the principles of freedom. Under the rod of persecution, the Nestorians and Monophysites degenerated into rebels and fugitives; and the most ancient and useful allies of Rome were taught to consider the emperor not as the chief, but as the enemy, of the Christians. Language, the leading principle which unites or separates the tribes of mankind, soon discriminated the sectaries of the East by a peculiar and perpetual badge, which abolished the means of intercourse and the hope of reconciliation. The long dominion of the Greeks, their colonies, and, above all, their eloquence had propagated a language doubtless the most perfect that has been contrived by the art of man. Yet the body of the people, both in Syria and Egypt, still persevered in the use of their national idioms; with this difference, however, that the Coptic was confined to the rude and illiterate peasants of the Nile, while the Syriac,[113] from the mountains of Assyria to the Red Sea, was adapted to the higher topics of poetry and argument. Armenia and Abyssinia were infected by the speech and learning of the Greeks; and their barbaric tongues, which have been revived in the studies of modern Europe, were unintelligible to the inhabitants of the Roman empire. The Syriac and the Coptic, the Armenian and the

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[112] This name, unknown till the xth century, appears to be of Syriac origin. It was invented by the Jacobites, and eagerly adopted by the Nestorians and Mahometans; but it was accepted without shame by the Catholics, and is frequently used in the Annals of Eutychius (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 507, &c. tom. iii. p. 355. Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. 119). Ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τοῦ Βασιλέως, was the acclamation of the fathers of Constantinople (Concil. tom. vii. p. 765). [But cp. above, p. 127, n. 70.]

[113] The Syriac, which the natives revere as the primitive language, was divided into three dialects: 1. The *Aramaean*, as it was refined at Edessa and the cities of Mesopotamia; 2. The *Palestine*, which was used in Jerusalem, Damascus, and the rest of Syria; 3. The *Nabathaean*, the rustic idiom of the mountains of Assyria and the villages of Irak (Gregor. Abulpharag. Hist. Dynast. p. 11). On the Syriac, see Ebed-Jesu (Asseman. tom. iii. p. 326, &c.), whose prejudice alone could prefer it to the Arabic.

Æthiopic, are consecrated in the service of their respective churches; and their theology is enriched by domestic versions[114] both of the scriptures and of the most popular fathers. After a period of thirteen hundred and sixty years, the spark of controversy, first kindled by a sermon of Nestorius, still burns in the bosom of the East, and the hostile communions still maintain the faith and discipline of their founders. In the most abject state of ignorance, poverty, and servitude, the Nestorians and Monophysites reject the spiritual supremacy of Rome, and cherish the toleration of their Turkish masters, which allows them to anathematize, on one hand, St. Cyril and the synod of Ephesus, on the other, pope Leo and the council of Chalcedon. The weight which they cast into the downfall of the Eastern empire demands our notice, and the reader may be amused with the various prospects of I. The Nestorians; II. The Jacobites;[115] III. The Maronites; IV. The Armenians; V. The Copts; and VI. The Abyssinians. To the three former, the Syriac is common; but of the latter, each is discriminated by the use of a national idiom. Yet the modern natives of Armenia and Abyssinia would be incapable of conversing with their ancestors; and the Christians of Egypt and Syria, who reject the religion, have adopted the language, of the Arabians. The lapse of time has seconded the sacerdotal arts; and in the East, as well as in the West, the Deity is addressed in an obsolete tongue, unknown to the majority of the congregation.

I. The Nestorians

I. Both in his native and his episcopal province, the heresy of the unfortunate Nestorius was speedily obliterated. The Oriental bishops, who at Ephesus had resisted to his face the arrogance of Cyril, were mollified by his tardy concessions. The same prelates, or their successors, subscribed, not without a murmur, the decrees of Chalcedon; the power of the Monophysites reconciled them with the Catholics in the conformity of passion, of interest, and insensibly of belief; and their last reluctant sigh was breathed in the defence of the three chapters. Their dissenting brethren, less moderate, or more sincere, were crushed by the penal laws; and as early as the reign of Justinian it became difficult to find a church of Nestorians within the limits of the Roman empire. Beyond those limits they had discovered a new world, in which they might hope for liberty and aspire to conquest. In Persia, notwithstanding the resistance of the Magi, Christianity had struck a deep root, and the nations of the East reposed under its salutary shade. The *catholic*, or primate, resided in the capital; in *his* synods, and in *their* dioceses, his metropolitans, bishops, and clergy represented the pomp and honour of a regular hierarchy; they rejoiced in the increase of proselytes, who were converted from the Zendavesta to the Gospel, from the secular to the monastic life; and their zeal was stimulated by the presence of an artful and formidable enemy. The Persian church had been founded by the missionaries of Syria; and their language, discipline, and doctrine were closely interwoven with its original frame. The *catholics* were elected and ordained by their own suffragans; but their filial dependence on the patriarchs of Antioch is attested by the canons of the Oriental church.[116] In the Persian school of Edessa,[117] the rising generations of the faithful imbibed their theological idiom; they studied in the Syriac version the ten thousand volumes of Theodore of Mopsuestia; and they revered the apostolic faith and holy martyrdom of his disciple Nestorius, whose person and language were equally unknown to the nations beyond the Tigris. The first indelible lesson of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, taught them to execrate the *Egyptians,* who, in the synod of Ephesus, had impiously confounded the two natures of Christ. The flight of the masters and scholars, who were twice expelled from the Athens of Syria, dispersed a crowd of missionaries, inflamed by the double zeal of religion and revenge. And the rigid unity of the Monophysites, who, under the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, had invaded the thrones of the East, provoked their antagonists, in a land of freedom, to avow a moral, rather than a physical, union of the two persons of Christ. Since the first preaching of the gospel, the Sassanian kings beheld with an eye of suspicion a race of aliens and apostates, who had embraced the religion, and who might favour the cause, of the hereditary foes of their country. The royal edicts had often prohibited their dangerous correspondence with the Syrian clergy; the progress of the schism was grateful to the jealous pride of Perozes, and he listened to the eloquence of an artful prelate, who painted Nestorius as the friend of Persia, and urged him to secure the fidelity of his Christian subjects by granting a just preference to the victims and enemies of the Roman tyrant. The Nestorians composed a large majority of the clergy and people; they were encouraged by the smile, and armed with the sword, of despotism; yet many of their weaker brethren were startled at the thought of breaking loose from the communion of the Christian world, and the blood of seven thousand seven hundred Monophysites, or Catholics, confirmed the uniformity of faith and discipline in the churches of Persia.[118] Their ecclesiastical institutions are distinguished by a liberal principle of reason, or at least of policy; the austerity of the cloister was relaxed and gradually forgotten; houses of charity were endowed for the education of orphans and foundlings; the law of celibacy, so forcibly recommended to the Greeks and Latins, was disregarded by the Persian clergy; and the number of the elect was multiplied by the public and reiterated nuptials of the priests, the bishops, and even the patriarch himself. To this standard of natural and religious freedom myriads of fugitives resorted from all the provinces of the

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[114] I shall not enrich my ignorance with the spoils of Simon, Walton, Mill, Wetstein, Assemannus, Ludolphus, La Croze, whom I have consulted with some care. It appears, 1. *That*, of all the versions which are celebrated by the fathers, it is doubtful whether any are now extant in their pristine integrity. 2. *That* the Syriac has the best claim; and that the consent of the Oriental sects is a proof that it is more ancient than their schism.

[115] In the account of the Monophysites and Nestorians, I am deeply indebted to the Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana of Joseph Simon Assemannus. That learned Maronite was dispatched in the year 1715 by pope Clement XI. to visit the monasteries of Egypt and Syria, in search of Mss. His four folio volumes, published at Rome 1719-1728, contain a part only, though perhaps the most valuable, of his extensive project. As a native and as a scholar, he possessed the Syriac literature; and, though a dependent of Rome, he wishes to be moderate and candid.

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[116] See the Arabic canons of Nice, in the translation of Abraham Ecchellensis, No. 37, 38, 39, 40. Concil. tom. ii. p. 335, 336, edit. Venet. These vulgar titles, *Nicene* and *Arabic*, are both apocryphal. The council of Nice enacted no more than twenty canons (Theodoret, Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 8), and the remainder, seventy or eighty, were collected from the synods of the Greek church. The Syriac edition of Maruthas is no longer extant (Asseman. Bibliot. Oriental. tom. i. p. 195, tom. iii. p. 74), and the Arabic version is marked with many recent interpolations. Yet this code contains many curious relics of ecclesiastical discipline; and, since it is equally revered by all the eastern communions, it was probably finished before the schism of the Nestorians and Jacobites (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. xi. p. 363-367). [A German translation (by E. Nestle) of the statutes of the Nestorian school of Nisibis will be found in Ztsch. f. Kirchengesch., 18, p. 211 *sqq.*, 1897.]

[117] Theodore the Reader (l. ii. c. 5, 49, ad calcem Hist. Eccles.) has noticed this Persian school of Edessa. Its ancient splendour and the two æras of its downfall (A.D. 431 and 489) are clearly discussed by Assemanni (Biblioth. Orient. tom. ii. p. 402, iii. p. 376, 378 iv. p. 70, 924). [R. Duval, Hist. pol., relig., et litt. d'Edesse, 1892.]

[Nestorian school of Edessa closed. A.D. 489]

sole masters of Persia. A.D. 500, &c.

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[118] A dissertation on the state of the Nestorians has swelled in the hands of Assemanni to a folio volume of 950 pages, and his learned researches are digested in the most lucid order. Besides this ivth volume of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, the extracts in the three preceding tomes (tom. i. p. 203, ii. p. 321-463, iii. 64-70, 378-395, &c., 403-408, 580-589) may be usefully consulted.

Eastern empire; the narrow bigotry of Justinian was punished by the emigration of his most industrious subjects; they transported into Persia the arts both of peace and war; and those who deserved the favour, were promoted in the service, of a discerning monarch. The arms of Nushirvan, and his fiercer grandson, were assisted with advice, and money, and troops, by the desperate sectaries who still lurked in their native cities of the East; their zeal was rewarded with the gift of the Catholic churches; but, when those cities and churches were recovered by Heraclius, their open profession of treason and heresy compelled them to seek a refuge in the realm of their foreign ally. But the seeming tranquillity of the Nestorians was often endangered, and sometimes overthrown. They were involved in the common evils of Oriental despotism; their enmity to Rome could not always atone for their attachment to the gospel; and a colony of three hundred thousand Jacobites, the captives of Apamea and Antioch, was permitted to erect an hostile altar in the face of the *catholic* and in the sunshine of the court. In his last treaty, Justinian introduced some conditions which tended to enlarge and fortify the toleration of Christianity in Persia. The emperor, ignorant of the rights of conscience, was incapable of pity or esteem fo the heretics who denied the authority of the holy synods; but h flattered himself that they would gradually perceive the temporal benefits of union with the empire and the church of Rome and, if he failed in exciting their gratitude, he might hope t provoke the jealousy of their sovereign. In a latter age, th Lutherans have been burnt at Paris, and protected in Germany by the superstition and policy of the most Christian king.

Their missions in Tartary, India, China, &c. A.D. 500-1200

The desire of gaining souls for God, and subjects for th church, has excited in every age the diligence of the Christian priests From the conquest of Persia they carried thei spiritual arms to the north, the east, and the south; and th simplicity of the gospel was fashioned and painted with th colours of the Syriac theology. In the sixth century, accordin to the report of a Nestorian traveller,[119] Christianity was su cessfully preached to the Bactrians, the Huns, the Persians, the Indians, the Persarmenians, the Medes, and the Elamites; the barbaric churches, from the gulf of Persia to the Caspian sea, were almost infinite; and their recent faith was conspicuous in the number and sanctity of their monks and martyrs. The pepper coast of Malabar, and the isles of the ocean, Socotora and Ceylon, were peopled with an increasing multitude of Christians; and the bishops and clergy of those sequestered regions derived their ordination from the catholic of Babylon. In a subsequent age, the zeal of the Nestorians overleaped the limits which had confined the ambition and curiosity both of the Greeks and Persians. The missionaries of Balch and Samarcand pursued without fear the footsteps of the roving Tartar, and insinuated themselves into the camps of the valleys of Imaus and the banks of the Selinga. They exposed a metaphysical creed to those illiterate shepherds; to those sanguinary warriors they recommended humanity and repose. Yet a khan, whose power they vainly magnified, is said to have received at their hands the rites of baptism, and even of ordination; and the fame of *Prester* or *Presbyter* John[120] has long amused the credulity of Europe. The royal convert was indulged in the use of a portable altar; but he dispatched an embassy to the patriarch, to inquire how, in the season of Lent, he should abstain from animal food, and how he might celebrate the Eucharist in a desert that produced neither corn nor wine. In their progress by sea and land, the Nestorians entered China by the port of Canton and the northern residence of Sigan. **[Si-ngan-fu]** Unlike the senators of Rome, who assumed with a smile the characters of priests and augurs, the mandarins, who affect in public the reason of philosophers, are devoted in private to every mode of popular superstition. They cherished and they

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[119] See the Topographia Christiana of Cosmas, surnamed Indicopleustes, or t Indian navigator, l. iii. p. 178, 179, l. xi. p. 337. The entire work, of which som curious extracts may be found in Photius (cod. xxxvi. p. 9, 10, edit. Hoesche Thévenot (in the first Part of his Relation des Voyages, &c.), and Fabrici (Bibliot. Græc. l. iii. c. 25, tom. ii. p. 603-617), has been published by fath Montfaucon at Paris 1707 in the Nova Collectio Patrum (tom. ii. p. 113-346). was the design of the author to confute the impious heresy of those who mainta that the earth is a globe, and not a flat oblong table, as it is represented in t

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scriptures (l. ii. p. 138). But the nonsense of the monk is mingled with the practical knowledge of the traveller, who performed his voyage A.D. 522, and published his book at Alexandria, A.D. 547 (l. ii. p. 140, 141. Montfaucon, Præfat. c. 2). [Cosmas had sailed in the "Persian" and "Arabic" Gulfs, but this voyage to Taprobane was performed by his friend Sopater. It is not certain that Cosmas visited it himself.] The Nestorianism of Cosmas, unknown to his learned editor, was detected by La Croze (Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 40-55), and is confirmed by Assemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 605, 606). [On Cosmas, his theory and his voyages, cp. Mr. C. R. Beazley, Dawn of Modern Geography, p. 190 *sqq.* and 273 *sqq.*]

[120] In its long progress to Mosul, Jerusalem, Rome, &c. the story of Prester John evaporated in a monstrous fable, of which some features have been borrowed from the Lama of Thibet (Hist. Généalogique des Tartares, p. ii. p. 42; Hist. de Gengiscan, p. 31, &c.), and were ignorantly transferred by the Portuguese to the emperor of Abyssinia (Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. Comment. l. ii. c. 1). Yet it is probable that in the xith and xiith centuries Nestorian Christianity was pro-

confounded the gods of Palestine and of India; but the propagation of Christianity awakened the jealousy of the state, and, after a short vicissitude of favour and persecution, the foreign sect expired in ignorance and oblivion.[121] Under the reign of the caliphs, the Nestorian church was diffused from China to Jerusalem and Cyprus; and their numbers, with those of the Jacobites, were computed to surpass the Greek and Latin communions.[122] Twenty-five metropolitans or archbishops composed their hierarchy, but several of these were dispensed, by the distance and danger of the way, from the duty of personal attendance, on the easy condition that every six years they should testify their faith and obedience to the *catholic* or patriarch of Babylon: a vague appellation, which has been successively applied to the royal seats of Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Bagdad. These remote branches are long since withered, and the old patriarchal trunk[123] is now divided by the *Elijahs* of Mosul, the representatives, almost in lineal descent, of the genuine and primitive succession, the *Josephs* of Amida, who are reconciled to the church of Rome,[124] and the *Simeons* of Van or Ormia, whose revolt, at the head of forty thousand families, was promoted in the sixteenth century by the Sophis of Persia. The number of three hundred thousand is allowed for the whole body of the Nestorians, who, under the name of Chaldæans or Assyrians, are confounded with the most learned or the most powerful nation of Eastern antiquity.

The Christians of St. Thomas in India. A.D. [illegible]

According to the legend of antiquity, the gospel was preached in India by St. Thomas.[125] At the end of the ninth century,

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fessed in the horde of the Keraites (d'Herbelot, p. 256, 915, 959. Assemanni, tom iv. p. 468-504).

[121] The Christianity of China, between the seventh and the thirteenth century is invincibly proved by the consent of Chinese, Arabian, Syriac, and Latin evidenc (Assemanni, Biblioth. Orient. tom. iv. p. 502-552. Mém. de l'Académie de Inscript. tom. xxx. p. 802-819). The inscription of Siganfu, which describes th fortunes of the Nestorian church, from the first mission, A.D. 636, to the curren year 781, is accused of forgery by La Croze, Voltaire, &c. who become the dupe of their own cunning, while they are afraid of a Jesuitical fraud. [See Appendix 7.

[122] Jacobitæ et Nestoriani plures quam Græci et Latini. Jacob a Vitriaco, Hist Hierosol. l. ii. c. 76, p. 1093, in the Gesta Dei per Francos. The numbers ar given by Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 172.

[123] The division of the patriarchate may be traced in the Bibliotheca Orient. c Assemanni, tom. i. p. 523-549; tom. ii. p. 457, &c.; tom. iii. p. 603, p. 621-623; tom iv. p. 164-169, p. 423, p. 622-629, &c.

[124] The pompous language of Rome, on the submission of a Nestorian patriarcl is elegantly represented in the viith book of Fra-Paolo: Babylon, Ninevel Arbela, and the trophies of Alexander, Tauris and Ecbatana, the Tigris and Indu

[125] The Indian missionary St. Thomas, an apostle, a Manichæan, or a Armenian merchant (La Croze, Christianisme des Indes, tom. i. p. 57-70), wa famous, however, as early as the time of Jerom (ad Marcellam, epist. 148 [5 ed. Migne, P.L. vol. 22]). Marco Polo was informed on the spot that he sufferc

his shrine, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Madras, was devoutly visited by the ambassadors of Alfred, and their return with a cargo of pearls and spices rewarded the zeal of the English monarch, who entertained the largest projects of trade and discovery.[126] When the Portuguese first opened the navigation of India, the Christians of St. Thomas had been seated for ages on the coast of Malabar, and the difference of their character and colour attested the mixture of a foreign race. In arms, in arts, and possibly in virtue, they excelled the natives of Hindostan; the husbandmen cultivated the palm-tree, the merchants were enriched by the pepper-trade, the soldiers preceded the *nairs* or nobles of Malabar, and their hereditary privileges were respected by the gratitude or the fear of the king of Cochin and the Zamorin himself. They acknowledged a Gentoo sovereign, but they were governed, even in temporal concerns, by the bishop of Angamala. He still asserted his ancient title of metropolitan of India, but his real jurisdiction was exercised in fourteen hundred churches, and he was entrusted with the care of two hundred thousand souls. Their religion would have rendered them the firmest and most cordial allies of the Portuguese, but the inquisitors soon discerned in the Christians of St. Thomas the unpardonable guilt of heresy and schism. Instead of owning themselves the subjects of the Roman pontiff, the spiritual and temporal monarch of the globe, they adhered, like their ancestors, to the communion of the Nestorian patriarch; and the bishops whom he ordained at Mosul traversed the dangers of the sea and land to reach their diocese on the coast of Malabar. In their Syriac liturgy, the names of Theodore and Nestorius were piously commemorated; they united their adoration of the two persons of Christ; the

A.D. 1500, &c

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martyrdom in the city of Maabar, or Meliapour, a league only from Madras (d'Anville, Ecclaircissemens sur l'Inde, p. 125), where the Portuguese founded an episcopal church under the name of St. Thomé, and where the saint performed an annual miracle, till he was silenced by the profane neighbourhood of the English (La Croze, tom. ii. p. 7-16). [For the account of Christianity in India, given by Cosmas, see R. A. Lipsius, Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden, i. 283 *sqq.* Cp. above, vol. iv. p. 234, n. 78.]

[126] Neither the author of the Saxon Chronicle (A.D. 883) nor William of Malmesbury (de Gestis Regum Angliæ, l. ii. c. 4, p. 44) were capable, in the twelfth century, of inventing this extraordinary fact; they are incapable of explaining the motives and measures of Alfred; and their hasty notice serves only to provoke our curiosity. William of Malmesbury feels the difficulty of the enterprise, quod quivis in hoc sæculo miretur; and I almost suspect that the English ambassadors collected their cargo and legend in Egypt. The royal author has not enriched his Orosius (see Barrington's Miscellanies) with an Indian, as well as a Scandinavian, voyage.

A.D. 1599-1663

title of Mother of God was offensive to their ear, and they measured with scrupulous avarice the honours of the Virgin Mary, whom the superstition of the Latins had *almost* exalted to the rank of a goddess. When her image was first presented to the disciples of St. Thomas, they indignantly exclaimed, "We are Christians, not idolaters!" and their simple devotion was content with the veneration of the cross. Their separation from the Western world had left them in ignorance of the improvements, or corruptions, of a thousand years; and their conformity with the faith and practice of the fifth century would equally disappoint the prejudices of a Papist or a Protestant. It was the first care of the ministers of Rome to intercept all correspondence with the Nestorian patriarch, and several of his bishops expired in the prisons of the holy office. The flock, without a shepherd, was assaulted by the power of the Portuguese, the arts of the Jesuits, and the zeal of Alexis de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, in his personal visitation of the coast of Malabar. The synod of Diamper, at which he presided, consummated the pious work of the reunion, and rigorously imposed the doctrine and discipline of the Roman church, without forgetting auricular confession, the strongest engine of ecclesiastical torture. The memory of Theodore and Nestorius was condemned, and Malabar was reduced under the dominion of the pope, of the primate, and of the Jesuits who invaded the see of Angamala or Cranganor. Sixty years of servitude and hypocrisy were patiently endured; but, as soon as the Portuguese empire was shaken by the courage and industry of the Dutch, the Nestorians asserted, with vigour and effect, the religion of their fathers. The Jesuits were incapable of defending the power which they had abused; the arms of forty thousand Christians were pointed against their falling tyrants; and the Indian archdeacon assumed the character of bishop, till a fresh supply of episcopal gifts and Syriac missionaries could be obtained from the patriarch of Babylon. Since the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Nestorian creed is freely professed on the coast of Malabar. The trading companies of Holland and England are the friends of toleration; but, if oppression be less mortifying than contempt, the Christians of St. Thomas have reason to complain of the cold and silent indifference of their brethren of Europe.[127]

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[127] Concerning the Christians of St. Thomas, see Assemannus, Biblioth. Orient. tom. iv. p. 391-407, 435-451; Geddes's Church History of Malabar; and, above all, La Croze, Histoire du Christianisme des Indes, in two vols. 12mo, La Haye,

II. The Jacobites

A.D. 518

II. The history of the Monophysites is less copious and interesting than that of the Nestorians. Under the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, their artful leaders surprised the ear of the prince, usurped the thrones of the East, and crushed on its native soil the school of the Syrians. The rule of the Monophysite faith was defined with exquisite discretion by Severus, patriarch of Antioch: he condemned, in the style of the Henoticon, the adverse heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches, maintained against the latter the reality of the body of Christ, and constrained the Greeks to allow that he was a liar who spoke truth.[128] But the approximation of ideas could not abate the vehemence of passion; each party was the more astonished that their blind antagonist could dispute on so trifling a difference; the tyrant of Syria enforced the belief of his creed, and his reign was polluted with the blood of three hundred and fifty monks, who were slain, not perhaps without provocation or resistance, under the walls of Apamea.[129] The successor of Anastasius replanted the orthodox standard in the East; Severus fled into Egypt; and his friend, the eloquent Xenaias,[130] who had escaped from the Nestorians of Persia, was suffocated in his exile by the Melchites of Paphlagonia. Fifty-four bishops were swept from their thrones, eight hundred ecclesiastics were cast into prison,[131] and, notwithstanding the ambiguous favour

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1758, a learned and agreeable work. They have drawn from the same source, the Portuguese and Italian narratives; and the prejudices of the Jesuits are sufficiently corrected by those of the Protestants.

[128] Οἶον εἰπεῖν ψευδαλήθης is the expression of Theodore in his treatise of the Incarnation, p. 245, 247, as he is quoted by La Croze (Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Arménie, p. 35), who exclaims, perhaps too hastily, "Quel pitoyable raisonnement!" Renaudot has touched (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 127-138) the Oriental accounts of Severus; and his authentic creed may be found in the epistle of John the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, in the xth century, to his brother Mennas of Alexandria (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 132-141). [A Syriac translation of a Life of Severus by Zacharias of Mytilene is preserved, and was published by J. Spanuth, 1893. On the position of Severus in ecclesiastical history, cp. J. Eustratius, Σευῆρος ὁ Μονοφυσίτης, 1894.]

[129] Epist. Archimandritarum et Monachorum Syriæ Secundæ ad Papam Hormisdam, Concil. tom. v. p. 598-602. The courage of St. Sabas, ut leo animosus, will justify the suspicion that the arms of these monks were not always spiritual or defensive (Baronius, A.D. 513, No. 7, &c.).

[130] Assemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 10-46) and La Croze (Christianisme d'Ethiopie, p. 36-40) will supply the history of Xenaias, or Philoxenus, bishop of Mabug, or Hierapolis, in Syria. He was a perfect master of the Syriac language, and the author or editor of a version of the New Testament.

[131] The names and titles of fifty-four bishops, who were exiled by Justin, are preserved in the Chronicle of Dionysius (apud Asseman. tom. ii. p. 54). Severus was personally summoned to Constantinople—for his trial, says Liberatus (Brev. c. 19)—that his tongue might be cut out, says Evagrius (l. iv. c. 4). The prudent patriarch did not stay to examine the difference. This ecclesiastical revolution is fixed by Pagi to the month of September of the year 518 (Critica, tom. ii. p. 506).

of Theodora, the Oriental flocks, deprived of their shepherds, must insensibly have been either famished or poisoned. In this spiritual distress, the expiring faction was revived, and united, and perpetuated, by the labours of a monk; and the name of James Baradæus[132] has been preserved in the appellation of *Jacobites*, a familiar sound which may startle the ear of an English reader. From the holy confessors in their prison [c. A.D. 541] of Constantinople he received the powers of bishop of Edessa and apostle of the East, and the ordination of fourscore thousand bishops, priests, and deacons is derived from the same inexhaustible source. The speed of the zealous missionary was promoted by the fleetest dromedaries of a devout chief of the Arabs; the doctrine and discipline of the Jacobites were secretly established in the dominions of Justinian; and each Jacobite was compelled to violate the laws and to hate the Roman legislator. The successors of Severus, while they lurked in convents or villages, while they sheltered their proscribed heads in the caverns of hermits or the tents of the Saracens, still asserted, as they now assert, their indefeasible right to the title, the rank, and the prerogatives of patriarch of Antioch; under the milder yoke of the infidels they reside about a league from Merdin, in the pleasant monastery of Zapharan, which they have embellished with cells, aqueducts, and plantations. The secondary, though honourable, place is filled by the *maphrian*, who, in his station at Mosul itself, defies the Nestorian *catholic*, with whom he contests the supremacy of the East. Under the patriarch and the maphrian, one hundred and fifty archbishops and bishops have been counted in the different ages of the Jacobite church; but the order of the hierarchy is relaxed or dissolved, and the greater part of their dioceses is confined to the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris. The cities of Aleppo and Amida, which are often visited by the patriarch, contain some wealthy merchants and industrious mechanics, but the multitude derive their scanty sustenance from their daily labour; and poverty, as well as superstition, may impose their excessive fasts: five annual lents, during which both the clergy and laity abstain not only from flesh or eggs, but even from the taste of wine, of oil, and of fish. Their present numbers are esteemed from fifty to fourscore thousand souls, the remnant of a populous church, which has gradually decreased under the oppression of twelve centuries. Yet in that long period some strangers of merit have been converted to the Monophysite faith, and a Jew was the father of Abulpharagius,[133] primate of the East, so truly eminent both in his life and death. In his life, he was an elegant writer of the Syriac and Arabic tongues, a poet, physician, and historian, a subtle philosopher, and a moderate divine. In his death, his funeral was attended by his rival the Nestorian patriarch, with a train of Greeks and Armenians, who forgot their disputes and mingled their tears over the grave of an enemy. The sect which was honoured by the virtues of Abulpharagius appears, however, to sink below the level of their Nestorian brethren. The superstition of the Jacobites is more abject, their fasts more rigid,[134] their intestine divisions are more numerous, and their doctors (as far as I can measure the degrees of nonsense) are more remote from the precincts of reason. Something may possibly be allowed for the rigour of the Monophysite theology; much more for the superior influence of the monastic order. In Syria, in Egypt, in Æthiopia, the Jacobite monks have ever been distinguished by the austerity of their penance and the absurdity of their legends. Alive or dead, they are worshipped as the favourites of the Deity; the crosier of bishop and patriarch is reserved for their venerable hands; and they assume the government of men, while they are yet reeking with the habits and prejudices of the cloister.[135]

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[132] The obscure history of James, or Jacobus, Baradæus, or Zanzalus [ob. A.D. 578] may be gathered from Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 144, 147), Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 133), and Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 424, tom. ii. p. 62-69, 324-332, p. 414, tom. ii. p. 385-388) [and Bar-Hebraeus, Chron. Eccl., ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, p. 215 *sqq.*]. He seems to be unknown to the Greeks. The Jacobites themselves had rather deduce their name and pedigree from St. James the apostle.

III. The Maronites

III. In the style of the Oriental Christians, the Monothelites of every age are described under the appellation of *Maronites*,[136] a name which has been insensibly transferred from an hermit to a monastery, from a monastery to a nation. Maron, a saint or savage of the fifth century, displayed his religious madness in Syria; the rival cities of Apamea and Emesa disputed his relics, a stately church was erected on his tomb, and six hundred of his disciples united their solitary cells on the banks of the Orontes. In the controversies of the incarnation, they nicely threaded the orthodox line between the sects of Nestorius and Eutyches; but the unfortunate question of *one will* or operation in the two natures of Christ was generated by their curious leisure. Their proselyte, the emperor Heraclius, was rejected as a Maronite from the walls of Emesa; he found a refuge in the monastery of his brethren; and their theological lessons were repaid with the gift of a spacious and wealthy domain. The name and doctrine of this venerable school were propagated among the Greeks and Syrians, and their zeal is expressed by Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, who declared before the synod of Constantinople that, sooner than subscribe the *two wills* of Christ, he would submit to be hewn piece-meal and cast into the sea.[137] A similar or a less cruel mode of persecution soon converted the unresisting subjects of the plain, while the glorious title of *Mardaites*,[138] or rebels, was bravely maintained by the hardy natives of mount Libanus. John Maron, one of the most learned and popular of the monks, assumed the character of patriarch of Antioch; his nephew Abraham, at the head of the Maronites, defended their civil and religious freedom against the tyrants of the East. The son of the orthodox Constantine pursued, with pious hatred, a people of soldiers, who might have stood the bulwark of his empire against the common foes of Christ and of Rome. An army of Greeks invaded Syria; the monastery of St. Maron was destroyed with fire; the bravest chieftains were betrayed and murdered; and twelve thousand of their followers were transplanted to the distant frontiers of Armenia and Thrace. Yet the humble nation of the Maronites has survived the empire of Constantinople, and they still enjoy, under their Turkish masters, a free religion and a mitigated servitude. Their domestic governors are chosen among the ancient nobility; the patriarch, in his monastery of Canobin, still fancies himself on the throne of Antioch; nine bishops compose his synod, and one hundred and fifty priests, who retain the liberty of marriage, are entrusted with the care of one hundred thousand souls. Their country extends from the ridge of mount Libanus to the shores of Tripoli; and the gradual descent affords, in a narrow space, each variety of soil and climate, from the Holy Cedars, erect under the weight of snow,[139] to the vine, the mulberry, and the olive trees of the fruitful valley. In the twelfth century, the Maronites, abjuring the Monothelite error, were reconciled to the Latin churches of Antioch and Rome,[140] and the same alliance has been frequently renewed by the ambition of the popes and the distress of the Syrians. But it may reasonably be questioned whether their union has ever been perfect or sincere; and the learned Maronites of the college of Rome have vainly laboured to absolve their ancestors from the guilt of heresy and schism.[141]

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[133] The account of his person and writings is perhaps the most curious article in the Bibliotheca of Assemannus (tom. ii. p. 244-321, under the name of *Gregorius Bar-Hebraeus*). [See Appendix 1.] La Croze (Christianisme d'Ethiopie, p. 53-63) ridicules the prejudice of the Spaniards against the Jewish blood, which secretly defiles their church and state.

[134] This *excessive* abstinence is censured by La Croze (p. 352) and even by the Syrian Assemannus (tom. i. p. 226, tom. ii. p. 304, 305).

[135] The state of the Monophysites is excellently illustrated in a dissertation at the beginning of the iid volume of Assemannus, which contains 142 pages. The Syriac Chronicle of Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, or Abulpharagius (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 321-463), pursues the double series of the Nestorian *catholics* and the *maphrians* of the Jacobites.

[136] The synonymous use of the two words may be proved from Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 191, 267 332) and many similar passages which may be found in the methodical table of Pocock. He was not actuated by any prejudice against the Maronites of the xth century; and we may believe a Melchite, whose testimony is confirmed by the Jacobites and Latins.

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[137] Concil. tom. vii. p. 780. The Monothelite cause was supported with firmness and subtlety by Constantine, a *Syrian* priest of Apamea (p. 1040, &c.).

[138] Theophanes (Chron. p. 295, 296, 300, 302, 306 [*sub* A.M. 6169, 6176, 6178 6183]) and Cedrenus (p. 437, 440 [p. 765, 771, ed. Bonn]) relate the exploits of the Mardaites. The name (*Mard*, in Syriac *rebellavit*) is explained by La Roque (Voyage de la Syrie, tom. ii. p. 53), the dates are fixed by Pagi (A.D. 676, No. 4-14, A.D. 685, No. 3, 4), and even the obscure story of the patriarch, John Maron (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 496-520), illustrates, from the year 686 to 707, the troubles of mount Libanus.

IV. The Armenian

IV. Since the age of Constantine, the ARMENIANS[142] had signalised their attachment to the religion and empire of the Christians. The disorders of their country, and their ignorance of the Greek tongue, prevented their clergy from assisting at the synod of Chalcedon, and they floated eighty-four years[143] in a state of indifference or suspense, till their vacant faith was finally occupied by the missionaries of Julian of Halicarnassus,[144] who in Egypt, their common exile, had been vanquished by the arguments or the influence of his rival Severus, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch. The Armenians alone are the pure disciples of Eutyches, an unfortunate parent, who has been renounced by the greater part of his spiritual progeny. They alone persevere in the opinion that the manhood of Christ was created, or existed without creation, of a divine and incorruptible substance. Their adversaries reproach them with the adoration of a phantom; and they retort the accusation, by deriding or execrating the blasphemy of the Jacobites, who impute to the Godhead the vile infirmities of the flesh, even the natural effects of nutrition and digestion. The religion of Armenia could not derive much glory from the learning or the power of its inhabitants. The royalty expired with the origin of their schism, and their Christian kings, who arose and fell in the thirteenth century on the confines of Cilicia, were the clients of the Latins, and the vassals of the Turkish sultan of Iconium. The helpless nation has seldom been permitted to enjoy the tranquillity of servitude. From the earliest period to the present hour, Armenia has been the theatre of perpetual war; the lands between Tauris and Erivan were dispeopled by the cruel policy of the Sophis; and myriads of Christian families were transplanted, to perish or to propagate in the distant provinces of Persia. Under the rod of oppression, the zeal of the Armenians is fervid and intrepid; they have often preferred the crown of martyrdom to the white turban of Mahomet; they devoutly hate the error and idolatry of the Greeks; and their transient union with the Latins is not less devoid of truth than the thousand bishops whom their patriarch offered at the feet of the Roman pontiff.[145] The *catholic*, or patriarch of the Armenians, resides in the monastery of Ekmiasin, three leagues from Erivan. Forty-seven archbishops, each of whom may claim the obedience of four or five suffragans, are consecrated by his hand; but the far greater part are only titular prelates, who dignify with their presence and service the simplicity of his court. As soon as they have performed the liturgy, they cultivate the garden; and our bishops will hear with surprise that the austerity of their life increases in just proportion to the elevation of their rank. In the fourscore thousand towns or villages of his spiritual empire, the patriarch receives a small and voluntary tax from each person above the age of fifteen; but the annual amount of six hundred thousand crowns is insufficient to supply the incessant demands of charity and tribute. Since the beginning of the last century, the Armenians have obtained a large and lucrative share of the commerce of the East; in their return from Europe, the caravan usually halts in the neighbourhood of Erivan, the altars are enriched with the fruits of their patient industry; and the faith of Eutyches is preached in their recent congregations of Barbary and Poland.[146]

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[139] In the last century, twenty large cedars still remained (Voyage de la Roque, tom. i. p. 68-76); at present they are reduced to four or five (Volney, tom. i. p. 264). These trees, so famous in scripture, were guarded by excommunication; the wood was sparingly borrowed for small crosses, &c.; an annual mass was chanted under their shade; and they were endowed by the Syrians with a sensitive power of erecting their branches to repel the snow, to which mount Libanus is less faithful than it is painted by Tacitus: Inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus—a daring metaphor (Hist. v. 6).

[140] The evidence of William of Tyre (Hist. in Gestis Dei per Francos, l. xxii. c. 8, p. 1022) is copied or confirmed by Jacques de Vitra (Hist. Hierosolym. l. ii. c. 77, p. 1093, 1094). But this unnatural league expired with the power of the Franks; and Abulpharagius (who died in 1286) considers the Maronites as a sect of Monothelites (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. p. 292).

[141] I find a description and history of the Maronites in the Voyages de la Syrie et du Mont Liban, par la Roque (2 vols. in 12mo. Amsterdam, 1723; particularly tom. i. p. 42-47, p. 174-184, tom. ii. p. 10-120). In the ancient part, he copies the prejudices of Nairon, and the other Maronites of Rome, which Assemannus is afraid to renounce and ashamed to support. Jablonski (Institut. Hist. Christ. tom. iii. p. 186), Niebuhr (Voyage de l'Arabie, &c. tom. ii. p. 346, 370-381), and, above all, the judicious Volney (Voyage en Egypte et en Syrie, tom. ii. p. 8-31, Paris, 1787) may be consulted.

[142] The religion of the Armenians is briefly described by La Croze (Hist. du Christ. de l'Europe et de l'Arménie, p. 269-402). He refers to the great Armenian History of Galanus (3 vols. in fol. Rome, 1650-1661), and commends the state of Armenia in the iiid volume of the Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant. The work of a Jesuit must have sterling merit when it is praised by La Croze.

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[143] The schism of the Armenians is placed 84 years after the council of Chalcedon (Pagi, Critica, ad A.D. 535). It was consummated at the end of seventeen years; and it is from the year of Christ 552 that we date the æra of the Armenians (l'Art de vérifier les Dates, p. xxxv.).

[144] The sentiments and success of Julian of Halicarnassus may be seen in Liberatus (Brev. c. 19), Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 132, 303), and Assemannu (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. Dissertat. de Monophysitis, p. viii. p. 286).

[145] See a remarkable fact of the twelfth century in the History of Niceta Choniates (p. 258). Yet, three hundred years before, Photius (Epistol. ii. p. 49

[Etchmiazin]

V. The Copts or Egyptians

V. In the rest of the Roman empire, the despotism of the prince might eradicate or silence the sectaries of an obnoxious creed. But the stubborn temper of the Egyptians maintained their opposition to the synod of Chalcedon, and the policy of Justinian condescended to expect and to seize the opportunity of discord. The Monophysite church of Alexandria[147] was torn by the disputes of the *corruptibles* and *incorruptibles*, and, on the death of the patriarch, the two factions upheld their respective candidates.[148] Gaian was the disciple of Julian, Theodosius had been the pupil of Severus. The claims of the former were supported by the consent of the monks and senators, the city and the province; the latter depended on the priority of his

The patriarch Theodosius. A.D. 537-568

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edit. Montacut [1651]) had gloried in the conversion of the Armenians—λατρεύει σήμερον ὀρθοδόξως.

[146] The travelling Armenians are in the way of every traveller, and their mother church is on the high road between Constantinople and Ispahan. For their present state, see Fabricius (Lux Evangelii, &c. c. xxxviii. p. 40-51), Olearius (l. iv. c. 40). Chardin (vol. ii. p. 232), Tournefort (lettre xx.) and, above all, Tavernier (tom. i. p. 28-37, 510-518), that rambling jeweller, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well.

[147] The history of the Alexandrian patriarchs, from Dioscorus to Benjamin, is taken from Renaudot (p. 114-164) and the second tome of the Annals of Eutychius.

[148] Liberat. Brev. c. 20, 23. Victor. Chron. p. 329, 330. Procop. Anecdot. c. 26, 27. [Vita S. Sabae, p. 398, 408, 482, ed. Pomyalovski.]

Paul. A.D. 538

Apollinaris. A.D. 551

ordination, the favour of the empress Theodora, and the arms of the eunuch Narses, which might have been used in more honourable warfare. The exile of the popular candidate to Carthage and Sardinia inflamed the ferment of Alexandria; and, after a schism of one hundred and seventy years, the *Gaianites* still revered the memory and doctrine of their founder. The strength of numbers and of discipline was tried in a desperate and bloody conflict; the streets were filled with the dead bodies of citizens and soldiers; the pious women, ascending the roofs of their houses, showered down every sharp or ponderous utensil on the heads of the enemy; and the final victory of Narses was owing to the flames with which he wasted the third capital of the Roman world. But the lieutenant of Justinian had not conquered in the cause of an heretic; Theodosius himself was speedily, though gently, removed; and Paul of Tanis, an orthodox monk, was raised to the throne of Athanasius. The powers of government were strained in his support; he might appoint or displace the dukes and tribunes of Egypt; the allowance of bread which Diocletian had granted was suppressed, the churches were shut, and a nation of schismatics was deprived at once of their spiritual and carnal food. In his turn, the tyrant was excommunicated by the zeal and revenge of the people; and none except his servile Melchites would salute him as a man, a Christian, or a bishop. Yet such is the blindness of ambition that, when Paul was expelled on a charge of murder, he solicited, with a bribe of seven hundred pounds of gold, his restoration to the same station of hatred and ignominy. His successor Apollinaris entered the hostile city in military array, alike qualified for prayer or for battle. His troops, under arms, were distributed through the streets; the gates of the cathedral were guarded; and a chosen band was stationed in the choir, to defend the person of their chief. He stood erect on his throne, and, throwing aside the uppe garment of a warrior, suddenly appeared before the eyes of the multitude in the robes of patriarch of Alexandria. Astonishment held them mute; but no sooner had Apollinaris begun t read the tome of St. Leo than a volley of curses, and invectives, and stones assaulted the odious minister of the empero and the synod. A charge was instantly sounded by the successor of the apostles; the soldiers waded to their knees i blood; and two hundred thousand Christians are said to hav fallen by the sword: an incredible account, even if it be extended from the slaughter of a day to the eighteen years c the reign of Apollinaris. Two succeeding patriarchs, Eulogius[149] and John,[150] laboured in the conversion of heretics, with arms and arguments more worthy of their evangelical profession. The theological knowledge of Eulogius was displayed in many a volume, which magnified the errors of Eutyches and Severus, and attempted to reconcile the ambiguous language of St. Cyril with the orthodox creed of pope Leo and the fathers of Chalcedon. The bounteous alms of John the Eleemosynary were dictated by superstition, or benevolence, or policy. Seven thousand five hundred poor were maintained at his expense; on his accession, he found eight thousand pounds of gold in the treasury of the church; he collected ten thousand from the liberality of the faithful; yet the primate could boast in his testament that he left behind him no more than the third part of the smallest of the silver coins. The churches of Alexandria were delivered to the Catholics, the religion of the Monophysites was proscribed in Egypt, and a law was revived which excluded the natives from the honours and emoluments of the state.

Eulogius. A.D. 580

John. A.D 609

A more important conquest still remained, of the patriarch, the oracle and leader of the Egyptian church. Theodosius had resisted the threats and promises of Justinian with the spirit of an apostle or an enthusiast. "Such," replied the patriarch, "were the offers of the tempter, when he shewed the kingdoms of the earth. But my soul is far dearer to me than life or dominion. The churches are in the hands of a prince who can kill the body; but my conscience is my own; and in exile, poverty, or chains, I will stedfastly adhere to the faith of my holy predecessors, Athanasius, Cyril, and Dioscorus. Anathema to the tome of Leo and the synod of Chalcedon! Anathema to all who embrace their creed! Anathema to them now and for evermore! Naked came I out of my mother's womb; naked shall I descend into the grave. Let those who love God follow

Their separation and decay

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[149] Eulogius, who had been a monk of Antioch, was more conspicuous for subtlety than eloquence. He proves that the enemies of the faith, the Gaianites and Theodosians, ought not to be reconciled; that the same proposition may be orthodox in the mouth of St. Cyril, heretical in that of Severus; that the opposite assertions of St. Leo are equally true, &c. His writings are no longer extant, except in the extracts of Photius, who had perused them with care and satisfaction, cod. ccviii., ccxxv., ccxxvi., ccxxvii., ccxxx., cclxxx. [For his fragments see Migne, Patr. Gr., 86, 2937 *sqq.*]

[150] See the Life of John the Eleemosynary, by his contemporary Leontius bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, whose Greek text, either lost or hidden, is reflected in the Latin version of Baronius (A.D. 610, No. 9, A.D. 620, No. 8). Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 763) and Fabricius (l. v. c. 11, tom. vii. p. 454) have made some critical observations. [The Greek text was edited for the first time by H. Gelzer, 1893 (in Krüger's Sammlung, part 5). It is an interesting biography written in popular style.]

me, and seek their salvation." After comforting his brethren, he embarked for Constantinople, and sustained in six successive interviews the almost irresistible weight of the royal presence. His opinions were favourably entertained in the palace and the city; the influence of Theodora assured him a safe-conduct and honourable dismission; and he ended his days, though not on the throne, yet in the bosom, of his native country. On the news of his death, Apollinaris indecently feasted the nobles and the clergy; but his joy was checked by the intelligence of a new election; and, while he enjoyed the wealth of Alexandria, his rivals reigned in the monasteries of Thebais, and were maintained by the voluntary oblations of the people. A perpetual succession of patriarchs arose from the ashes of Theodosius; and the Monophysite churches of Syria and Egypt were united by the name of Jacobites and the communion of the faith. But the same faith, which has been confined to a narrow sect of the Syrians, was diffused over the mass of the Egyptian or Coptic nation, who, almost unanimously, rejected the decrees of the synod of Chalcedon. A thousand years were now elapsed since Egypt had ceased to be a kingdom, since the conquerors of Asia and Europe had trampled on the ready necks of a people whose ancient wisdom and power ascends beyond the records of history. The conflict of zeal and persecution rekindled some sparks of their national spirit. They abjured, with a foreign heresy, the manners and language of the Greeks: every Melchite, in their eyes, was a stranger, every Jacobite a citizen; the alliance of marriage, the offices of humanity, were condemned as a deadly sin; the natives renounced all allegiance to the emperor; and his orders, at a distance from Alexandria, were obeyed only under the pressure of military force. A generous effort might have redeemed the religion and liberty of Egypt, and her six hundred monasteries might have poured forth their myriads of holy warriors, for whom death should have no terrors, since life had no comfort or delight. But experience has proved the distinction of active and passive courage; the fanatic who endures without a groan the torture of the rack or the stake would tremble and fly before the face of an armed enemy. The pusillanimous temper of the Egyptians could only hope for a change of masters; the arms of Chosroes depopulated the land, yet under his reign the Jacobites enjoyed a short and precarious respite. The victory of Heraclius renewed and aggravated the persecution, and the patriarch again escaped from Alexandria to the desert In his

Benjamin the Jacobite patriarch. A.D. 625-661

flight, Benjamin was encouraged by a voice which bade him expect, at the end of ten years, the aid of a foreign nation, marked like the Egyptians themselves with the ancient right of circumcision. The character of these deliverers and the nature of the deliverance will be hereafter explained; and I shall step over the interval of eleven centuries, to observe the present misery of the Jacobites of Egypt. The populous city of Cairo affords a residence, or rather a shelter, for their indigent patriarch and a remnant of ten bishops; forty monasteries have survived the inroads of the Arabs; and the progress of servitude and apostacy has reduced the Coptic nation to the despicable number of twenty-five or thirty thousand families:[151] a race of illiterate beggars, whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation.[152]

VI. The Abyssinians and Nubians

VI. The Coptic patriarch, a rebel to the Cæsars, or a slave to the caliphs, still gloried in the filial obedience of the kings of Nubia and Æthiopia. He repaid their homage by magnifying their greatness; and it was boldly asserted that they could bring into the field an hundred thousand horse, with an equal number of camels;[153] that their hand could pour or restrain the waters of the Nile;[154] and the peace and plenty of Egypt

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[151] This number is taken from the curious Recherches sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois (tom. ii. p. 192, 193), and appears more probable than the 600,000 ancient, or 15,000 modern, Copts of Gemelli Carreri. Cyril Lucar, the Protestant patriarch of Constantinople, laments that those heretics were ten times more numerous than his orthodox Greeks, ingeniously applying the πολλαί κεν δεκάδες δευοίατο οἰνοχόοιο of Homer (Iliad ii. 128), the most perfect expression of contempt (Fabric. Lux Evangelii, 740).

[152] The history of the Copts, their religion, manners, &c. may be found in the Abbé Renaudot's motley work, neither a translation nor an original; the Chronicon Orientale of Peter, a Jacobite; in the two versions of Abraham Ecchellensis, Paris, 1651; and John Simon Asseman, Venet. 1729. These annals descend no lower than the xiiith century. The more recent accounts must be searched for in the travellers into Egypt, and the Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant. In the last century, Joseph Abudacnus, a native of Cairo, published at Oxford, in thirty pages, a slight Historia Jacobitarum, 147, post 150. [For the ecclesiastical history of Egypt cp. "The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt attributed to Abū S̲ālih̲ the Armenian," tr. by B. T. Evetts, ed. by A. J. Butler, 1895; E. Amélineau, Monuments pour servir à l'hist. de l'Egypte chrét. au ive, ve, vie, et viie siècles, 1895.]

[153] About the year 737. See Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 221, 222; Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 99.

[154] Ludolph. Hist. Æthiopic. et Comment. l. i. c. 8; Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 480, &c. This opinion, introduced into Egypt and Europe by the artifice of the Copts, the pride of the Abyssinians, the fear and ignorance of the Turks and Arabs, has not even the semblance of truth. The rains of Æthiopia do not, in the increase of the Nile, consult the will of the monarch. If the river approaches at Napata within three days' journey of the Red Sea (see d'Anville's Maps), a canal that should divert its course would demand, and most probably surpass, the power of the Cæsars.

Silko, king of Nubia]

was obtained, even in this world, by the intercession of the patriarch. In exile at Constantinople, Theodosius recommended to his patroness the conversion of the black nations of Nubia,[155] from the tropic of Cancer to the confines of Abyssinia. Her design was suspected, and emulated, by the more orthodox emperor. The rival missionaries, a Melchite and a Jacobite, embarked at the same time; but the empress, from a motive of love or fear, was more effectually obeyed; and the Catholic priest was detained by the president of Thebais, while the king of Nubia and his court were hastily baptized in the faith of Dioscorus. The tardy envoy of Justinian was received and dismissed with honour; but, when he accused the heresy and treason of the Egyptians, the negro convert was instructed to reply that he would never abandon his brethren, the true believers, to the persecuting ministers of the synod of Chalcedon.[156] During several ages the bishops of Nubia were named and consecrated by the Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria; as late as the twelfth century, Christianity prevailed; and some rites, some ruins, are still visible in the savage towns of Sennaar and Dongola.[157] But the Nubians at length executed their threats of returning to the worship of idols; the climate required the indulgence of polygamy; and they have finally preferred the triumph of the Koran to the abasement of the Cross. A metaphysical religion may appear too refined for the capacity of the negro race; yet a black or a parrot might be taught to repeat the *words* of the Chalcedonian or Monophysite creed.

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[155] The Abyssinians, who still preserve the features and olive complexion of the Arabs, afford a proof that two thousand years are not sufficient to change the colour of the human race. The Nubians, an African race, are pure negroes, as black as those of Senegal or Congo, with flat noses, thick lips, and woolly hair (Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. v. p. 117, 143, 144, 166, 219, edit. in 12mo, Paris, 1769). The ancients beheld, without much attention, the extraordinary phænomenon which has exercised the philosophers and theologians of modern times.

[156] Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 329. [The source for the conversion of the Nobadæ, under their king Silko, is John of Ephesus, iv., c. 5 *sqq.*, whose account is minute and interesting. The name of the king is known from the inscription of Talmis (C. I. G. 5072), where Silko, "king of the Nubades and all the Ethiopians," celebrates his victories over the Blemmyes, who dwelled between the Nobadæ and the Empire. The Blemmyes by their treaties with the Empire had the right of worshipping in the temple of Isis at Philæ, and consequently this temple had to be kept open for them (cp. Priscus, fr. 21; C. I. G. 4945, 4946; Procop. B. P. i. 19). Their conversion to Christianity seems to have been accomplished under Justinian, and in A.D. 577 the temple of Isis was transformed into a church (C. I. G. 8647-8-9). For the conversion of the Alodes, a people south of the Nobadæ and bordering on the Abyssinians, see John of Ephesus, iv. c. 52, 53. See M. l'abbé Duchesne, Eglises Séparées, p. 287 *sqq.*]

[157] The Christianity of the Nubians, A.D. 1153, is attested by the sheriff al Edrisi, falsely described under the name of the Nubian geographer (p. 18), who represents them as a nation of Jacobites. The rays of historical light that twinkle in the history of Renaudot (p. 178, 220-224, 281-286, 405, 434, 451, 464) are all previous to this æra. See the modern state in the Lettres Edifiantes (Recueil, iv.) and Busching (tom. ix. p. 152-159, par Berenger).

Church of Abyssinia. A.D. 530, &c.

Christianity was more deeply rooted in the Abyssinian empire; and, although the correspondence has been sometime interrupted above seventy or an hundred years, the mother-church of Alexandria retains her colony in a state of perpetual pupilage. Seven bishops once composed the Æthiopic synod: had their number amounted to ten, they might have elected an independent primate; and one of their kings was ambitious of promoting his brother to the ecclesiastical throne. But the event was foreseen, the increase was denied; the episcopal office has been gradually confined to the *abuna*,[158] the head and author of the Abyssinian priesthood; the patriarch supplies each vacancy with an Egyptian monk; and the character of a stranger appears more venerable in the eyes of the people, less dangerous in those of the monarch. In the sixth century, when the schism of Egypt was confirmed, the rival chiefs, with their patrons Justinian and Theodora, strove to outstrip each other in the conquest of a remote and independent province. The industry of the empress was again victorious, and the pious Theodora has established in that sequestered church the faith and discipline of the Jacobites.[159] Encompassed on all sides by the enemies of their religion, the Æthiopians slept near a thousand years, forgetful of the world, by whom they were forgotten. They were awakened by the Portuguese, who, turning the southern promontory of Africa, appeared in India and the Red Sea, as if they had descended through the air from a distant planet. In the first moments of their interview, the subjects of Rome and Alexandria observed the resemblance, rather than the difference, of their faith; and each nation expected the most important benefits

The Portuguese in Abyssinia. A.D. 1525-1550, &c.

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[158] The abuna is improperly dignified by the Latins with the title of patriarch. The Abyssinians acknowledge only the four patriarchs, and their chief is no more than a metropolitan or national primate (Ludolph. Hist. Æthiopic. et Comment. l. iii. c. 7). The seven bishops of Renaudot (p. 511), who existed A.D. 1131, are unknown to the historian.

[159] I know not why Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. ii. [i.] p. 384) should call in question these probable missions of Theodora into Nubia and Æthiopia. The slight notices of Abyssinia till the year 1500 are supplied by Renaudot (p. 336-341, 381, 382, 405, 443, &c., 452, 456, 463, 475, 480, 511, 525, 559-564) from the Coptic writers. The mind of Ludolphus was a perfect blank.

from an alliance with their Christian brethren. In their lonely situation, the Æthiopians had almost relapsed into the savage life. Their vessels, which had traded to Ceylon, scarcely presumed to navigate the rivers of Africa; the ruins of Axume were deserted, the nation was scattered in villages, and the emperor (a pompous name) was content, both in peace and war, with the immoveable residence of a camp. Conscious of their own indigence, the Abyssinians had formed the rational project of importing the arts and ingenuity of Europe;[160] and their ambassadors at Rome and Lisbon were instructed to solicit a colony of smiths, carpenters, tilers, masons, printers, surgeons, and physicians, for the use of their country. But the public danger soon called for the instant and effectual aid of arms and soldiers to defend an unwarlike people from the barbarians who ravaged the inland country, and the Turks and Arabs who advanced from the sea-coast in more formidable array. Æthiopia was saved by four hundred and fifty Portuguese, who displayed in the field the native valour of Europeans and the artificial powers of the musket and cannon. In a moment of terror, the emperor had promised to reconcile himself and his subjects to the Catholic faith; a Latin patriarch represented the supremacy of the pope;[161] the empire, enlarged in a tenfold proportion, was supposed to contain more gold than the mines of America; and the wildest hopes of avarice and zeal were built on the willing submission of the Christians of Africa.

Mission of the Jesuits. A.D. 1557

But the vows which pain had extorted were forsworn on the return of health. The Abyssinians still adhered with unshaken constancy to the Monophysite faith; their languid belief was inflamed by the exercise of dispute; they branded the Latins with the names of Arians and Nestorians, and imputed the adoration of *four* gods to those who separated the two natures of Christ. Fremona, a place of worship, or rather of exile, was assigned to the Jesuit missionaries. Their skill in the liberal and mechanic arts, their theological learning, and the decency of their manners, inspired a barren esteem; but they were not endowed with the gift of miracles,[162] and they vainly solicited a reinforcement of European troops. The patience and dexterity of forty years at length obtained a more favourable audience, and two emperors of Abyssinia were persuaded that Rome could ensure the temporal and everlasting happiness of her votaries. The first of these royal converts lost his crown and his life; and the rebel army was sanctified by the *abuna*, who hurled an anathema at the apostate, and absolved his subjects from their oath of fidelity. The fate of Zadenghel was revenged by the courage and fortune of Susneus, who ascended the throne under the name of Segued, and more vigorously prosecuted the pious enterprise of his kinsman. After the amusement of some unequal combats between the Jesuits and his illiterate priests, the emperor declared himself a proselyte to the synod of Chalcedon, presuming that his clergy and people would embrace without delay the religion of their prince. The liberty of choice was succeeded by a law which imposed, under pain of death, the belief of the two natures of Christ: the Abyssinians were enjoined to work and to play on the Sabbath; and Segued, in the face of Europe and Africa, renounced his connexion with the Alexandrian church. A Jesuit, Alphonso Mendez, the Catholic patriarch of Æthiopia, accepted in the name of Urban VIII. the homage and abjuration of his penitent. "I confess," said the emperor on his knees, "I confess that the pope is the vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, and the sovereign of the world. To him I swear true obedience, and at his feet I offer my person and kingdom." A similar oath was repeated by his son, his brother, the clergy, the nobles, and even the ladies of the court; the Latin patriarch was invested with honours and wealth; and his missionaries erected their churches or citadels in the most convenient stations of the empire. The Jesuits themselves deplore the fatal indiscretion of their chief, who forgot the mildness of the gospel and the policy of his order, to introduce with hasty violence the liturgy of Rome and the inquisition of Portugal. He condemned the ancient practice of circumcision, which health rather than

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[160] Ludolph. Hist. Æthiop. l. iv. c. 5. The most necessary arts are now exercised by the Jews, and the foreign trade is in the hands of the Armenians. What Gregory principally admired and envied was the industry of Europe—artes et opificia.

[161] John Bermudez, whose relation, printed at Lisbon, 1569, was translated into English by Purchas (Pilgrims, l. vii. c. 7, p. 1149, &c.), and from thence into French by La Croze (Christianisme d'Ethiopie, p. 92-265). The piece is curious; but the author may be suspected of deceiving Abyssinia, Rome, and Portugal. His title to the rank of patriarch is dark and doubtful (Ludolph. Comment. No. 101, p. 473).

Conversion of the emperor. A.D. 1626

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[162] Religio Romana . . . nec precibus patrum nec miraculis ab ipsis editis suffulciebatur, is the uncontradicted assurance of the devout emperor Susneus to his patriarch Mendez (Ludolph. Comment. No. 126, p. 529); and such assurances should be preciously kept, as an antidote against any marvellous legends.

superstition had first invented in the climate of Æthiopia.[163] A new baptism, a new ordination, was inflicted on the natives; and they trembled with horror when the most holy of the dead were torn from their graves, when the most illustrious of the living were excommunicated by a foreign priest. In the defence of their religion and liberty, the Abyssinians rose in arms, with desperate but unsuccessful zeal. Five rebellions were extinguished in the blood of the insurgents; two abunas were slain in battle, whole legions were slaughtered in the field, or suffocated in their caverns: and neither merit nor rank nor sex could save from an ignominious death the enemies of Rome. But the victorious monarch was finally subdued by the constancy of the nation, of his mother, of his son, and of his most faithful friends. Segued listened to the voice of pity, of reason, perhaps of fear; and his edict of liberty of conscience instantly revealed the tyranny and weakness of the Jesuits. On the death of his father, Basilides expelled the Latin patriarch, and restored to the wishes of the nation the faith and the discipline of Egypt. The Monophysite churches resounded with a song of triumph, "that the sheep of Æthiopia were now delivered from the hyænas of the West"; and the gates of that solitary realm were for ever shut against the arts, the science, and the fanaticism of Europe.[164]

inal expulsion of he Jesuits. .D. 1632, &c.

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[163] I am aware how tender is the question of circumcision. Yet I will affirm, 1. That the Æthiopians have a physical reason for the circumcision of males, and even of females (Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tom. ii.). 2. That it was practised in Æthiopia long before the introduction of Judaism or Christianity (Herodot. l. ii. c. 104. Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 72, 73). "Infantes circumcidunt ob consuetudinem non ob Judaismum," says Gregory the Abyssinian priest (apud Fabric. Lux Christiana, p. 720). Yet, in the heat of dispute, the Portuguese were sometimes branded with the name of *uncircumcised* (La Croze, p. 80; Ludolph. Hist. and Comment. l. iii. c. 1).

[164] The three Protestant historians, Ludolphus (Hist. Æthiopica, Francofurt, 1681; Commentarius, 1691; Relatio Nova, &c. 1693, in folio), Geddes (Church History of Æthiopia, London, 1696, in 8vo), and La Croze (Hist. du Christianisme d'Ethiopie et d'Armenie, La Haye, 1739, in 12mo), have drawn their principal materials from the Jesuits, especially from the General History of Tellez, published in Portuguese at Coimbra, 1660. We might be surprised at their frankness; but their most flagitious vice, the spirit of persecution, was in their eyes the most meritorious virtue. Ludolphus possessed some, though a slight, advantage from the Æthiopic language, and the personal conversation of Gregory, a free-spirited Abyssinian priest, whom he invited from Rome to the court of Saxe-Gotha. See the Theologia Æthiopica of Gregory, in Fabricius, Lux Evangelii, p. 716-734.

CHAPTER XLVIII

Plan of the last two [quarto] Volumes—Succession and Characters of the Greek Emperors of Constantinople, from the Time of Heraclius to the Latin Conquest

Defects of the Byzantine history

I HAVE now deduced from Trajan to Constantine, from Constantine to Heraclius, the regular series of the Roman emperors; and faithfully exposed the prosperous and adverse fortunes of their reigns. Five centuries of the decline and fall of the empire have already elapsed; but a period of more than eight hundred years still separates me from the term of my labours, the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. Should I persevere in the same course, should I observe the same measure, a prolix and slender thread would be spun through many a volume, nor would the patient reader find an adequate reward of instruction or amusement. At every step, as we sink deeper in the decline and fall of the Eastern empire, the annals of each succeeding reign would impose a more ungrateful and melancholy task. These annals must continue to repeat a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery; the natural connexion of causes and events would be broken by frequent and hasty transitions, and a minute accumulation of circumstances must destroy the light and effect of those general pictures which compose the use and ornament of a remote history. From the time of Heraclius, the Byzantine theatre is contracted and darkened; the line of empire, which had been defined by the laws of Justinian and the arms of Belisarius, recedes on all sides from our view; the Roman name, the proper subject of our inquiries, is reduced to a narrow corner of Europe, to the lonely suburbs of Constantinople; and the fate of the Greek empire has been compared to that of the Rhine, which loses itself in the sands before its waters can mingle with the ocean. The scale of dominion is diminished to our view by the distance of time and place; nor is the loss of external splendour compensated by the nobler gifts of virtue and genius. In the last moments of her decay, Constantinople was doubtless more opulent and populous than Athens at her most flourishing æra, when a scanty sum of six thousand talents, or twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling, was possessed by twenty-one thousand male citizens of an adult age. But each of these citizens was a freeman, who dared to assert the liberty of his thoughts, words, and actions; whose person and property were guarded by equal law; and who exercised his independent vote in the government of the republic. Their numbers seem to be multiplied by the strong and various discriminations of character: under the shield of freedom, on the wings of emulation and vanity, each Athenian aspired to the level of the national dignity; from this commanding eminence some chosen spirits soared beyond the reach of a vulgar eye; and the chances of superior merit in a great and populous kingdom, as they are proved by experience, would excuse the computation of imaginary millions. The territories of Athens, Sparta, and their allies do not exceed a moderate province of France or England; but, after the trophies of Salamis and Platæa, they expand in our fancy to the gigantic size of Asia, which had been trampled under the feet of the victorious Greeks. But the subjects of the Byzantine empire, who assume and dishonour the names both of Greeks and Romans, present a dead uniformity of abject vices, which are neither softened by the weakness of humanity nor animated by the vigour of memorable crimes. The freemen of antiquity might repeat, with generous enthusiasm, the sentence of Homer, "that, on the first day of his servitude, the captive is deprived of one half of his manly virtue". But the poet had only seen the effects of civil or domestic slavery, nor could he foretell that the second moiety of manhood must be annihilated by the spiritual despotism which shackles not only the actions but even the thoughts of the prostrate votary. By this double yoke, the Greeks were oppressed under the successors of Heraclius; the tyrant, a law of eternal justice, was degraded by the vices of his subjects; and on the throne, in the camp, in the schools, we search, perhaps with fruitless diligence, the names and characters that may deserve to be rescued from oblivion. Nor are the defects of the subject compensated by the skill and variety of the painters. Of a space of eight hundred years, the four first centuries are overspread with a cloud, interrupted by some faint and broken rays of historic light; in the lives of the emperors, from Maurice to Alexius, Basil the Macedonian has alone been the theme of a separate work; and the absence, or loss, or imperfection of contemporary evidence must be poorly supplied by the doubtful authority of more recent compilers. The four last centuries are exempt from the reproach of penury; and with the Comnenian family the historic muse of Constantinople again revives, but her apparel is gaudy, her motions are without elegance or grace. A succession of priests, or courtiers, treads in each other's footsteps in the same path of servitude and superstition: their views are narrow, their judgment is feeble or corrupt; and we close the volume of copious barrenness, still ignorant of the causes of events, the characters of the actors, and the manners of the times, which they celebrate or deplore. The observation which has been applied to a man may be extended to a whole people, that the energy of the sword is communicated to the pen; and it will be found, by experience, that the tone of history will rise or fall with the spirit of the age.

Its connexion with the revolutions of the world

From these considerations, I should have abandoned, without regret, the Greek slaves and their servile historians, had I not reflected that the fate of the Byzantine monarchy is *passively* connected with the most splendid and important revolutions which have changed the state of the world. The space of the lost provinces was immediately replenished with new colonies and rising kingdoms; the active virtues of peace and war deserted from the vanquished to the victorious nations; and it is in their origin and conquests, in their religion and government, that we must explore the causes and effects of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire. Nor will this scope of narrative, the riches and variety of these materials, be incompatible with the unity of design and composition. As, in his daily prayers, the Musulman of Fez or Delhi still turns his face towards the temple of Mecca, the historian's eye shall be always fixed on the city of Constantinople. The excursive line may embrace the wilds of Arabia and Tartary, but the circle will be ultimately reduced to the decreasing limit of the Roman monarchy.

Plan of the last two [quarto] volumes

On this principle, I shall now establish the plan of the last two volumes of the present work. The first chapter will contain, in a regular series, the emperors who reigned at Constantinople during a period of six hundred years, from the days of Heraclius to the Latin conquest: a rapid abstract, which may be supported by a *general* appeal to the order and text of the original historians. In this introduction, I shall confine myself to the revolutions of the throne, the successions of families, the personal characters of the Greek princes, the mode of their life and death, the maxims and influence of their domestic government, and the tendency of their reign to accelerate or suspend the downfall of the Eastern empire. Such a chronological review will serve to illustrate the various argument of the subsequent chapters; and each circumstance of the eventful story of the barbarians will adapt itself in a proper place to the Byzantine annals. The internal state of the empire, and the dangerous heresy of the Paulicians, which shook the East and enlightened the West, will be the subject of two separate chapters; but these inquiries must be postponed till our further progress shall have opened the view of the world in the ninth and tenth centuries of the Christian æra. After this foundation of Byzantine history, the following nations will pass before our eyes, and each will occupy the space to which it may be entitled by greatness or merit, or the degree of connexion with the Roman world and the present age. I. The Franks: a general appellation which includes all the barbarians of France, Italy, and Germany, who were united by the sword and sceptre of Charlemagne. The persecution of images and their votaries separated Rome and Italy from the Byzantine throne, and prepared the restoration of the Roman empire in the West. II. The Arabs or Saracens. Three ample chapters will be devoted to this curious and interesting object. In the first, after a picture of the country and its inhabitants, I shall investigate the character of Mahomet; the character, religion, and success of the prophet. In the second, I shall lead the Arabs to the conquest of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, the provinces of the Roman empire; nor can I check their victorious career till they have overthrown the monarchies of Persia and Spain. In the third, I shall inquire how Constantinople and Europe were saved by the luxury and arts, the division and decay of the empire of the caliphs. A single chapter will include, III. The Bulgarians, IV. Hungarians, and V. Russians, who assaulted by sea or by land the provinces and the capital; but the last of these, so important in their present greatness, will excite some curiosity in their origin and infancy. VI. The Normans; or rather the private adventurers of that warlike people, who founded a powerful kingdom in Apulia and Sicily, shook the throne of Constantinople, displayed the trophies of chivalry, and almost realised the wonders of romance. VII. The Latins; the subjects of the pope, the nations of the West, who enlisted under the banner of the Cross, for the recovery or relief of the holy sepulchre. The Greek emperors were terrified and preserved by the myriads of pilgrims who marched to Jerusalem with Godfrey of Bouillon and the peers of Christendom. The second and third crusades trod in the footsteps of the first: Asia and Europe were mingled in a sacred war of two hundred years; and the Christian powers were bravely resisted, and finally expelled, by Saladin and the Mamalukes of Egypt. In these memorable crusades, a fleet and army of French and Venetians were diverted from Syria to the Thracian Bosphorus; they assaulted the capital, they subverted the Greek monarchy; and a dynasty of Latin princes was seated near threescore years on the throne of Constantine. VIII. The GREEKS themselves, during this period of captivity and exile, must be considered as a foreign nation, the enemies, and again the sovereigns, of Constantinople. Misfortune had rekindled a spark of national virtue; and the Imperial series may be continued, with some dignity, from their restoration to the Turkish conquest. IX. The MOGULS and TARTARS. By the arms of Zingis and his descendants the globe was shaken from China to Poland and Greece; the Sultans were overthrown; the caliphs fell; and the Cæsars trembled on their throne. The victories of Timour suspended, above fifty years, the final ruin of the Byzantine empire. X. I have already noticed the first appearance of the TURKS; and the names of the fathers, of *Seljuk* and *Othman*, discriminate the two successive dynasties of the nation which emerged in the eleventh century from the Scythian wilderness. The former established a potent and splendid kingdom from the banks of the Oxus to Antioch and Nice; and the first crusade was provoked by the violation of Jerusalem and the danger of Constantinople. From an humble origin, the *Ottomans* arose, the scourge and terror of Christendom. Constantinople was besieged and taken by Mahomet II., and his triumph annihilates the remnant, the image, the title, of the Roman empire in the East. The schism of the Greeks will be connected with their last calamities, and the restoration of learning in the Western world. I shall return from the captivity of the new, to the ruins of ancient, ROME; and the venerable name, the interesting theme, will shed a ray of glory on the conclusion of my labours.[1]

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[1] [For a division of the Imperial history from the seventh to the twelfth century into periods, see Appendix 9.]

Second marriage and death of Heraclius

[A.D. 612]

[A.D. 614]

A.D. 638, July 4

A.D. 639, January

A.D. 641, Feb. 11.

THE emperor Heraclius had punished a tyrant and ascended his throne; and the memory of his reign is perpetuated by the transient conquest, and irreparable loss, of the Eastern provinces. After the death of Eudocia, his first wife, he disobeyed the patriarch, and violated the laws, by his second marriage with his niece Martina; and the superstition of the Greeks beheld the judgment of heaven in the diseases of the father and the deformity of his offspring.[1] But the opinion of an illegitimate birth is sufficient to distract the choice, and loosen the obedience, of the people; the ambition of Martina was quickened by maternal love, and perhaps by the envy of a step-mother; and the aged husband was too feeble to withstand the arts of conjugal allurements. Constantine, his eldest son, enjoyed in a mature age the title of Augustus; but the weakness of his constitution required a colleague and a guardian, and he yielded with secret reluctance to the partition of the empire. The senate was summoned to the palace to ratify or attest the association of Heracleonas, the son of Martina;[2] the imposition of the diadem was consecrated by the prayer and blessing of the patriarch; the senators and patricians adored the majesty of the great emperor and the partners of his reign; and, as soon as the doors were thrown open, they were hailed by the tumultuary but important voice of the soldiers. After an interval of five months, the pompous ceremonies which formed the essence of the Byzantine state were celebrated in the cathedral and hippodrome; the concord of the royal brothers was affectedly displayed by the younger leaning on the arm of the elder; and the name of Martina was mingled in the reluctant or venal acclamations of the people. Heraclius survived this association about two years; his last testimony declared his two sons the equal heirs of the Eastern empire, and commanded them to honour his widow Martina as their mother and their sovereign.

Constantine III. A.D. 641, February

When Martina first appeared on the throne with the name and attributes of royalty, she was checked by a firm, though respectful, opposition; and the dying embers of freedom were kindled by the breath of superstitious prejudice. "We reverence," exclaimed the voice of a citizen, "we reverence the mother of our princes; but to those princes alone our obedience is due; and Constantine, the elder emperor, is of an age to sustain, in his own hands, the weight of the sceptre. Your sex is excluded by nature from the toils of government. How could you combat, how could you answer, the barbarians, who, with hostile or friendly intentions, may approach the royal city? May heaven avert from the Roman republic this national disgrace, which would provoke the patience of the slaves of Persia!" Martina descended from the throne with indignation, and sought a refuge in the female apartment of the palace. The reign of Constantine the Third lasted only one hundred and three days; he expired in the thirtieth year of his age, and, although his life had been a long malady, a belief was entertained that poison had been the means, and his cruel stepmother the author, of his untimely fate. Martina reaped, indeed, the harvest of his death, and assumed the government in the name of the surviving emperor; but the incestuous widow of Heraclius was universally abhorred; the jealousy of the people was awakened; and the two orphans, whom Constantine had left, became the objects of the public care. It was in vain that the son of Martina, who was no more than fifteen years of age, was taught to declare himself the guardian of his nephews, one of whom he had presented at the baptismal font; it was in vain that he swore on the wood of the true cross to defend them against all their enemies. On his death-bed, the late emperor dispatched a trusty servant to arm the troops and provinces of the East in the defence of his helpless children; the eloquence and liberality of Valentin had been successful, and from his camp of Chalcedon he boldly demanded the punishment of the assassins and the restoration of the lawful heir. The licence of the soldiers, who devoured the grapes and drank the wine of their Asiatic vineyards, provoked the citizens of Constantinople against the domestic authors of their calamities, and the dome of St. Sophia re-echoed, not with prayers and hymns, but with the clamours and imprecations of an enraged multitude. At their imperious command, Heracleonas appeared in the pulpit with the eldest of the royal orphans; Constans alone was saluted as emperor of the Romans; and a crown of gold, which had been taken from the tomb of Heraclius, was placed on his head, with the solemn benediction of the patriarch. But in the tumult of joy and indignation the church was pillaged, the sanctuary was polluted by a promis-

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[1] [The children of Heraclius were: (1) by Eudocia: Epiphania (called Eudocia by Nicephorus), born A.D. 611; Constantine (or Heraclius the Small, see Theoph. *sub* A.M. 6103), A.D. 612-641; (2) by Martina: Heraclonas (or Heraclius); Augustina, Anastasia, David, Marinus or Martinus. Some other children by Martina, including her first-born Constantine, died young.]

[2] [See Constantine Porphyrogennetus, De Cer., ii. 27, p. 627-8, ed. Bonn.]

Heracleonas
A.D. 641,
May 25

cuous crowd of Jews and barbarians; and the Monothelite Pyrrhus, a creature of the empress, after dropping a protestation on the altar, escaped by a prudent flight from the zeal of the Catholics. A more serious and bloody task was reserved for the senate, who derived a temporary strength from the consent of the soldiers and people. The spirit of Roman freedom revived the ancient and awful examples of the judgment of tyrants, and the Imperial culprits were deposed and condemned as the authors of the death of Constantine. But the severity of the conscript fathers was stained by the indiscriminate punishment of the innocent and the guilty: Martina and Heracleonas were sentenced to the amputation, the former of her tongue, the latter of his nose; and after this cruel execution they consumed the remainder of their days in exile and oblivion. The Greeks who were capable of reflection might find some consolation for their servitude, by observing the abuse of power when it was lodged for a moment in the hands of an aristocracy.

Punishment of Martina and Heracleonas. A.D. 641, September

Constans II. A.D. 641, September

We shall imagine ourselves transported five hundred years backwards to the age of the Antonines, if we listen to the oration which Constans II.[3] pronounced in the twelfth year of his age before the Byzantine senate. After returning his thanks for the just punishment of the assassins who had intercepted the fairest hopes of his father's reign, "By the divine providence," said the young emperor, "and by your righteous decree, Martina and her incestuous progeny have been cast headlong from the throne. Your majesty and wisdom have prevented the Roman state from degenerating into lawless tyranny. I therefore exhort and beseech you to stand forth as the counsellors and judges of the common safety." The senators were gratified by the respectful address and liberal donative of their sovereign; but these servile Greeks were unworthy and regardless of freedom; and, in his mind, the lesson of an hour was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age and the habits of despotism. He retained only a jealous fear lest the senate or people should one day invade the right of primogeniture and seat his brother Theodosius on an equal throne. By the imposition of holy orders, the grandson of Heraclius was disqualified for the purple; but this ceremony, which seemed to profane the sacraments of the church, was insufficient to appease the suspicions of the tyrant, and the death of the deacon Theodosius could [A.D. 660] alone expiate the crime of his royal birth. His murder was avenged by the imprecations of the people, and the assassin, in the fulness of power, was driven from his capital into voluntary and perpetual exile. Constans embarked for Greece; and, as if he meant to retort the abhorrence which he deserved, he is said, from the Imperial galley, to have spit against the walls of his native city. After passing the winter at Athens, he sailed to Tarentum in Italy, visited Rome, and concluded a long [A.D. 662] pilgrimage of disgrace and sacrilegious rapine, by fixing his residence at Syracuse.[4] But, if Constans could fly from his people, he could not fly from himself. The remorse of his conscience created a phantom who pursued him by land and sea, by day and by night; and the visionary Theodosius, presenting to his lips a cup of blood, said, or seemed to say, "Drink, brother, drink:" a sure emblem of the aggravation of his guilt, since he had received from the hands of the deacon the mystic cup of the blood of Christ.[5] Odious to himself and to mankind, Constans perished by domestic, perhaps by episcopal treason in the capital of Sicily. A servant who waited in the bath, after pouring warm water on his head, struck him violently with the vase. He fell, stunned by the blow and suffocated by the water; and his attendants, who wondered at the tedious delay, beheld with indifference the corpse of their lifeless emperor. The troops of Sicily invested with the purple an obscure youth, whose inimitable beauty eluded, and it might [Mizizios, an Armenian] easily elude, the declining art of the painters and sculptors of the age.

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[3] [The baptismal name of this emperor was Heraclius; he was renamed Constantine at his coronation,—perhaps because his step-uncle Heraclius had brought discredit on the name. He is *Constantine* on his coins, and is so called by Nicephorus; but Theophanes calls him Constans, and he is always known as Constans II. We must infer that Constantine was his official name, but that he was popularly called Constans in a hypocoristic sense (cp. Heraclius: Heraclonas). For the ecclesiastical policy of Constans see above, c. xlvii.]

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[4] [This description of the *flight* of Constans from Constantinople is certainly a misrepresentation. Of the causes of the execution of Theodosius we know nothing; and, though Constans was certainly unpopular in his capital and this unpopularity doubtless confirmed him in his resolve to proceed to the West, this resolve was in the first instance evidently dictated by statesmanlike motives. He had vigorously and effectively checked the advance of Saracen arms in the East; it seemed now all-important to protect Africa and Sicily, threatened and attacked by the same enemy, and at the same time recover the south of Italy (duchy of Beneventum) from the Lombards. In this last task Constans failed; and his idea of moving back the centre of the empire to Old Rome was an unpractical dream. He seems to have reorganized the administration of the Imperial territory in South Italy, by forming one province *Calabria*, including both the heel and toe. When the heel was wrested from the empire, the name became appropriated exclusively to the toe. The unpopularity of Constans had probably its gravest cause in the heavy burdens which he imposed for the military reorganization of the empire.]

[5] [See Cedrenus, i. p. 762, ed. Bonn.]

Constantine IV. Pogonatus. A.D. 668, September

Constans had left in the Byzantine palace three sons, the eldest of whom had been clothed in his infancy with the purple. When the father summoned them to attend his person in Sicily, these precious hostages were detained by the Greeks, and a firm refusal informed him that they were the children of the state. The news of his murder was conveyed with almost supernatural speed from Syracuse to Constantinople; and Constantine, the eldest of his sons, inherited his throne without being the heir of the public hatred.[6] His subjects contributed with zeal and alacrity, to chastise the guilt and presumption of a province which had usurped the rights of the senate and people; the young emperor sailed from the Hellespont with a powerful fleet; and the legions of Rome and Carthage were assembled under his standard in the harbour of Syracuse. The defeat of the Sicilian tyrant was easy, his punishment just, and his beauteous head was exposed in the hippodrome; but I cannot applaud the clemency of a prince who, among a crowd of victors, condemned the son of a patrician for deploring with some bitterness the execution of a virtuous father. The youth was castrated; he survived the operation; and the memory of this indecent cruelty is preserved by the elevation of Germanus to the rank of a patriarch and saint. After pouring this bloody libation on his father's tomb, Constantine returned to his capital, and the growth of his young beard during the Sicilian voyage was announced, by the familiar surname of Pogonatus, to the Grecian world. But his reign, like that of his predecessor, was stained with fraternal discord. On his two brothers, Heraclius and Tiberius, he had bestowed the title of Augustus: an empty title, for they continued to languish, without trust or power, in the solitude of the palace. At their secret instigation, the troops of the Anatolian *theme*[7] or province approached the city on the Asiatic side, demanded for the royal brothers the partition or exercise of sovereignty, and supported their seditious claim by a theological argument. They were Christians (they cried) and orthodox Catholics; the sincere votaries of the holy and undivided Trinity. Since there are three equal persons in heaven, it is reasonable there should be three equal persons upon earth. The emperor invited these learned divines to a friendly conference, in which they might propose their arguments to the senate; they obeyed the summons; but the prospect of their bodies hanging on the gibbet in the suburb of Galata reconciled their companions to the unity of the reign of Constantine. He pardoned his brothers, and their names were still pronounced in the public acclamations; but, on the repetition or suspicion of a similar offence, the obnoxious princes were deprived of their titles and noses, in the presence of the Catholic bishops who were assembled at Constantinople in the sixth general synod. In the close of his life, Pogonatus was anxious only to establish the right of primogeniture; the hair of his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, was offered on the shrine of St. Peter, as a symbol of their spiritual adoption by the pope; but the elder was alone exalted to the rank of Augustus and the assurance of the empire.

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[6] [For the Saracen siege of Constantinople in Constantine's reign, see c. lii. *ad init.*; for the establishment of the Bulgarian kingdom, c. lv. *ad init.*]

[7] [For the *Themes*, which begin to appear in the second half of the seventh century, see vol. vi. Appendix.]

Justinian II. A.D. 685, September

After the decease of his father, the inheritance of the Roman world devolved to Justinian II.; and the name of a triumphant lawgiver was dishonoured by the vices of a boy, who imitated his namesake only in the expensive luxury of building. His passions were strong; his understanding was feeble; and he was intoxicated with a foolish pride that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the smallest community would not have chosen him for their local magistrate. His favourite ministers were two beings the least susceptible of human sympathy, an eunuch and a monk; to the one he abandoned the palace, to the other the finances; the former corrected the emperor's mother with a scourge, the latter suspended the insolvent tributaries, with their heads downwards, over a slow and smoky fire. Since the days of Commodus and Caracalla, the cruelty of the Roman princes had most commonly been the effect of their fear; but Justinian, who possessed some vigour of character, enjoyed the sufferings, and braved the revenge, of his subjects about ten years, till the measure was full, of his crimes and of their patience. In a dark dungeon, Leontius, a general of reputation, had groaned above three years with some of the noblest and most deserving of the patricians; he was suddenly drawn forth to assume the government of Greece; and this promotion of an injured man was a mark of the contempt rather than of the confidence of his prince. As he was followed to the port by the kind offices of his friends, Leontius observed, with a sigh, that he was a victim adorned for sacrifice and that inevitable death would pursue his footsteps. They ventured to reply that glory and empire might be the recompense of a generous resolution; that every order of men abhorred the reign of a monster; and that the hands of two hundred thousand patriots expected only the voice of a leader. The night was chosen for their deliverance; and, in the first effort of the conspirators, the præfect was slain and the prisons were forced open; the emissaries of Leontius proclaimed in every street, "Christians, to St. Sophia!"; and the seasonable text of the patriarch, "this is the day of the Lord!" was the prelude of an inflammatory sermon. From the church the people adjourned to the hippodrome; Justinian, in whose cause not a sword had been drawn, was dragged before these tumultuary judges, and their clamours demanded the instant death of the tyrant. But Leontius, who was already clothed with the purple, cast an eye of pity on the prostrate son of his own benefactor, and of so many emperors. The life of Justinian was spared; the amputation of his nose, perhaps of his tongue, was imperfectly performed; the happy flexibility of the Greek language could impose the name of Rhinotmetus; and the mutilated tyrant was banished to Chersonæ in Crim-Tartary, a lonely settlement, where corn, wine, and oil were imported as foreign luxuries.

His exile. A.D. 695-705

On the edge of the Scythian wilderness, Justinian still cherished the pride of his birth and the hope of his restoration. After three years' exile, he received the pleasing intelligence that his injury was avenged by a second revolution, and that Leontius[8] in his turn had been dethroned and mutilated by the rebel Apsimar, who assumed the more respectable name of Tiberius. But the claim of lineal succession was still formidable to a plebeian usurper; and his jealousy was stimulated by the complaints and charges of the Chersonites, who beheld the vices of the tyrant in the spirit of the exile. With a band of followers, attached to his person by common hope or common despair, Justinian fled from the inhospitable shore to the horde of the Chozars, who pitched their tents between the Tanais and Borysthenes. The khan entertained with pity and respect the royal suppliant; Phanagoria, once an opulent city, on the Asiatic side of the lake Maeotis, was assigned for his residence; and every Roman prejudice was stifled in his marriage with the sister of the barbarian, who seems, however, from the name of

[Tiberius III. A.D. 698-705]

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[8] [The chief event of the reign of Leontius (A.D. 695-698) was the final loss of Africa. See below, c. li.]

Theodora, to have received the sacrament of baptism.[9] But the faithless Chozar was soon tempted by the gold of Constantinople; and, had not the design been revealed by the conjugal love of Theodora, her husband must have been assassinated or betrayed into the power of his enemies. After strangling, with his own hands, the two emissaries of the khan, Justinian sent back his wife to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine in search of new and more faithful allies. His vessel was assaulted by a violent tempest; and one of his pious companions advised him to deserve the mercy of God by a vow of general forgiveness, if he should be restored to the throne. "Of forgiveness?" replied the intrepid tyrant; "may I perish this instant—may the Almighty whelm me in the waves—if I consent to spare a single head of my enemies!" He survived this impious menace, sailed into the mouth of the Danube, trusted his person in the royal village of the Bulgarians, and purchased the aid of Terbelis, a Pagan conqueror, by the promise of his daughter and a fair partition of the treasures of the empire. The Bulgarian kingdom[10] extended to the confines of Thrace; and the two princes besieged Constantinople at the head of fifteen thousand horse. Apsimar was dismayed by the sudden and hostile apparition of his rival, whose head had been promised by the Chozar, and of whose evasion he was yet ignorant. After an absence of ten years, the crimes of Justinian were faintly remembered, and the birth and misfortunes of their hereditary sovereign excited the pity of the multitude, ever discontented with the ruling powers; and by the active diligence of his adherents he was introduced into the city and palace of Constantine.

His restoration and death. A.D. 705-711

In rewarding his allies and recalling his wife, Justinian displayed some sense of honour and gratitude; and Terbelis retired, after sweeping away an heap of gold coin, which he measured with his Scythian whip. But never was vow more religiously performed than the sacred oath of revenge which he had sworn amidst the storms of the Euxine. The two usurpers, for I must reserve the name of tyrant for the conqueror, were dragged into the hippodrome, the one from his prison, the other from his palace. Before their execution, Leontius and Apsimar were cast prostrate in chains beneath the throne of the emperor;

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[9] [It seems possible that Justinian chose the name of Theodora for her in recollection of his namesake's illustrious consort.]

[10] [For the foundation of the "first Bulgarian kingdom," see below, chap. lv.]

and Justinian, planting a foot on each of their necks, contemplated above an hour the chariot-race, while the inconstant people shouted, in the words of the Psalmist, "Thou shalt trample on the asp and basilisk, and on the lion and dragon shalt thou set thy foot!" [11] The universal defection which he had once experienced might provoke him to repeat the wish of Caligula, that the Roman people had but one head. Yet I shall presume to observe that such a wish is unworthy of an ingenious tyrant since his revenge and cruelty would have been extinguished by a single blow, instead of the slow variety of tortures which Justinian inflicted on the victims of his anger. His pleasures were inexhaustible; neither private virtue nor public service could expiate the guilt of active or even passive obedience to an established government; and, during the six years of his new reign, he considered the axe, the cord, and the rack as the only instruments of royalty.[12] But his most implacable hatred was pointed against the Chersonites, who had insulted his exile and violated the laws of hospitality. Their remote situation afforded some means of defence, or at least of escape; and a grievous tax was imposed on Constantinople, to supply the preparations of a fleet and army. "All are guilty, and all must perish," was the mandate of Justinian; and the bloody execution was entrusted to his favourite Stephen, who [A.D. 710] was recommended by the epithet of the Savage. Yet even the savage Stephen imperfectly accomplished the intentions of his sovereign. The slowness of his attack allowed the greater part of the inhabitants to withdraw into the country; and the minister of vengeance contented himself with reducing the youth of both sexes to a state of servitude, with roasting alive seven of the principal citizens, with drowning twenty in the sea, and with reserving forty-two in chains to receive their doom from the mouth of the emperor. In their return, the fleet was driven on the rocky shores of Anatolia, and Justinian applauded the obedience of the Euxine, which had involved so many thousands of his subjects and enemies in a common shipwreck; but the tyrant was still insatiate of blood, and a second expedition was commanded to extirpate the remains of the proscribed colony. In the short interval, the Chersonites had returned to their city, and were prepared to die in arms; the khan of the Chozars had renounced the cause of his odious brother; the exiles of every province were assembled in Tauris; and Bardanes, under the name of Philippicus, was invested with the purple. The Imperial troops, unwilling and unable to perpetrate the revenge of Justinian, escaped his displeasure by abjuring his allegiance; the fleet, under their new sovereign, steered back a more auspicious course to the harbours of Sinope and Constantinople; and every tongue was prompt to pronounce, every hand to execute, the death of the tyrant.[13] Destitute of friends, he was deserted by his barbarian guards; and the stroke of the assassin was praised as an act of patriotism and Roman virtue. His son Tiberius had taken refuge in a church; his aged grandmother guarded the door; and the innocent youth, suspending round his neck the most formidable relics, embraced with one hand the altar, with the other the wood of the true cross. But the popular fury that dares to trample on superstition is deaf to the cries of humanity; and the race of Heraclius was extinguished after a reign of one hundred years.

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[11] [Psalm xci. 13; according to reading of the Septuagint, *Lion* (λέοντα) alludes to *Leontius*, ἀσπίδα to *Apsimar;* while βασιλίσκον suggests a petty βασιλεύς.]

[12] [The reign of Apsimar had been on the whole successful, and, though it saw the loss of the Fourth Armenia to the Saracens, was marked by some important successes, especially a naval victory off the coast of Cilicia. In Justinian's second reign, there was an unsuccessful expedition against Bulgaria, and Tyana was lost to the Saracens.]

Philippicus A.D. 711, December

Between the fall of the Heraclian and the rise of the Isaurian dynasty, a short interval of six years is divided into three reigns. Bardanes,[14] or Philippicus, was hailed at Constantinople as an hero who had delivered his country from a tyrant; and he might taste some moments of happiness in the first transports of sincere and universal joy. Justinian had left behind him an ample treasure, the fruit of cruelty and rapine; but this useful fund was soon and idly dissipated by his successor. On the festival of his birthday, Philippicus entertained the multitude with the games of the hippodrome; from thence he paraded through the streets with a thousand banners and a thousand trumpets; refreshed himself in the baths of

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[13] [Justinian's treatment of Ravenna at the western extremity of his empire, which is the parallel to his treatment of Cherson at the eastern extremity, is incidentally referred to below, p. 261. The sources are *Liber Pontificalis*, Life of Constantine I., and Agnellus, Life of Felix (Muratori, Scr. Rer. Ital. ii. 1, 160). The Ravennates had presumed to protect Pope Sergius whom Justinian had ordered to be arrested, and had shown pleasure at the Emperor's deposition. Justinian, on his restoration, sent a fleet to Ravenna; the nobles, &c., of the city were invited to a banquet at Classe, arrested, thrown into the vessels, and taken to New Rome, where they were put to death, except Archbishop Felix, whose eyes were put out. Ravenna was set on fire.]

[14] [Of Armenian race. He was merely a man of pleasure. His reign was marked by a momentary restitution of Monotheletism in the East; and by an invasion of the Bulgarians up to the very gates of the capital.]

Anastasius II. A.D. 713, June 4

Theodosius III. A.D. 716, January

Zeuxippus; and, returning to the palace, entertained his nobles with a sumptuous banquet. At the meridian hour he withdrew to his chamber, intoxicated with flattery and wine, and forgetful that his example had made every subject ambitious and that every ambitious subject was his secret enemy. Some bold conspirators introduced themselves in the disorder of the feast; and the slumbering monarch was surprised, bound, blinded, and deposed, before he was sensible of his danger. Yet the traitors were deprived of their reward; and the free voice of the senate and people promoted Artemius from the office of secretary to that of emperor: he assumed the title of Anastasius the Second, and displayed in a short and troubled reign the virtues both of peace and war. But, after the extinction of the Imperial line, the rule of obedience was violated, and every change diffused the seeds of new revolutions. In a mutiny of the fleet, an obscure and reluctant officer of the revenue was forcibly invested with the purple; after some months of a naval war, Anastasius resigned the sceptre;[15] and the conqueror, Theodosius the Third, submitted in his turn to the superior ascendant of Leo, the general and emperor of the Oriental troops. His two predecessors were permitted to embrace the ecclesiastical profession; the restless impatience of Anastasius tempted him to risk and to lose his life in a treasonable enterprise; but the last days of Theodosius were honourable and secure. The single sublime word, "HEALTH," which he inscribed on his tomb, expresses the confidence of philosophy or religion; and the fame of his miracles was long preserved among the people of Ephesus. This convenient shelter of the church might sometimes impose a lesson of clemency; but it may be questioned whether it is for the public interest to diminish the perils of unsuccessful ambition.

Leo III. the Isaurian: A.D 718, March 25

I have dwelt on the fall of a tyrant; I shall briefly represent the founder of a new dynasty, who is known to posterity by the invectives of his enemies, and whose public and private life is involved in the ecclesiastical story of the Iconoclasts. Yet in spite of the clamours of superstition, a favourable prejudice for the character of Leo the Isaurian may be reasonably drawn from the obscurity of his birth and the duration of his reign.[16]—I. In an age of manly spirit, the prospect of an

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[15] [Anastasius was making preparations for an attack on the Saracens by sea. His fall was due to the mutiny of the troops of the Opsikian Theme, whose officers he had punished for the part they had played in the deposition of Philippicus.]

[16] [For the acts of Leo III., see also c. liii. (Saracen siege of Constantinople); and c. xlix. (iconoclasm); for his legal work, see Appendix 11. For chronology, cp. Appendix 10.]

Imperial reward would have kindled every energy of the mind, and produced a crowd of competitors as deserving as they were desirous to reign. Even in the corruption and debility of the modern Greeks, the elevation of a plebeian from the last to the first rank of society supposes some qualifications above the level of the multitude. He would probably be ignorant and disdainful of speculative science; and in the pursuit of fortune he might absolve himself from the obligations of benevolence and justice; but to his character we may ascribe the useful virtues of prudence and fortitude, the knowledge of mankind, and the important art of gaining their confidence and directing their passions. It is agreed that Leo was a native of Isauria,[17] and that Conon was his primitive name. The writers, whose awkward satire is praise, describe him as an itinerant pedlar, who drove an ass with some paltry merchandise to the country fairs; and foolishly relate that he met on the road some Jewish fortune-tellers, who promised him the Roman empire on condition that he should abolish the worship of idols. A more probable account relates the migration of his father from Asia Minor to Thrace, where he exercised the lucrative trade of a grazier; and he must have acquired considerable wealth, since the first introduction of his son was procured by a supply of five hundred sheep to the Imperial camp. His first service was in the guards of Justinian, where he soon attracted the notice, and by degrees the jealousy, of the tyrant. His valour and dexterity were conspicuous in the Colchian war;[18] from Anastasius he received the command of the Anatolian legions; and by the suffrage of the soldiers he was raised to the empire, with the general applause of the Roman world.—II. In this dangerous elevation, Leo the Third supported himself against the envy of his equals, the discontent of a powerful faction, and the assaults of his foreign and domestic enemies. The Catholics, who accuse his religious innovations, are obliged to confess that they were undertaken with temper and conducted with firmness. Their silence respects the wisdom of his administration and the purity of his manners. After a reign of twenty-four years, he peaceably expired in the palace of Constantinople; and the purple which he had acquired was transmitted, by the right of inheritance, to the third generation.

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[17] [The authority is Theophanes, who calls him "the Isaurian," but makes the strange statement that he came from Germanicia τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἰσαυρίας, "but really from Isauria," which Anastasius, in his Latin translation, corrects into *genere Syrus*. It is clear that there is a mistake here, as K. Schenk has shown (Byz. Zeitsch., v., p. 296-8, 1896); as Leo's family belonged to Germanicia he was a Syrian of Commagene, not an Isaurian; and in the Συναγωγὴ χρόνων (in de Boor's ed. of Nicephorus, p. 225) he is called ὁ Σύρος. Schenk thinks that Theophanes confounded Germanicia with Germanicopolis in Isauria (West Cilicia); but the position of Germanicia in "Syria" was well known to Theophanes (cp. p. 422, 445, 451). Possibly Theophanes wrote ἐκ τῆς Συρίας, and Anastasius translated the genuine reading. There is nothing improbable in an accidental corruption of τῆς Συρίας to τῆς Ἰσαυρίας (and ὁ Ἴσαυρος two lines before would follow). This explanation is supported by the fact that in another passage (which Schenk omits to notice) Theophanes does call Leo "the Syrian" (p. 412, 2).]

[18] [For an account of Leo's adventures in Alania and Abasgia, see Bury, Later Roman Empire, ii., 374-7.]

Constantine V. Copronymus. A.D. 741 [740], June 18

In a long reign of thirty-four years, the son and successor of Leo, Constantine the Fifth, surnamed Copronymus,[19] attacked, with less temperate zeal, the images or idols of the church. Their votaries have exhausted the bitterness of religious gall in their portrait of this spotted panther, this antichrist, this flying dragon of the serpent's seed, who surpassed the vices of Elagabalus and Nero. His reign was a long butchery of whatever was most noble, or holy, or innocent, in his empire. In person, the emperor assisted at the execution of his victims, surveyed their agonies, listened to their groans, and indulged, without satiating, his appetite for blood; a plate of noses was accepted as a grateful offering, and his domestics were often scourged or mutilated by the royal hand. His surname was derived from his pollution of his baptismal font.[19a] The infant might be excused; but the manly pleasures of Copronymus degraded him below the level of a brute; his lust confounded the eternal distinctions of sex and species; and he seemed to extract some unnatural delight from the objects most offensive to human sense. In his religion, the Iconoclast was an Heretic, a Jew, a Mahometan, a Pagan, and an Atheist; and his belief of an invisible power could be discovered only in his magic rites, human victims, and nocturnal sacrifices to Venus and the dæmons of antiquity. His life was stained with the most opposite vices, and the ulcers which covered his body anticipated before his death the sentiment of hell-tortures. Of these accusations, which I have so patiently copied, a part is refuted by its own absurdity; and, in the private anecdotes of the life of princes, the lie is more easy as the detection is more difficult. Without adopting the pernicious maxim that, where much is alleged, something must be true, I can however discern that Constantine the Fifth was dissolute and cruel. Calumny is more prone to exaggerate than to invent; and her licentious tongue is checked in some measure by the experience of the age and country to which she appeals. Of the bishops and monks, the generals and magistrates, who are said to have suffered under his reign, the numbers are recorded, the names were conspicuous, the execution was public, the mutilation visible and permanent. The Catholics hated the person and government of Copronymus; but even their hatred is a proof of their oppression. They dissemble the provocations which might excuse or justify his rigour, but even these provocations must gradually inflame his resentment and harden his temper in the use or the abuse of despotism. Yet the character of the fifth Constantine was not devoid of merit, nor did his government always deserve the curses or the contempt of the Greeks.[20] From the confession of his enemies, I am informed of the restoration of an ancient aqueduct, of the redemption of two thousand five hundred captives, of the uncommon plenty of the times, and of the new colonies with which he repeopled Constantinople and the Thracian cities. They reluctantly praise his activity and courage; he was on horseback in the field at the head of his legions; and, although the fortune of his arms was various, he triumphed by sea and land, on the Euphrates and the Danube, in civil and barbarian war. Heretical praise must be cast into the scale, to counterbalance the weight of orthodox invective. The Iconoclasts revered the virtues of the prince: forty years after his death, they still prayed before the tomb of the saint. A miraculous vision was propagated by fanaticism or fraud; and the Christian hero appeared on a milk-white steed, brandishing his lance against the pagans of Bulgaria: "An absurd fable," says the Catholic historian, "since Copronymus is chained with the dæmons in the abyss of hell".

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[19] [(For Constantine's reign see also cap. xlix., liii., liv.) At the very outset of his reign Constantine's throne was endangered by the rebellion of his brother-in-law, Artavasdus, Count of the Opsikian Theme, who possessed much influence in the Armeniac Theme. Constantine lost Constantinople for nearly two years, A.D. 741-3, but finally vanquished Artavasdus and his sons in a brilliant campaign. It is to be observed that the Patriarch Anastasius supported Artavasdus, who restored image worship. For the chronology of Constantine's reign, see Appendix 9.]

[19a] [More probably, like his other surname *Kaballinos*, from his devotion to the stables (Ranke).]

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[20] [Constantine was an uncommonly able and vigorous ruler, unceasingly active in endeavours to improve the internal administration, and successful in his military operations. He won back Melitene, Germanicia, and Theodosiopolis from the Saracens, and destroyed an armada which the caliph sent to besiege Cyprus (A.D. 746). He weakened the Bulgarian kingdom by a series of campaigns of various fortune. His persecution of the monks was cruel and rigorous, though perhaps more excusable than most persecutions; it was a warfare against gross superstition. Gibbon has not mentioned the great pestilence which devastated the empire in this reign. Theophanes has given a vivid description of it. At Constantinople it raged for a year (A.D. 749), and the depopulation which it caused led to an influx of new inhabitants, to which reference is made in the text. Cp. Finlay, Hist of Greece, ii., 66-7.]

Leo IV. A.D. 775, Sept. 14

Leo the Fourth, the son of the fifth, and the father of the sixth, Constantine, was of a feeble constitution both of mind and body, and the principal care of his reign was the settlement of the succession. The association of the young Constantine was urged by the officious zeal of his subjects; and the emperor, conscious of his decay, complied, after a prudent hesitation, with their unanimous wishes. The royal infant, at the age of five years, was crowned with his mother Irene; and the national consent was ratified by every circumstance of pomp and solemnity that could dazzle the eyes, or bind the conscience, of the Greeks. An oath of fidelity was administered in the palace, the church, and the hippodrome, to the several orders of the state, who adjured the holy names of the son, and mother, of God. "Be witness, O Christ! that we will watch over the safety of Constantine the son of Leo, expose our lives in his service, and bear true allegiance to his person and posterity." They pledged their faith on the wood of the true cross, and the act of their engagement was deposited on the altar of St. Sophia. The first to swear, and the first to violate their oath, were the five sons of Copronymus by a second marriage; and the story of these princes is singular and tragic. The right of primogeniture excluded them from the throne; the injustice of their elder brother defrauded them of a legacy of about two millions sterling; some vain titles were not deemed a sufficient compensation for wealth and power; and they repeatedly conspired against their nephew, before and after the death of his father. Their first attempt was pardoned; for the second offence they were condemned to the ecclesiastical state; and for the third treason Nicephorus, the eldest and most guilty, was deprived of his eyes, and his four brothers, Christopher, Nicetas, Anthimus, and Eudoxus, were punished, as a milder sentence, by the amputation of their tongues. After five years' confinement, they escaped to the church of St. Sophia, and displayed a pathetic spectacle to the people. "Countrymen and Christians," cried Nicephorus for himself and his mute brethren, "behold the sons of your emperor, if you can still recognise our features in this miserable state. A life, an imperfect life, is all that the malice of our enemies has spared. It is now threatened, and we now throw ourselves on your compassion." The rising

[Eudocimus]

murmur might have produced a revolution, had it not been checked by the presence of a minister, who soothed the unhappy princes with flattery and hope, and gently drew them from the sanctuary to the palace. They were speedily embarked for Greece, and Athens was allotted for the place of their exile. In this calm retreat, and in their helpless condition, Nicephorus and his brothers were tormented by the thirst of power, and tempted by a Sclavonian chief, who offered to break their prison and to lead them in arms, and in the purple, to the gates of Constantinople. But the Athenian people, ever zealous in the cause of Irene, prevented their justice or cruelty; and the five sons of Copronymus were plunged in eternal darkness and oblivion.

Constantine VI. and Irene. A.D. 780, Sept. 8

For himself, that emperor had chosen a barbarian wife, the daughter of the khan of the Chozars; but in the marriage of his heir he preferred an Athenian virgin, an orphan, seventeen years old, whose sole fortune must have consisted in her personal accomplishments. The nuptials of Leo and Irene were celebrated with royal pomp; she soon acquired the love and confidence of a feeble husband; and in his testament he declared the empress guardian of the Roman world, and of their son Constantine the Sixth, who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood, Irene most ably and assiduously discharged, in her public administration, the duties of a faithful mother; and her zeal in the restoration of images [21] has deserved the name and honours of a saint, which she still occupies in the Greek calendar. But the emperor attained the maturity of youth; the maternal yoke became more grievous; and he listened to the favourites of his own age, who shared his pleasures, and were ambitious of sharing his power. Their reasons convinced him of his right, their praises of his ability, to reign; and he consented to reward the services of Irene by a perpetual banishment to the isle of Sicily. But her vigilance and penetration easily disconcerted their rash projects; a similar or more severe punishment was retaliated on themselves and their advisers; and Irene inflicted on the ungrateful prince the chastisement of a boy. After this contest, the mother and the son were at the head of two domestic factions; and, instead of mild influence and voluntary obedience, she held in chains a captive and an enemy. The empress was overthrown by the abuse of victory; the oath of fidelity, which she exacted to herself alone, was pronounced with reluctant murmurs; and the bold refusal of the Armenian guards encouraged a free and general [A.D. 790] declaration that Constantine the Sixth was the lawful emperor of the Romans. In this character he ascended his hereditary throne, and dismissed Irene to a life of solitude and repose. But her haughty spirit condescended to the arts of dissimulation: she flattered the bishops and eunuchs, revived the filial [A.D. 792] tenderness of the prince, regained his confidence, and betrayed his credulity. The character of Constantine was not destitute of sense or spirit; but his education had been studiously neglected; and his ambitious mother exposed to the public censure the vices which she had nourished and the actions which she [A.D. 795] had secretly advised. His divorce and second marriage offended the prejudices of the clergy,[22] and, by his imprudent rigour, he forfeited the attachment of the Armenian guards. A powerful conspiracy was formed for the restoration of Irene; and the secret, though widely diffused, was faithfully kept above eight months, till the emperor, suspicious of his danger, escaped from Constantinople, with the design of appealing to the provinces and armies. By this hasty flight, the empress was left on the brink of the precipice; yet, before she implored the mercy of her son, Irene addressed a private epistle to the friends whom she had placed about his person, with a menace that, unless *they* accomplished, *she* would reveal, their treason. Their fear rendered them intrepid; they seized the emperor on the Asiatic shore, and he was transported to the porphyry apartment of the palace, where he had first seen the light. In the mind of Irene, ambition had stifled every sentiment of humanity and nature; and it was decreed in her bloody council that Constantine should be rendered incapable of the throne. Her [A.D. 797, Aug. 15] emissaries assaulted the sleeping prince, and stabbed their daggers with such violence and precipitation into his eyes, as if they meant to execute a mortal sentence. An ambiguous passage of Theophanes persuaded the annalist of the church that death was the immediate consequence of this barbarous execution.[28] The Catholics have been deceived or subdued by the authority of Baronius; and Protestant zeal has re-echoed the words of a cardinal, desirous, as it should seem, to favour the patroness of images. Yet the blind son of Irene survived many years, oppressed by the court, and forgotten by the world; the Isaurian dynasty was silently extinguished; and the memory of Constantine was recalled only by the nuptials of his daughter Euphrosyne with the emperor Michael the Second.

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[21] [See below, p. 276.]

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[22] [Constantine had been betrothed to Rotrud, daughter of Charles the Great, but Irene had broken off the match and compelled him to marry a lady who was distasteful to him. In 795 he fell in love with one of his mother's maids of honour, Theodote; and, with the insidious purpose of making him odious to the clergy who regarded second marriages as impious, Irene encouraged him to divorce his wife Maria and marry Theodote. The patriarch Tarasius was a courtier and acquiesced in the emperor's wishes, though he would not perform the marriage ceremony himself. The affair created grave scandal among the monks, the mos prominent of whom were Plato and his nephew Theodore of the abbey of Studion They broke off *communion* with the patriarch and the emperor. Schlosser (Gesch der bilderstürmenden Kaiser, p. 311) makes merry over the embarrassment o historians in view of the fact that both Tarasius who approved of the marriage and Theodore who condemned it are canonized saints.]

The most bigoted orthodoxy has justly execrated the unnatural mother, who may not easily be paralleled in the history of crimes. To her bloody deed superstition has attributed a subsequent darkness of seventeen days; during which many vessels in mid-day were driven from their course, as if the sun, a globe of fire so vast and so remote, could sympathize with the atoms of a revolving planet. On earth, the crime of Irene was left five years unpunished; her reign was crowned with external splendour; and, if she could silence the voice of conscience, she neither heard nor regarded the reproaches of mankind. The Roman world bowed to the government of a female; and, as she moved through the streets of Constantinople, the reins of four milk-white steeds were held by as many patricians, who marched on foot before the golden chariot of their queen. But these patricians were for the most part eunuchs; and their black ingratitude justified, on this occasion, the popular hatred and contempt. Raised, enriched, entrusted with the first dignities of the empire, they basely conspired against their benefactress; the great treasurer Nicephorus was secretly invested with the purple; her successor was introduced into the palace, and crowned at St. Sophia by the venal patriarch. In their first interview, she recapitulated, with dignity, the revolutions of her life, gently accused the perfidy of Nicephorus, insinuated that he owed his life to her unsuspicious clemency, and, for the throne and treasures which she resigned, solicited a decent and honourable retreat. His avarice

Irene, A.D. 797, Aug. 19

[illegible]

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[28] [Theophanes says that the blinding was inflicted in such a way that death was meant to result. The survival of Constantine is attested by Zonaras, xv. c. 14; and is not disproved by Theophanes. But Schlosser (op. cit. 229-30) is not justified in asserting that he was only recently dead when Michael II. came to the throne (A.D. 820). On the contrary, the passage in Theoph. Contin., p. 51, ed. Bonn (= Cedrenus ii. 75), taken along with Genesius, p. 35, points to a prevailing belief that he died soon after the operation on his eyes.]

refused this modest compensation; and, in her exile of the isle of Lesbos, the empress earned a scanty subsistence by the labours of her distaff.

Nicephorus I. A.D. 802, October 31

Many tyrants have reigned undoubtedly more criminal than Nicephorus, but none perhaps have more deeply incurred the universal abhorrence of their people. His character was stained with the three odious vices of hypocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice; [24] his want of virtue was not redeemed by any superior talents, nor his want of talents by any pleasing qualifications. Unskilful and unfortunate in war, Nicephorus was vanquished by the Saracens, and slain by the Bulgarians; and the advantages of his death overbalanced, in the public opinion, the destruction of a Roman army. His son and heir Stauracius escaped from the field with a mortal wound; yet six months of an expiring life were sufficient to refute his indecent, though popular, declaration that he would in all things avoid the example of his father. On the near prospect of his decease, Michael, the great master of the palace and the husband of his sister Procopia, was named by every person of the palace and city, except by his envious brother. Tenacious of a sceptre now falling from his hand, he conspired against the life of his

Stauracius. A.D. 811, July 25 [26]

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[24] [Nicephorus had to set the finances of the state in order after the extravagant administration of Irene, and thus he was placed in the same disadvantageous position as the emperor Maurice, who suffered for the lavish expenditure of Tiberius. "The financial administration of Nicephorus is justly accused of severity, and even of rapacity. . . . But though he is justly accused of oppression he does not merit the reproach of avarice often urged against him. When he considered expenditure necessary for the good of the empire, he was liberal of the public money. He spared no expense to keep up numerous armies, and it was not from ill-judged economy, but from want of military talents, that his campaigns were unsuccessful" (Finlay, ii. p. 97). Nicephorus "eagerly pursued the centralizing policy of his iconoclast predecessors, and strove to render the civil power supreme over the clergy and the Church. He forbade the Patriarch to hold any communications with the Pope, whom he considered as the Patriarch of Charlemagne; and this prudent measure has caused much of the virulence with which his memory has been attacked by ecclesiastical and orthodox historians. The Patriarch Tarasius had shown himself no enemy to the supremacy of the emperor, and he was highly esteemed by Nicephorus as one of the heads of the party, both in the church and state, which the emperor was anxious to conciliate." On the death of Tarasius, the emperor found (A.D. 806) in the historian Nicephorus "an able and popular prelate, disposed to support his secular views". The emperor then proceeded to affirm the principle of his independence of ecclesiastical authority, and took as a test question the second marriage of Constantine VI.—a question in which he had no personal interest. A synod was assembled and pronounced the marriage valid. This inflamed the wrath of the monastic party, under the leadership of Theodore Studita; they refused to communicate with the patriarch Nicephorus; and the abbots Theodore and Plato were banished and deposed. The two principles of Nicephorus in his ecclesiastical policy were the supremacy of the civil authority and toleration. He declined for instance to persecute the Paulicians. (For the Bulgarian campaign in which Nicephorus lost his life see below, chap. lv.)]

successor, and cherished the idea of changing to a democracy the Roman empire. But these rash projects served only to inflame the zeal of the people, and to remove the scruples of the candidate; Michael the First accepted the purple, and, before he sunk into the grave, the son of Nicephorus implored the clemency of his new sovereign. Had Michael in an age of peace ascended an hereditary throne, he might have reigned and died the father of his people; but his mild virtues were adapted to the shade of private life, nor was he capable of controlling the ambition of his equals or of resisting the arms of the victorious Bulgarians. While his want of ability and success exposed him to the contempt of the soldiers, the masculine spirit of his wife Procopia awakened their indignation. Even the Greeks of the ninth century were provoked by the insolence of a female, who, in the front of their standards, presumed to direct their discipline and animate their valour; and their licentious clamours advised the new Semiramis to reverence the majesty of a Roman camp. After an unsuccessful campaign, the emperor left, in their winter-quarters of Thrace, a disaffected army under the command of his enemies; and their artful eloquence persuaded the soldiers to break the dominion of the eunuchs, to degrade the husband of Procopia, and to assert the right of a military election. They marched towards the capital; yet the clergy, the senate, and the people of Constantinople adhered to the cause of Michael; and the troops and treasures of Asia might have protracted the mischiefs of civil war. But his humanity (by the ambitious, it will be termed his weakness) protested that not a drop of Christian blood should be shed in his quarrel, and his messengers presented the conquerors with the keys of the city and the palace. They were disarmed by his innocence and submission; his life and his eyes were spared; and the Imperial monk enjoyed the comforts of solitude and religion above thirty-two years after he had been stripped of the purple and separated from his wife.

Michael I. Rhangabe. A.D. 811, October 2

Leo V. the Armenian. A.D. 813, July 11

A rebel, in the time of Nicephorus, the famous and unfortunate Bardanes, had once the curiosity to consult an Asiatic prophet, who, after prognosticating his fall, announced the fortunes of his three principal officers, Leo the Armenian, Michael the Phrygian,[25] and Thomas the Cappadocian,[26] the successive reigns of the two former, the fruitless and fatal enterprise of the third. This prediction was verified, or rather was produced, by the event. Ten years afterwards, when the Thracian camp rejected the husband of Procopia, the crown was presented to the same Leo, the first in military rank and the secret author of the mutiny. As he affected to hesitate, "With this sword," said his companion Michael, "I will open the gates of Constantinople to your Imperial sway; or instantly plunge it into your bosom, if you obstinately resist the just desires of your fellow-soldiers". The compliance of the Armenian was rewarded with the empire, and he reigned seven years and an half under the name of Leo the Fifth.[27] Educated in a camp, and ignorant both of laws and letters, he introduced into his civil government the rigour and even cruelty of military discipline; but, if his severity was sometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. His religious inconstancy was taxed by the epithet of Chameleon, but the Catholics have acknowledged, by the voice of a saint and confessors, that the life of the Iconoclast was useful to the republic. The zeal of his companion Michael was repaid with riches, honours, and military command; and his subordinate talents were beneficially employed in the public service. Yet the Phrygian was dissatisfied at receiving as a favour a scanty portion of the Imperial prize which he had bestowed on his equal; and his discontent, which sometimes evaporated in a hasty discourse, at length assumed a more threatening and hostile aspect against a prince whom he represented as a cruel tyrant. That tyrant, however, repeatedly detected, warned, and dismissed the old companion of his arms, till fear and resentment prevailed over gratitude; and Michael, after a scrutiny into his actions and designs, was convicted of treason and sentenced to be burnt alive in the furnace of the private baths. The devout humanity of the empress Theophano was fatal to her husband and family. A solemn day, the twenty-fifth of December, had been fixed for the execution; she urged that the anniversary of the Saviour's birth would be profaned by this inhuman spectacle, and Leo consented with reluctance to a decent respite. But on the vigil of the feast his sleepless anxiety prompted him to visit, at the dead of night, the chamber in which his enemy was confined; he beheld him released from his chain, and stretched on his gaoler's bed in a profound slumber. Leo was alarmed at these signs of security and intelligence; but, though he retired with silent steps, his entrance and departure were noticed by a slave who lay concealed in a corner of the prison. Under the pretence of requesting the spiritual aid of a confessor, Michael informed the conspirators that their lives depended on his discretion, and that a few hours were left to assure their own safety by the deliverance of their friend and country. On the great festivals, a chosen band of priests and chanters was admitted into the palace, by a private gate, to sing matins in the chapel; and Leo, who regulated with the same strictness the discipline of the choir and of the camp, was seldom absent from those early devotions. In the ecclesiastical habit, but with swords under their robes, the conspirators mingled with the procession, lurked in the angles of the chapel, and expected, as the signal of murder, the intonation of the first psalm by the emperor himself. The imperfect light, and the uniformity of dress, might have favoured his escape, while their assault was pointed against an harmless priest; but they soon discovered their mistake, and encompassed on all sides the royal victim. Without a weapon, and without a friend, he grasped a weighty cross, and stood at bay against the hunters of his life; but, as he asked for mercy, "This is the hour, not of mercy, but of vengeance," was the inexorable reply. The stroke of a well-aimed sword separated from his body the right arm and the cross, and Leo the Armenian was slain at the foot of the altar.

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[25] [A native of Amorium; hence his dynasty is called the Amorian dynasty.]

[26] [Of Slavonic descent, at least on one side; hence known as Thomas the Slavonian.]

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[27] [Leo's reign was marked by a Bulgarian siege of the capital, and the temporary loss of Hadrianople. The death of the Bulgarian king Crumn (A.D. 815) rescued the empire from a serious danger; and Leo, after winning a hard-fought battle, concluded a thirty years' peace with his successor Omortag (A.D. 817). Under this reign the empire had peace from the Saracens.]

Michael II. the Stammerer. A.D. 820, Dec. 25

A memorable reverse of fortune was displayed in Michael the Second, who, from a defect in his speech, was surnamed the Stammerer. He was snatched from the fiery furnace to the sovereignty of an empire; and, as in the tumult a smith could not readily be found, the fetters remained on his legs several hours after he was seated on the throne of the Cæsars. The royal blood which had been the price of his elevation was unprofitably spent; in the purple he retained the ignoble vices of his origin; and Michael lost his provinces with as supine indifference as if they had been the inheritance of his fathers.[28] His title was disputed by Thomas, the last of the military triumvirate, who transported into Europe fourscore thousand barbarians from the

[Rebellion of Thomas, A.D. 822]

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[28] [For the loss of Crete and the beginnings of the Saracen conquest of Sicily, see below, chap. lii. For Michael's ecclesiastical policy see below, p. 278.]

banks of the Tigris and the shores of the Caspian.[29] He formed the siege of Constantinople; but the capital was defended with spiritual and carnal weapons; a Bulgarian king assaulted the camp of the Orientals, and Thomas had the misfortune, or the weakness, to fall alive into the power of the conqueror. [A.D. 824, October] The hands and feet of the rebel were amputated; he was placed on an ass, and, amidst the insults of the people, was led through the streets, which he sprinkled with his blood. The depravation of manners, as savage as they were corrupt, is marked by the presence of the emperor himself. Deaf to the lamentations of a fellow-soldier, he incessantly pressed the discovery of more accomplices, till his curiosity was checked by the question of an honest or guilty minister: "Would you give credit to an enemy against the most faithful of your friends?" After the death of his first wife, the emperor, at the request of the senate, drew from her monastery Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine the Sixth. Her august birth might justify a stipulation in the marriage-contract, that her children should equally share the empire with their elder brother. But the nuptials of Michael and Euphrosyne were barren; and she was content with the title of Mother of Theophilus, his son and successor.

Theophilus. A.D. 829, October 3

The character of Theophilus is a rare example in which religious zeal has allowed, and perhaps magnified, the virtues of an heretic and a persecutor.[30] His valour was often felt by the enemies, and his justice by the subjects, of the monarchy; but the valour of Theophilus was rash and fruitless, and his justice arbitrary and cruel. He displayed the banner of the cross against the Saracens; but his five expeditions were concluded by a signal overthrow; Amorium, the native city of [A.D. 838, Sept. 23] his ancestors, was levelled with the ground, and from his military toils he derived only the surname of the Unfortunate. The wisdom of a sovereign is comprised in the institution of laws and the choice of magistrates, and, while he seems without action, his civil government revolves round his centre with the silence and order of the planetary system. But the justice of Theophilus was fashioned on the model of the Oriental despots, who, in personal and irregular acts of authority, consult the reason or passion of the moment, without measuring the sentence by the law or the penalty by the offence. A poor woman threw herself at the emperor's feet, to complain of a powerful neighbour, the brother of the empress, who had raised his palace-wall to such an inconvenient height that her humble dwelling was excluded from light and air! On the proof of the fact, instead of granting, like an ordinary judge, sufficient or ample damages to the plaintiff, the sovereign adjudged to her use and benefit the palace and the ground. Nor was Theophilus content with this extravagant satisfaction: his zeal converted a civil trespass into a criminal act; and the unfortunate patrician was stripped and scourged in the public place of Constantinople. For some venial offences, some defect of equity or vigilance, the principal ministers, a præfect, a quæstor, a captain of the guards, were banished or mutilated, or scalded with boiling pitch, or burnt alive in the hippodrome; and, as these dreadful examples might be the effects of error or caprice, they must have alienated from his service the best and wisest of the citizens. But the pride of the monarch was flattered in the exercise of power, or, as he thought, of virtue; and the people, safe in their obscurity, applauded the danger and debasement of their superiors. This extraordinary rigour was justified, in some measure, by its salutary consequences; since, after a scrutiny of seventeen days, not a complaint or abuse could be found in the court or city; and it might be alleged that the Greeks could be ruled only with a rod of iron, and that the public interest is the motive and law of the supreme judge. Yet in the crime, or the suspicion, of treason, that judge is of all others the most credulous and partial. Theophilus might inflict a tardy vengeance on the assassins of Leo and the saviours of his father; but he enjoyed the fruits of their crime; and his jealous tyranny sacrificed a brother and a prince to the future safety of his life. A Persian of the race of the Sassanides died in poverty and exile at Constantinople, leaving an only son, the issue of a plebeian marriage. At the age of twelve years, the royal birth of Theophobus was revealed, and his merit was not unworthy of his birth. He was educated in the Byzantine palace, a Christian and a soldier; advanced with rapid steps in the career of fortune and glory; received the hand of the emperor's sister; and was promoted to the command of thirty thousand Persians, who, like his father, had fled from the Mahometan conquerors. These troops, doubly infected with mercenary and fanatic vices, were desirous of revolting against their benefactor and erecting the standard of their native king; but the loyal Theophobus rejected their offers, disconcerted their schemes, and escaped from their hands to the camp or palace of his royal brother. A generous confidence might have secured a faithful and able guardian for his wife and his infant son, to whom Theophilus, in the flower of his age, was compelled to leave the inheritance of the empire. But his jealousy was exasperated by envy and disease; he feared the dangerous virtues which might either support or oppress their infancy and weakness; and the dying emperor demanded the head of the Persian prince. With savage delight, he recognised the familiar features of his brother: "Thou art no longer Theophobus," he said; and sinking on his couch A.D. 842] he added, with a faltering voice, "Soon, too soon, I shall be no more Theophilus!"

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[29] [The foreign origin of Thomas, "by separating him in an unusual degree from the ruling classes in the empire—for he was, like Michael, of a very low rank in society—caused him to be regarded as a friend of the people; and all the subject races in the empire espoused his cause, which in many provinces took the form of an attack on the Roman administration, rather than of a revolution to place a new emperor on the throne. This rebellion is remarkable for assuming more of the character of a social revolution than of an ordinary insurrection" (Finlay, ii. p. 130). Thomas entered into connexion with the Saracens, and the Patriarch of Antioch was permitted to crown him in that city. He besieged Constantinople twice with his fleet. After his defeat by the Bulgarians he was besieged in Arcadiopolis for five months; his own followers surrendered him. We possess Michael's account of the rebellion in a letter which he addressed to Lewis the Pious, A.D. 824.]

[30] [The portrait of the Emperor Theophilus drawn by Schlosser and by Finlay is probably too favourable. The hard judgment of H. Gelzer, who regards him as a much overrated, really insignificant, ruler, may be nearer the truth (in Krumbacher's Gesch. der byz. Litt., p. 968). Gelzer especially condemns him for incapacity to understand the sign of the times. His persecution of the iconodule priests had something fanatical about it which did not mark the policy of the earlier iconoclastic sovereigns. There is no authority for Gibbon's statement (p. 197) of cruel punishments (cp. Schlosser, *op. cit.* p. 524), but he does not connect these punishments with image-worship. The finances were in a prosperous state in this reign, but the credit is not due to Theophilus, whose incontinent passion for building caused a serious drain on the treasury.]

The Russians, who have borrowed from the Greeks the greatest part of their civil and ecclesiastical policy, preserved, till the last century, a singular institution in the marriage of the Czar. They collected, not the virgins of every rank and of every province, a vain and romantic idea, but the daughters of the principal nobles, who awaited in the palace the choice of their sovereign. It is affirmed that a similar method was adopted in the nuptials of Theophilus.[31] With a golden apple in his hand, he slowly walked between two lines of contending beauties; his eye was detained by the charms of Icasia,[32] and, in the awkwardness of a first declaration, the prince could only observe that, in this world, women had been the cause of much evil: "And surely, Sir," she pertly replied, "they have likewise been the occasion of much good". This affectation of unseasonable wit displeased the Imperial lover; he turned aside in disgust; Icasia concealed her mortification in a convent; and the modest silence of Theodora was rewarded with the golden apple. She deserved the love, but did not escape the severity, of her lord. From the palace garden he beheld a vessel deeply laden, and steering into the port; on the discovery that the precious cargo of Syrian luxury was the property of his wife, he condemned the ship to the flames, with a sharp reproach that her avarice had degraded the character of an empress into that of a merchant. Yet his last choice entrusted her with the guardianship of the empire and her son Michael, who was left an orphan in the fifth year of his age. The restoration of images, and the final extirpation of the Iconoclasts, has endeared her name to the devotion of the Greeks; but in the fervour of religious zeal Theodora entertained a grateful regard for the memory and salvation of her husband. After thirteen years[33] of a prudent and frugal administration, she perceived the decline of her influence; but the second Irene imitated only the virtues of her predecessor. Instead of conspiring against the life or government of her son, she retired, without a struggle, though not without a murmur, to the solitude of private life, deploring the ingratitude, the vices, and the inevitable ruin of the worthless youth.

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[31] [A similar brideshow was held to select a wife for Leo VI., son of Basil and Eudocia. See the Λόγος of Nicephorus Gregoras on Theophano, who was chosen on this occasion; in Hergenröther's Monum. Graec. ad Photium eiusque historiam pertinentia, p. 74. In this connexion compare also the life of St. Irene, who came from Cappadocia to Constantinople in consequence of letters sent through the Empire (κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν) by Theodora, wife of Theophilus, seeking a wife for her son (Acta Sctt., July 28, vol. vi., c. 5 *sqq.*). Cp. Th. Uspenski, Ocherki po istorii vizantiskoi obrazovannosti, p. 57.]

Michael III
A.D. 842, January 20

[A.D 856]

Among the successors of Nero and Elagabalus, we have not hitherto found the imitation of their vices, the character of a

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[32] [This Icasia, or rather Casia, was the only poetess of any merit throughout the whole "Byzantine" period, since the famous Athenais. All that is known of her and her writings (chiefly epigrams) will be found in the recent monograph (Kasia, 1897) of Krumbacher, who suggests that *Icasia* is a corruption of ἡ Κασία. It was probably owing to her reputation for poetical talent that Theophilus addressed her; his remark was (we may conjecture) couched in a metrical form; and her reply was likewise a "political" verse. The metrical form has been disarranged in the chronicling, but a slight change (the addition of a syllable, and the transposition of one word) restores it. Theophilus said:—

⏑ –́ ⏑ διὰ γυναικὸς (εἰσ)ερρύη τὰ φαῦλα,

and Casia's improvised reply was:—

ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ γυναικὸς τὰ κρείττονα πηγάζει

(Symeon Mag., p. 625, ed. Bonn).]

[33] [Fourteen years; Vita Theodorae, p. 14, in Regel's Analecta Byzantino-Russica (also cp. Finlay, ii., p. 172, n. 3). For this Life of Theodora, a contemporary work, cp. Appendix 1.]

Roman prince who considered pleasure as the object of life and virtue as the enemy of pleasure. Whatever might have been the maternal care of Theodora in the education of Michael the Third, her unfortunate son was a king before he was a man. If the ambitious mother laboured to check the progress of reason, she could not cool the ebullition of passion; and her selfish policy was justly repaid by the contempt and ingratitude of the headstrong youth. At the age of eighteen, he rejected her authority, without feeling his own incapacity to govern the empire and himself. With Theodora, all gravity and wisdom retired from the court; their place was supplied by the alternate dominion of vice and folly; and it was impossible, without forfeiting the public esteem, to acquire or preserve the favour of the emperor. The millions of gold and silver which had been accumulated for the service of the state were lavished on the vilest of men, who flattered his passions and shared his pleasures; and, in a reign of thirteen years, the richest of sovereigns was compelled to strip the palace and the churches of their precious furniture. Like Nero, he delighted in the amusements of the theatre, and sighed to be surpassed in the accomplishments in which he should have blushed to excel. Yet the studies of Nero in music and poetry betrayed some symptoms of a liberal taste; the more ignoble arts of the son of Theophilus were confined to the chariot-race of the hippodrome. The four factions which had agitated the peace, still amused the idleness, of the capital; for himself, the emperor assumed the blue livery; the three rival colours were distributed to his favourites, and, in the vile though eager contention, he forgot the dignity of his person and the safety of his dominions. He silenced the messenger of an invasion, who presumed to divert his attention in the most critical moment of the race; and by his command the importunate beacons were extinguished, that too frequently spread the alarm from Tarsus to Constantinople.[34] The most skilful charioteers obtained the first place in his confidence and esteem;

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[34] [The line of beacons is given in Theoph. Contin., p. 197, and Const. Porphyr. De Cer., i., App., p. 491. The first station of the line was (1) the Fortress of Lulon (which the Saracens called *Sakaliba*, because it had a Slavonic garrison). It commanded the pass between Tyana and the Cilician gates, and Professor Ramsay would identify it with Faustinopolis = Halala (Asia Minor, p. 353). The fire of Lulon flashed the message to (2) Mt. Argaeus, which Professor Ramsay discovers in a peak of the Hassan Dagh, south of Lake Tatta. The next station was (3) Isamus ("west of the north end of the lake"); then (4) Aegilus (between Troknades and Dorylaeum); (5) Mamas (N.W. of Dorylaeum); (6) Cyrizus (Katerli Dagh? Ramsay, *ib.* p. 187); (7) Mocilus (Samanli Dagh, N. of Lake Ascanius; Ramsay, *ib.* p. 187); (8) Mt. Auxentius; (9) the Pharos in the palace of Constantinople.]

their merit was profusely rewarded; the emperor feasted in their houses, and presented their children at the baptismal font; and, while he applauded his own popularity, he affected to blame the cold and stately reserve of his predecessors. The unnatural lusts which had degraded even the manhood of Nero were banished from the world; yet the strength of Michael was consumed by the indulgence of love and intemperance. In his midnight revels, when his passions were inflamed by wine, he was provoked to issue the most sanguinary commands; and, if any feelings of humanity were left, he was reduced, with the return of sense, to approve the salutary disobedience of his servants. But the most extraordinary feature in the character of Michael is the profane mockery of the religion of his country. The superstition of the Greeks might, indeed, excite the smile of a philosopher; but his smile would have been rational and temperate, and he must have condemned the ignorant folly of a youth who insulted the objects of public veneration. A buffoon of the court was invested in the robes of the patriarch; his twelve metropolitans, among whom the emperor was ranked, assumed their ecclesiastical garments; they used or abused the sacred vessels of the altar; and in their bacchanalian feasts the holy communion was administered in a nauseous compound of vinegar and mustard. Nor were these impious spectacles concealed from the eyes of the city. On the day of a solemn festival, the emperor, with his bishops or buffoons, rode on asses through the streets, encountered the true patriarch at the head of his clergy, and by their licentious shouts and obscene gestures disordered the gravity of the Christian procession. The devotion of Michael appeared only in some offence to reason or piety; he received his theatrical crowns from the statue of the Virgin; and an Imperial tomb was violated for the sake of burning the bones of Constantine the Iconoclast. By this extravagant conduct, the son of Theophilus became as contemptible as he was odious; every citizen was impatient for the deliverance of his country; and even the favourites of the moment were apprehensive that a caprice might snatch away what a caprice had bestowed. In the thirtieth year of his age, and in the hour of intoxication and sleep, Michael the Third was murdered in his chamber by the founder of a new dynasty, whom the emperor had raised to an equality of rank and power.

Basil I. the Macedonian. A.D. 867, Sept. 24

The genealogy of Basil the Macedonian (if it be not the spurious offspring of pride and flattery) exhibits a genuine picture of the revolution of the most illustrious families. The

Arsacides, the rivals of Rome, possessed the sceptre of the East near four hundred years: a younger branch of these Parthian kings continued to reign in Armenia; and their royal descendants survived the partition and servitude of that ancient monarchy.[35] Two of these, Artabanus and Chlienes, escaped or retired to the court of Leo the First; his bounty seated them in a safe and hospitable exile, in the province of Macedonia: Hadrianople was their final settlement. During several generations they maintained the dignity of their birth; and their Roman patriotism rejected the tempting offers of the Persian and Arabian powers, who recalled them to their native country. But their splendour was insensibly clouded by time and poverty; and the father of Basil was reduced to a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands. Yet he scorned to disgrace the blood of the Arsacides by a plebeian alliance: his wife, a widow of Hadrianople, was pleased to count among her ancestors the great Constantine; and their royal infant was connected by some dark affinity of lineage or country with the Macedonian Alexander. No sooner was he born than the cradle of Basil, his family, and his city, were swept away by an inundation of the Bulgarians; he was educated a slave in a foreign land; and in this severe discipline he acquired the hardiness of body and flexibility of mind which promoted his future elevation. In the age of youth or manhood he shared the deliverance of the Roman captives, who generously broke their fetters, marched through Bulgaria to the shores of the Euxine, defeated two armies of barbarians, embarked in the ships which had been stationed for their reception, and returned to Constantinople, from whence they were distributed to their respective homes. But the freedom of Basil was naked and destitute; his farm was ruined by the calamities of war; after his father's death, his manual labour or service could no longer support a family of orphans; and he resolved to seek a more conspicuous theatre, in which every virtue and every vice may lead to the paths of greatness. The first night of his arrival at Constantinople, without friends or money, the weary pilgrim slept on the steps of the church of St. Diomede; he was fed by the casual hospitality of a monk; and was introduced to the service of a cousin and namesake of the emperor Theophilus; who, though himself of a diminutive person, was always followed by a train of tall and handsome domestics. Basil attended his patron to the government of Peloponnesus; eclipsed, by his personal merit, the birth and dignity of Theophilus, and formed an useful connexion with a wealthy and charitable matron of Patras. Her spiritual or carnal love embraced the young adventurer, whom she adopted as her son. Danielis presented him with thirty slaves; and the produce of her bounty was expended in the support of his brothers and the purchase of some large estates in Macedonia. His gratitude or ambition still attached him to the service of Theophilus; and a lucky accident recommended him to the notice of the court. A famous wrestler, in the train of the Bulgarian ambassadors, had defied, at the royal banquet, the boldest and most robust of the Greeks. The strength of Basil was praised; he accepted the challenge; and the barbarian champion was overthrown at the first onset. A beautiful but vicious horse was condemned to be hamstrung; it was subdued by the dexterity and courage of the servant of Theophilus; and his conqueror was promoted to an honourable rank in the Imperial stables. But it was impossible to obtain the confidence of Michael, without complying with his vices; and his new favourite, the great chamberlain of the palace, was raised and supported by a disgraceful marriage with a royal concubine, and the dishonour of his sister, who succeeded to her place.[36] The public administration had been abandoned to the Cæsar Bardas,[37] the brother and enemy of Theodora; but the arts of female influence persuaded Michael to hate and to fear his uncle; he was drawn from Constantinople, under the pretext of a Cretan expedition, and stabbed in the tent of audience, by the sword of the chamberlain, and in the presence of the emperor. About a month after this execution, Basil was invested with the title of Augustus and the government of the empire. He supported this unequal association till his influence was fortified by popular esteem. His life was endangered by the caprice of the emperor; and his dignity was profaned by a second colleague, who had rowed in the galleys. Yet the murder of his benefactor must [A.D. 866 May 26] be condemned as an act of ingratitude and treason; and the churches which he dedicated to the name of St. Michael were a poor and puerile expiation of his guilt.

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[35] [The Armenian descent of Basil (on the father's side) is set beyond doubt by the notice in the Vita Euthymii (ed. de Boor, p. 2, cp. de Boor's remarks, p. 130-1), combined with the circumstance that a brother of Basil was named Symbatios. The settlement of Armenian families in Thrace by Constantine V. is attested by Theophanes, A.M. 6247; Nicephorus, p. 66. Cp. Rambaud, L'empire grec au dixième siècle, p. 147. Hamza of Ispahan states that Basil was a Slav, but there is no evidence to bear this out.]

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[36] [The concubine's name was Eudocia Ingerina, mother of Leo VI. The chronicles do not say that Basil's sister became Michael's concubine, but that Michael's sister Thecla became Basil's concubine. Cp. George Mon., p. 828, ed. Bonn.]

[37] [For Bardas, a man of great talent and no principle, see below, chap. liii.]

The different ages of Basil the First may be compared with those of Augustus. The situation of the Greek did not allow him in his earliest youth to lead an army against his country or to proscribe the noblest of her sons; but his aspiring genius stooped to the arts of a slave; he dissembled his ambition and even his virtues, and grasped with the bloody hand of an assassin the empire which he ruled with the wisdom and tenderness of a parent. A private citizen may feel his interest repugnant to his duty; but it must be from a deficiency of sense or courage that an absolute monarch can separate his happiness from his glory or his glory from the public welfare. The life or panegyric of Basil has, indeed, been composed and published under the long reign of his descendants; but even their stability on the throne may be justly ascribed to the superior merit of their ancestor. In his character, his grandson Constantine has attempted to delineate a perfect image of royalty; but that feeble prince, unless he had copied a real model, could not easily have soared so high above the level of his own conduct or conceptions. But the most solid praise of Basil is drawn from the comparison of a ruined and a flourishing monarchy, that which he wrested from the dissolute Michael, and that which he bequeathed to the Macedonian dynasty. The evils which had been sanctified by time and example were corrected by his master-hand; and he revived, if not the national spirit, at least the order and majesty of the Roman empire. His application was indefatigable, his temper cool, his understanding vigorous and decisive; and in his practice he observed that rare and salutary moderation, which pursues each virtue at an equal distance between the opposite vices. His military service had been confined to the palace; nor was the emperor endowed with the spirit or the talents of a warrior. Yet under his reign the Roman arms were again formidable to the barbarians. As soon as he had formed a new army by discipline and exercise, he appeared in person on the banks of the Euphrates, curbed the pride of the Saracens, and suppressed the dangerous though just revolt of the Manichæans.[38] His indignation against a rebel who had long eluded his pursuit provoked him to wish and to pray that, by the grace of God, he might drive three arrows into the head of Chrysochir. That odious head, which had been obtained by treason rather than by [A.D. 874] valour, was suspended from a tree, and thrice exposed to the dexterity of the Imperial archer: a base revenge against the dead, more worthy of the times than of the character of Basil. But his principal merit was in the civil administration of the finances and of the laws. To replenish an exhausted treasury, it was proposed to resume the lavish and ill-placed gifts of his predecessor: his prudence abated one moiety of the restitution; nd a sum of twelve hundred thousand pounds was instantly procured to answer the most pressing demands and to allow some space for the mature operations of economy. Among the various schemes for the improvement of the revenue, a new mode was suggested of capitation, or tribute, which would have too much depended on the arbitrary discretion of the assessors. A sufficient list of honest and able agents was instantly produced by the minister; but, on the more careful scrutiny of Basil himself, only two could be found who might be safely entrusted with such dangerous powers; and they justified his esteem by declining his confidence. But the serious and successful diligence of the emperor established by degrees an equitable balance of property and payment, of receipt and expenditure; a peculiar fund was appropriated to each service; and a public method secured the interest of the prince and the property of the people. After reforming the luxury, he assigned two patrimonial estates to supply the decent plenty, of the Imperial table; the contributions of the subject were reserved for his defence; and the residue was employed in the embellishment of the capital and provinces. A taste for building, however costly, may deserve some praise and much excuse; from thence industry is fed, art is encouraged, and some object is attained of public emolument or pleasure; the use of a road, an aqueduct, or an hospital is obvious and solid; and the hundred churches that arose by the command of Basil were consecrated to the devotion of the age. In the character of a judge, he was assiduous and impartial, desirous to save, but not afraid to strike; the oppressors of the people were severely chastised; but his personal foes, whom it might be unsafe to pardon, were condemned, after the loss of their eyes, to a life of solitude and repentance. The change of language and manners demanded a revision of the obsolete jurisprudence of Justinian; the voluminous body of his Institutes, Pandects, Code, and Novels was digested under forty titles, in the Greek idiom; and the *Basilics*, which were improved and completed by his son and grandson, must be referred to the original genius of the founder of their race.[39] This glorious reign was terminated by an accident in the chase. A furious stag entangled his horns in the belt of Basil, and raised him from his horse; he was rescued by an attendant, who cut the belt and slew the animal; but the fall, or the fever, exhausted the strength of the aged monarch, and he expired in the palace, amidst the tears of his family and people.[40] If he struck off the head of the faithful servant, for presuming to draw his sword against his sovereign, the pride of despotism, which had lain dormant in his life, revived in the last moments of despair, when he no longer wanted or valued the opinion of mankind.

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[38] [For the rebellion of the Paulicians under Carbeas and Chrysochir, see below, chap. liv.]

[Aug. 20]

[Aug. 29, A.D. 886]

Leo VI. the Philosopher. A.D. 886, March 1 [Aug. 29]

Of the four sons of the emperor, Constantine died before his father, whose grief and credulity were amused by a flattering impostor and a vain apparition. Stephen, the youngest, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a saint; both Leo and Alexander were alike invested with the purple, but the powers of government were solely exercised by the elder brother. The name of Leo VI.[41] has been dignified with the title of *philosopher;* and the union of the prince and the sage, of the active and speculative virtues, would indeed constitute the perfection of human nature. But the claims of Leo are far short of this ideal excellence. Did he reduce his passions and appetites under the dominion of reason? His life was spent in the pomp of the palace, in the society of his wives and concubines; and even the clemency which he shewed, and the peace which he strove to preserve, must be imputed to the softness and indolence of his character. Did he subdue his prejudices, and those of his subjects? His mind was tinged with the most puerile superstition; the influence of the clergy and the errors of the people were consecrated by his laws; and the oracles of Leo, which reveal, in prophetic style, the fates of the empire, are founded on the arts of astrology and divination. If we still inquire the reason of his sage appellation, it can only be replied that the son of Basil was less ignorant than the greater part of his contemporaries in church and state; that his education had been directed by the learned Photius;[42] and that several books of profane and ecclesiastical science were composed by the pen, or in the name, of the Imperial *philosopher*. But the reputation of his philosophy and religion was overthrown by a domestic vice, the repetition of his nuptials. The primitive ideas of the merit and holiness of celibacy were preached by the monks and entertained by the Greeks. Marriage was allowed as a necessary means for the propagation of mankind; after the death of either party, the survivor might satisfy, by a *second* union, the weakness or the strength of the flesh; but a *third* marriage was censured as a state of legal fornication; and a *fourth* was a sin or scandal as yet unknown to the Christians of the East. In the beginning of his reign, Leo himself had abolished the state of concubines, and condemned, without annulling, third marriages; but his patriotism and love soon compelled him to violate his own laws, and to incur the penance which, in a similar case, he had imposed on his subjects. In his three first alliances, his nuptial bed was unfruitful;[43] the emperor required a female companion, and the empire a legitimate heir. The beautiful Zoe was introduced into the palace as a concubine; and, after a trial of her fecundity and the birth of Constantine, her lover declared his intention of legitimating the mother and the child by the celebration of his fourth nuptials. But the patriarch Nicholas refused his blessing; the Imperial baptism [Jan. 6, A.D. 906] of the young prince was obtained by a promise of separation; and the contumacious husband of Zoe was excluded from the communion of the faithful. Neither the fear of exile, nor the desertion of his brethren, nor the authority of the Latin church, nor the danger of failure or doubt in the succession to the empire, could bend the spirit of the inflexible monk. After the death of Leo, he was recalled from exile to the civil and ecclesiastical administration; and the edict of union which was promulgated in the name of Constantine condemned the future scandal of fourth marriages and left a tacit imputation on his own birth.

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[39] [See Appendix 11. For affairs in Italy, see chap. lvi.]

[40] [He died on 29th August, not in March. See Muralt, Essai de Chron. byzant., p. 466. Nine days elapsed between the accident and his death; Vita Euthymii, c. 1, § 16.]

[41] [Leo was a pedant. He reminds us of the Emperor Claudius and James I. of England. For the first ten years of his reign, his chief minister and adviser was Stylianus Zautzes—like Basil, a "Macedonian" of Armenian descent—to whom Basil on his deathbed committed the charge of the state (Vita Euthymii, c. 1, § 18). He received the title of *Basileopator* (A.D. 894), died two years later. His daughter Zoe was the second wife of Leo (A.D. 894-6). For the Bulgarian Tsar Simeon, the most formidable neighbour of the empire at this time, see chap. lv. The most striking calamity of Leo's reign was the descent of the renegade Leo of (the Syrian) Tripolis with a fleet of Mohammadan pirates on Thessalonica; 22,000 captives were carried off (A.D. 904). The episode has been described in full detail by John Cameniates (ed. Bonn, Script. post Theoph., p. 487 *sqq.*). See Finlay, ii., 267 *sqq.* The reign of Leo has been fully treated in a Russian monograph by N. Popov (Imperator Lev vi Mudri, 1892).]

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[42] [For the Patriarch Photius see below, chap. liii. He was deposed by Leo, and the Patriarchate given to the Emperor's brother Stephen.]

[43] [Leo married (1) Theophano, who died 892; (2) Zoe, who died 896; (3) Eudocia Baianê, who died 900; (4) Zoe Carbonupsina. The Patriarch, Nicolaus Mysticus, who opposed the fourth marriage, was banished in February 907, and succeeded by Euthymius, who complied with the Emperor's wishes. This Euthymius (whose biography, edited by de Boor, is an important source for the reign of Leo) was a man of independent character, and had been previously banished for opposing the marriage with the *second* Zoe. On the marriage laws cp. Appendix 11.]

[A.D. 912]

[A.D. 920]

Alexander, Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus. A.D. 911, May 11

In the Greek language *purple* and *porphyry* are the same word; and, as the colours of nature are invariable, we may learn that a dark deep red was the Tyrian dye which stained the purple of the ancients. An apartment of the Byzantine palace was lined with porphyry; it was reserved for the use of the pregnant empresses; and the royal birth of their children was expressed by the appellation of *porphyrogenite*, or born in the purple. Several of the Roman princes had been blessed with an heir; but this peculiar surname was first applied to Constantine the Seventh. His life and titular reign were of equal duration; but of fifty-four years six had elapsed before his father's death; and the son of Leo was ever the voluntary or reluctant subject of those who oppressed his weakness or abused his confidence. His uncle Alexander, who had long been invested with the title of Augustus, was the first colleague and governor of the young prince; but, in a rapid career of vice and folly, the brother of Leo already emulated the reputation of Michael; and, when he was extinguished by a timely death, he entertained the project of castrating his nephew and leaving the empire to a worthless favourite. The succeeding years of the minority of Constantine were occupied by his mother Zoe, and a succession or council of seven regents,[44] who pursued their interests, gratified their passions, abandoned the republic, supplanted each other, and finally vanished in the presence of a soldier. From an obscure origin, Romanus Lecapenus had raised himself to the command of the naval armies; and in the anarchy of the times had deserved, or at least had obtained, the national esteem. With a victorious and affectionate fleet, he sailed from the mouth of the Danube into the harbour of Constantinople, and was hailed as the deliverer of the people and the guardian of the prince. His supreme office was at first defined by the new appellation of father of the emperor,[45] but Romanus soon dis-

[Death of Alexander. June 6, A.D. 913]

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[44] [The most important and capable of the regents was John Eladas.]

[45] [Romanus was made great *Hetaeriarch* (captain of the foreign guards) on March 25; *Basileopator*, April 27; *Caesar*, Sept. 24; *Augustus*, Dec. 17 (Theoph. Contin., p. 393-7, ed. Bonn).]

Romanus I. Lecapenus. A.D. 919, Dec. 24 [17]

Christopher [A.D. 921], Stephen, Constantine VIII. [A.D. 924]

dained the subordinate powers of a minister, and assumed, with the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, the full independence of royalty, which he held near five and twenty years. His three sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine, were successively adorned with the same honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the first to the fifth rank in this college of princes. Yet, in the preservation of his life and crown, he might still applaud his own fortune and the clemency of the usurper. The examples of ancient and modern history would have excused the ambition of Romanus; the powers and the laws of the empire were in his hand; the spurious birth of Constantine would have justified his exclusion; and the grave or the monastery was open to receive the son of the concubine. But Lecapenus does not appear to have possessed either the virtues or the vices of a tyrant.[46] The spirit and activity of his private life dissolved away in the sunshine of the throne; and in his licentious pleasures he forgot the safety both of the republic and of his family. Of a mild and religious character, he respected the sanctity of oaths, the innocence of the youth, the memory of his parents, and the attachment of the people. The studious temper and retirement of Constantine disarmed the jealousy of power; his books and music, his pen and his pencil, were a constant source of amusement; and, if he could improve a scanty allowance by the sale of his pictures, if their price was not enhanced by the name of the artist, he was endowed with a personal talent which few princes could employ in the hour of adversity.

Constantine VII. A.D. 945 Jan. 27

The fall of Romanus was occasioned by his own vices and those of his children. After the decease of Christopher, his eldest son, the two surviving brothers quarrelled with each other, and conspired against their father. At the hour of noon, when all strangers were regularly excluded from the palace, they entered his apartment with an armed force, and conveyed him, in the habit of a monk, to a small island in the Propontis, which was peopled by a religious community. The rumour of this domestic revolution excited a tumult in the city; but Porphyrogenitus alone, the true and lawful emperor, was the object of the public care; and the sons of Lecapenus were taught, by tardy experience, that they had achieved a guilty and perilous enterprise for the benefit of their rival. Their sister Helena, the wife of Constantine, revealed, or supposed, their treacherous design of assassinating her husband at the royal banquet. His loyal adherents were alarmed; and the two usurpers were prevented, seized, degraded from the purple, and embarked for the same island and monastery where their father had been so lately confined. Old Romanus met them on the beach with a sarcastic smile, and, after a just reproach of their folly and ingratitude, presented his Imperial colleagues with an equal share of his water and vegetable diet. In the fortieth year of his reign, Constantine the Seventh obtained the possession of the Eastern world, which he ruled, or seemed to rule, near fifteen years. But he was devoid of that energy of character which could emerge into a life of action and glory; and the studies which had amused and dignified his leisure were incompatible with the serious duties of a sovereign.[47] The emperor neglected the practice, to instruct his son Romanus in the theory, of government; while he indulged the habits of intemperance and sloth, he dropt the reins of administration into the hands of Helena his wife; [48] and, in the shifting scene of her favour and caprice, each minister was regretted in the promotion of a more worthless successor. Yet the birth and misfortunes of Constantine had endeared him to the Greeks; they excused his failings; they respected his learning, his innocence and charity, his love of justice; and the ceremony of his funeral was mourned with the unfeigned tears of his subjects. The body, according to ancient custom, lay in state in the vestibule of the palace; and the civil and military officers, the patricians, the senate, and the clergy, approached in due order to adore and kiss the inanimate corpse of their sovereign. Before the procession moved towards the Imperial sepulchre, an

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[46] [Both Gibbon and Finlay seem to have done some injustice to Romanus in representing him as weak. He showed strength in remorselessly carrying out his policy of founding a Lecapenian dynasty; it was frustrated through an unexpected blow. In foreign politics and war, he was on the whole successful; and he kept down the dangerous elements, within the empire, which threatened his throne. Of great interest and significance is his law of A.D. 935, by which he attempted to put a stop to the growth of the enormous estates, which, especially in Asia Minor, were gradually absorbing the small proprietors and ruining agriculture. These *latifundia*, which increased in spite of all legislation, were an economical evil, a political danger, and even injured the army, as the provision for soldiers largely consisted in inalienable lands, and these were swallowed up by the rich landed lords. See the novel of Romanus in Zachariä von Lingenthal, Jus Græco-Romanum, iii. p. 242 *sqq.*; and cp. the further legislation of Constantine vii. (*ib.* p. 252 *sqq.*), A.D. 947, who found that notwithstanding the prohibition of Romanus "the greater part of the magnates did not abstain from bargains most ruinous to the poor with whom they dealt". Cp. Appendix 11.]

[A.D. 944, Dec. 16]

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[47] [On Constantine and his literary works, see further chap. liii.]

[48] [The military support of Constantine was Bardas Phocas and his three sons, Nicephorus, Leo, and Constantine.]

herald proclaimed this awful admonition : "Arise, O king of the world, and obey the summons of the King of kings ! "

Romanus II. junior. A.D. 959, Nov. 15 [9]

The death of Constantine was imputed to poison ; and his son Romanus, who derived that name from his maternal grandfather, ascended the throne of Constantinople. A prince who, at the age of twenty, could be suspected of anticipating his inheritance must have been already lost in the public esteem ; yet Romanus was rather weak than wicked ; and the largest share of the guilt was transferred to his wife, Theophano, a woman of base origin, masculine spirit, and flagitious manners. The sense of personal glory and public happiness, the true pleasures of royalty, were unknown to the son of Constantine ; and, while the two brothers, Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens, the hours which the emperor owed to his people were consumed in strenuous idleness. In the morning he visited the circus ; at noon he feasted the senators ; the greater part of the afternoon he spent in the *sphæristerium,* or tennis-court, the only theatre of his victories ; from thence he passed over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, hunted and killed four wild boars of the largest size, and returned to the palace, proudly content with the labours of the day. In strength and beauty he was conspicuous above his equals ; tall and straight as a young cypress, his complexion was fair and florid, his eyes sparkling, his shoulders broad, his nose long and aquiline. Yet even these perfections were insufficient to fix the love of Theophano ; and, after a reign of four years, she mingled for her husband the same deadly draught which she had composed for his father.

[March 15, A.D. 963]

Nicephorus II. Phocas. A.D. 963, August 6 [16]

By his marriage with this impious woman, Romanus the younger left two sons, Basil the Second, and Constantine the Ninth, and two daughters, Theophano and Anne. The eldest sister was given to Otho the Second,[49] emperor of the West ; the younger became the wife of Wolodomir, great duke and apostle of Russia ; and, by the marriage of her grand-daughter with Henry the First, king of France, the blood of the Macedonians, and perhaps of the Arsacides, still flows in the veins of the Bourbon line. After the death of her husband, the empress aspired to reign in the name of her sons, the elder of whom was five, and the younger only two, years of age; but she soon felt the instability of a throne, which was supported by a female who could not be esteemed, and two infants who could not be feared. Theophano looked around for a protector, and threw herself into the arms of the bravest soldier; her heart was capricious; but the deformity of the new favourite rendered it more than probable that interest was the motive and excuse of her love. Nicephorus Phocas[50] united, in the popular opinion, the double merit of an hero and a saint. In the former character, his qualifications were genuine and splendid: the descendant of a race, illustrious by their military exploits, he had displayed, in every station and in every province, the courage of a soldier and the conduct of a chief; and Nicephorus [A.D. 961] was crowned with recent laurels from the important conquest of the isle of Crete.[51] His religion was of a more ambiguous cast; and his hair-cloth, his fasts, his pious idiom, and his wish to retire from the business of the world, were a convenient mask for his dark and dangerous ambition.[52] Yet he imposed on an holy patriarch, by whose influence, and by a decree of the senate, he was entrusted, during the minority of the young princes, with the absolute and independent command of the Oriental armies. As soon as he had secured the leaders and the troops, he boldly marched to Constantinople, trampled on his enemies, avowed his correspondence with the empress, and, without degrading her sons, assumed, with the title of Augustus, the pre-eminence of rank and the plenitude of power. But his marriage with Theophano was refused by the same patriarch who had placed the crown on his head; by his second nuptials he incurred a year of canonical penance; a bar of spiritual affinity was opposed to their celebration; and some evasion and perjury were required to silence the scruples of the clergy and people. The popularity of the emperor was lost in the purple; in a reign of six years he provoked the hatred of strangers and subjects; and the hypocrisy and avarice of the first Nicephorus were revived in his successor. Hypocrisy I shall never justify or palliate; but I will dare to observe that the odious vice of avarice is of all others most hastily arraigned and most unmercifully condemned. In a private citizen, our judgment seldom expects an accurate scrutiny into his fortune and expense; and, in a steward of the public treasure, frugality is always a virtue, and the increase of taxes too often an indispensable duty. In the use of his patrimony, the generous temper of Nicephorus had been proved; and the revenue was strictly applied to the service of the state: each spring the emperor marched in person against the Saracens; and every Roman might compute the employment of his taxes n triumphs, conquests, and the security of the Eastern barrier.

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[49] [There can be little doubt that Theophano the wife of Otto II. was really the daughter of Romanus and sister of Basil II. (not another lady palmed off upon the Emperor of the West), notwithstanding Thietmar (the historian of the Emperor Henry II.), Chron. ii. 15, and the silence of the Greek authorities. (Cp. J. Moltmann, Theophano Die Gemahlin Ottos ii., 1878 ; Giesebrecht, Gesch. der deutschen Kaiserzeit, i. 844 ; Schlumberger, L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle, p. 193-4.) Moltmann, followed by Giesebrecht, argued against the genuineness of Theophano. She was refused to Otto by Nicephorus, but granted by John Tzimisces, who became her step-uncle by marriage with the sister of Romanus.]

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[50] [The chief work on Nicephorus is M. G. Schlumberger's Un empereur byzantine au dixième siècle; Nicéphore Phocas, 1890; a fine work, which he has continued in his L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle, 1897, which covers the reign of Tzimisces and the first thirteen years of Basil II.]

[51] [For the Saracen wars of Nicephorus, see chap. lii. ad. fin. He had also won triumphs in Cilicia and Syria (A.D. 962) before his accession.]

[52] [Though Nicephorus, as has been said, lived only for his army, yet throughout all his life he had a hankering after the cloister. His intimacy with Athanasius, the founder of the Great Laura on Mount Athos, is an interesting episode in his life; it is attractively told by M. Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, chap. vi. But for Nicephorus, the Laura would never have been founded. It is at this period that the monastic settlements of Mount Athos come into prominence. The earliest mention of monks (anchorites; not in monasteries) on the Holy Mount is found in Genesius, referring to the time of Basil I. (p. 82, ed. Bonn). The first clear picture of the monastic constitution of Athos is found in the Typikon of John Tzimisces, A.D. 972 (P. Meyer, Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster, p. 141 *sqq.*).]

John Zimisces, Basil II. Constantine IX. A.D. 969, Dec. 25

Among the warriors who promoted his elevation and served under his standard, a noble and valiant Armenian had deserved and obtained the most eminent rewards. The stature of John Zimisces was below the ordinary standard; but this diminutive body was endowed with strength, beauty, and the soul of an hero. By the jealousy of the emperor's brother, he was degraded from the office of general of the East to that of director of the posts, and his murmurs were chastised with disgrace and exile. But Zimisces was ranked among the numerous lovers of the empress; on her intercession, he was permitted to reside at Chalcedon, in the neighbourhood of the capital; her bounty was repaid in his clandestine and amorous visits to the palace; and Theophano consented with alacrity to the death of an ugly and penurious husband. Some bold and trusty conspirators were concealed in her most private chambers; in the darkness of a winter night, Zimisces, with his principal companions, embarked in a small boat, traversed the Bosphorus, landed at the palace stairs, and silently ascended a ladder of ropes, which was cast down by the female attendants. Neither his own suspicions, nor the warnings of his friends, nor the tardy aid of his brother Leo, nor the fortress which he had erected in the palace, could protect Nicephorus from a domestic foe, at whose voice every door was opened to the assassins. As he slept on a

[Dec. 10, A.D. 969]

bear-skin on the ground, he was roused by their noisy intrusion, and thirty daggers glittered before his eyes. It is doubtful whether Zimisces imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign; but he enjoyed the inhuman spectacle of revenge. The murder was protracted by insult and cruelty; and, as soon as the head of Nicephorus was shewn from the window, the tumult was hushed and the Armenian was emperor of the East. On the day of his coronation, he was stopped on the threshold of St. Sophia, by the intrepid patriarch; who charged his conscience with the deed of treason and blood, and required, as a sign of repentance, that he should separate himself from his more criminal associate. This sally of apostolic zeal was not offensive to the prince, since he could neither love nor trust a woman who had repeatedly violated the most sacred obligations; and Theophano, instead of sharing his Imperial fortune, was dismissed with ignominy from his bed and palace.[53] In their last interview, she displayed a frantic and impotent rage; accused the ingratitude of her lover; assaulted with words and blows her son Basil, as he stood silent and submissive in the presence of a superior colleague; and avowed her own prostitution, in proclaiming the illegitimacy of his birth. The public indignation was appeased by her exile and the punishment of the meaner accomplices; the death of an unpopular prince was forgiven; and the guilt of Zimisces was forgotten in the splendour of his virtues.[54] Perhaps his profusion was less useful to the state than the avarice of Nicephorus; but his gentle and generous behaviour delighted all who approached his person; and it was only in the paths of victory that he trod in the footsteps of his predecessor. The greatest part of his reign was employed in the camp and the field; his personal valour and activity was signalised on the Danube and the Tigris, [A.D. 970-4 and 972-6] the ancient boundaries of the Roman world; and by his double triumph over the Russians and the Saracens he deserved the titles of saviour of the empire and conqueror of the East.[55] In his last return from Syria, he observed that the most fruitful lands of his new provinces were possessed by the eunuchs.[56] "And is it for them," he exclaimed, with honest indignation, "that we have fought and conquered? Is it for them that we shed our blood and exhaust the treasures of our people?"[57] The complaint was re-echoed to the palace, and the death of Zimisces is strongly marked with the suspicion of poison.

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[53] [The dismissal of Theophano was demanded by morality and religion, but it was the least important part of the bargain between the Emperor and the Patriarch Polyeuctus. The price that Tzimisces really paid for his coronation was the abrogation of the Novel of Nicephorus Phocas, which ordained that no ecclesiastical decision, no promotion or nomination, could be made by the bishops without the Imperial consent. In his description of the last interview, Gibbon wrongly makes Theophano assault her son; it was the chamberlain Basil (cp. below, n. 56 whom she assaulted.]

[54] [The position of Nicephorus and Tzimisces reminds us of the Merovingia majordomate. Finlay observes that they were both "men of nobler minds tha the nobles around them, for both respected the rights and persons of their ward and legitimate princes, Basil and Constantine, and contented themselves wit the post of prime minister and the rank of emperor". Romanus I., who held a similar position, had attempted to play the part of Pippin and failed.]

Basil II. and Constantine IX. A.D. 976 Jan. 10

[Basil]

Under this usurpation, or regency, of twelve years, the two lawful emperors, Basil and Constantine, had silently grown to the age of manhood. Their tender years had been incapable of dominion; the respectful modesty of their attendance and salutation was due to the age and merit of their guardians; the childless ambition of those guardians had no temptation to violate their right of succession; their patrimony was ably and faithfully administered; and the premature death of Zimisces was a loss, rather than a benefit, to the sons of Romanus. Their want of experience detained them twelve years longer the obscure and voluntary pupils of a minister, who extended his reign by persuading them to indulge the pleasures of youth and to disdain the labours of government. In this silken web, the weakness of Constantine was for ever entangled; but his elder brother felt the impulse of genius and the desire of action; he frowned, and the minister was no more. Basil was the acknowledged sovereign of Constantinople and the provinces of Europe; but Asia was oppressed by two veteran generals, Phocas and Sclerus, who, alternately friends and enemies, subjects and rebels, maintained their independence, and laboured to emulate the example of successful usurpation.[58] Against these domestic enemies, the son of Romanus first drew his sword, and they trembled in the presence of a lawful and high-spirited prince. The first, in the front of battle, was thrown from his horse, by the stroke of poison or an arrow; the second, who had been twice loaded with chains, and twice invested with the purple, was desirous of ending in peace the small remainder of his days. [April, A.D. 989] As the aged suppliant approached the throne, with dim eyes and faltering steps, leaning on his two attendants, the emperor exclaimed, in the insolence of youth and power, "And is this the man who has so long been the object of our terror?" After he had confirmed his own authority[59] and the peace of the empire, the trophies of Nicephorus and Zimisces would not suffer their royal pupil to sleep in the palace. His long and frequent expeditions against the Saracens were rather glorious than useful to the empire; but the final destruction of the [A.D. 1018] kingdom of Bulgaria appears, since the time of Belisarius, the most important triumph of the Roman arms.[60] Yet, instead of applauding their victorious prince, his subjects detested the rapacious and rigid avarice of Basil; and in the imperfect narrative of his exploits, we can only discern the courage, patience, and ferociousness of a soldier. A vicious education, which could not subdue his spirit, had clouded his mind; he was ignorant of every science; and the remembrance of his learned and feeble grandsire might encourage a real or affected contempt of laws and lawyers, of artists and arts. Of such a character, in such an age, superstition took a firm and lasting possession; after the first licence of his youth, Basil the Second devoted his life, in the palace and the camp, to the penance of an hermit, wore the monastic habit under his robes and armour, observed a vow of continence, and imposed on his appetites a perpetual abstinence from wine and flesh. In the sixty-eighth year of his age, his martial spirit urged him to embark in person for a holy war against the Saracens of Sicily; he was prevented by death; and Basil, surnamed the Slayer of the Bulgarians, was dismissed from the world with the blessings of the clergy and the curses of the people. After his decease, his brother Constantine enjoyed, about three years, the power, or rather the pleasures, of royalty; and his only care was the settlement of the succession. He had enjoyed, sixty-six years, the title of Augustus; and the reign of the two brothers is the longest and most obscure of the Byzantine history.

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[55] [For the great Russian triumph of Tzimisces, which gave Bulgaria into his hands, see chap. lv.; for his Saracen campaigns, chap. lii.]

[56] [The chamberlain Basil, to whom Tzimisces had entrusted the conduct of the military administration, and who practically ruled the empire after the death of Tzimisces, before Basil II. reached maturity. This eunuch was a bastard son of Romanus Lecapenus, and was a man of majestic and imposing presence, and great ability. His father had made him commander of the foreign guard, and grand chamberlain (Parakœmomenos); and he had won a victory over the Saracens in A.D. 958. He played a leading part in the revolution which placed Nicephorus on the throne, and had been appointed by him "President of the Senate," an office established for the first time. But he did not like Nicephorus, who gave him perhaps too little voice in the administration. An opportune indisposition confined him to his bed at the time of that Emperor's assassination, but when he heard the news he lost no time in joining Tzimisces, who seems to have placed himself in the hands of the experienced statesman.]

[57] [This incident illustrates an evil already mentioned above, n. 46, and more fully discussed in Appendix 11, the growth in the Asiatic provinces of enormous estates devoted to pasturage, which were ruining the small farmers and the agriculture, and transforming the provinces into feudal domains of a few powerful magnates. Both Nicephorus and Tzimisces were fully alive to the evil.]

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[58] [Bardas Sclerus very nearly achieved his design of succeeding to the place of Tzimisces. His rebellion was not aimed at the young Emperors, but at the power of the eunuch Basil, who had consigned him to an honourable banishment as Duke of the frontier theme of Mesopotamia. Very popular with the army, Sclerus carried everything before him in Asia, where he had the support of many of the great landed proprietors, and was also succoured by neighbouring Saracen armies and the bandits of the frontier mountains. He defeated the Imperial general Peter Phocas at Bukulithos (somewhere between Lycandus and Arabissus), and then close to Lycandus (A.D. 976). He also won command of the sea (A.D. 977), but in the following year his fleet was annihilated. But he took Nicaea and threatened the capital. In this extremity his rival Bardas Phocas, who had rebelled against Tzimisces and having been subdued by this same Sclerus was banished to Chios, was recalled from exile and placed at the head of an army. But Sclerus defeated him in two great battles, in the plain of Pankalia, on the banks of the Sangarius, and at Basilike Therma, A.D. 978. Next year, however, help supplied by the Iberian prince David enabled Phocas to crush the rebellion in the second battle of Pankalia (March 24, A.D. 979). During the next eight years Phocas was commander-in-chief of the army, while Sclerus who had fled to the Moslems remained a captive at Bagdad. In A.D. 987, Phocas rebelled, and the Saracens sent against him, as a second pretender, Bardas Sclerus at the head of an army of deserters. Phocas took him prisoner, subjugated Asia Minor, but was defeated (April 989) by the marvellous energy of Basil II. with the help of the Roman auxiliaries furnished by Vladimir of Kiev, who was shortly to become his brother-in-law. The best account of these interesting episodes will be found in Schlumberger's L'épopée byzantine, &c., chaps. vi., vii., xi.]

[59] [Basil completed the assertion of his own authority by banishing his namesake the eunuch in A.D. 989.]

[60] [See chap. lv.]

Constantine IX. [VIII.]. A.D. 1025, December

Romanus III Argyrus. A.D. 1028, Nov. 12

A lineal succession of five emperors, in a period of one hundred and sixty years, had attached the loyalty of the Greeks to the Macedonian dynasty, which had been thrice respected by the usurpers of their power. After the death of Constantine IX., the last male of the royal race, a new and broken scene presents itself, and the accumulated years of twelve emperors do not equal the space of his single reign. His elder brother had preferred his private chastity to the public interest, and Constantine himself had only three daughters: Eudocia, who took the veil, and Zoe and Theodora, who were preserved till a mature age in a state of ignorance and virginity. When their marriage was discussed in the council of their dying father, the cold or pious Theodora refused to give an heir to the empire, but her sister Zoe presented herself a willing victim at the altar. Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of a graceful person and fair reputation, was chosen for her husband, and, on his declining that honour, was informed that blindness or death was the second alternative. The motive of his reluctance was conjugal affection, but his faithful wife sacrificed her own happiness to his safety and greatness; and her entrance into a monastery removed the only bar to the Imperial nuptials. After the decease of Constantine, the sceptre devolved to Romanus the Third; but his labours at home and abroad were equally feeble and fruitless; and the mature age, the forty-eight years of Zoe, were less favourable to the hopes of pregnancy than to the indulgence of pleasure. Her favourite chamberlain was an handsome Paphlagonian of the name of Michael, whose first trade had been that of a money-changer; and Romanus, either from gratitude or equity, connived at their criminal intercourse, or accepted a slight assurance of their innocence. But Zoe soon justified the Roman maxim that every adulteress is capable of poisoning her husband; and the death of Romanus was instantly followed by the scandalous marriage and elevation of Michael the Fourth. The expectations of Zoe were however disappointed: instead of a vigorous and grateful lover, she had placed in her bed a miserable wretch, whose health and reason were impaired by epileptic fits, and whose conscience was tormented by despair and remorse. The most skilful physicians of the mind and body were summoned to his aid; and his hopes were amused by frequent pilgrimages to the baths, and to the tombs of the most popular saints; the monks applauded his penance, and, except restitution (but to whom should he have restored?), Michael sought every method of expiating his guilt. While he groaned and prayed in sackcloth and ashes, his brother, the eunuch John, smiled at his remorse, and enjoyed the harvest of a crime of which himself was the secret and most guilty author. His administration was only the art of satiating his avarice,[61] and Zoe became a captive in the palace of her fathers and in the hands of her slaves. When he perceived the irretrievable decline of his brother's health, he introduced his nephew, another Michael, who derived his surname of Calaphates from his father's occupation in the careening of vessels; at the command of the eunuch, Zoe adopted for her son the son of a mechanic; and this fictitious heir was invested with the title and purple of the Cæsars, in the presence of the senate and clergy. So feeble was the character of Zoe that she was oppressed by the liberty and power which she recovered by the death of the Paphlagonian;

Michael IV. the Paphlagonian. A.D. 1034 April 11

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[61] [Gibbon, like most historians, is unjust to these Paphlagonians, who, if greedy adventurers, were all competent men. The reign of Michael IV. was distinguished by a temporary recovery of the western coast of Sicily (A.D. 1039-42) through the ability of the great general George Maniaces (see below, chap. lvi.). The government had to meet the danger of a rebellion of the Bulgarian Slavs of Macedonia under Peter Deljan. This was put down; but Servia rose under Stephen Bogislav and successfully asserted its independence (A.D. 1040).]

Michael V. Calaphates A.D. 1041, Dec. 14

[A.D. 1042, April 18]

Zoe and Theodora. A.D. 1042, April 21

Constantine and Monomachus [IX.]. A.D. 1042, June 11

and, at the end of four days, she placed the crown on the head of Michael the Fifth, who had protested, with tears and oaths, that he should ever reign the first and most obedient of her subjects. The only act of his short reign was his base ingratitude to his benefactors, the eunuch and the empress. The disgrace of the former was pleasing to the public; but the murmurs, and at length the clamours, of Constantinople deplored the exile of Zoe, the daughter of so many emperors; her vices were forgotten, and Michael was taught that there is a period in which the patience of the tamest slaves rises into fury and revenge. The citizens of every degree assembled in a formidable tumult, which lasted three days; they besieged the palace, forced the gates, recalled their *mothers*, Zoe from her prison, Theodora from her monastery, and condemned the son of Calaphates to the loss of his eyes or of his life. For the first time, the Greeks beheld with surprise the two royal sisters seated on the same throne, presiding in the senate, and giving audience to the ambassadors of the nations. But this singular union subsisted no more than two months; the two sovereigns, their tempers, interests, and adherents, were secretly hostile to each other; and, as Theodora was still adverse to marriage, the indefatigable Zoe, at the age of sixty, consented, for the public good, to sustain the embraces of a third husband, and the censures of the Greek church.[62] His name and number were Constantine the Tenth, and the epithet of *Monomachus*, the single combatant, must have been expressive of his valour and victory in some public or private quarrel.[63] But his health was broken by the tortures of the gout, and his dissolute reign was spent in the alternative of sickness and pleasure. A fair and noble widow had accompanied Constantine in his exile to the isle of Lesbos, and Sclerena gloried in the appellation of his mistress. After his marriage and elevation, she was invested with the title and pomp of *Augusta*, and occupied a contiguous apartment in the palace. The lawful consort (such was the delicacy or corruption

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[62] [Much new material for the scandals and intrigues of the court under the régimes of Zoe and Theodora, and the emperors who were elevated through them, has been revealed in the contemporary History of Psellus (Sathas, Bibl. Gr. Med. Aev., iv.; see Appendix 1). See Bury, Roman Emperors from Basil II. to Isaac Komnênos, in Eng. Hist. Rev. 4, p. 41 *sqq.*, and 251 *sqq.* (1889). The chief events of the reign of Constantine IX. were the revolt of Leon Tornikios (which is the subject of a special monograph by R. Schütte, 1896), an invasion of the Patzinaks, the final schism of the Greek and Latin Churches (see below, chap. lx.), and the incorporation of Armenia in the Empire. For the foundation of a school of jurisprudence see Appendix 11.]

[63] [Monomachus was a surname of the family; it had no personal application to Constantine. See Psellus, Hist., p. 110, ed. Sathas.]

Theodora. A.D. 1054, Nov. 30

Michael VI. Stratioticus. A.D. 1056, Aug. 22 [30]

of Zoe) consented to this strange and scandalous partition; and the emperor appeared in public between his wife and his concubine. He survived them both; but the last measures of Constantine to change the order of succession were prevented by the more vigilant friends of Theodora; and, after his decease, she resumed, with the general consent, the possession of her inheritance. In her name, and by the influence of four eunuchs, the Eastern world was peaceably governed about nineteen months; and, as they wished to prolong their dominion, they persuaded the aged princess to nominate for her successor Michael the Sixth. The surname of *Stratioticus* declares his military profession; but the crazy and decrepit veteran could only see with the eyes, and execute with the hands, of his ministers. Whilst he ascended the throne, Theodora sunk into the grave, the last of the Macedonian or Basilian dynasty. I have hastily reviewed, and gladly dismiss, this shameful and destructive period of twenty-eight years, in which the Greeks, degraded below the common level of servitude, were transferred like a herd of cattle by the choice or caprice of two impotent females.

Isaac I. Comnenus. A.D. 1057, Aug. 31

From this night of slavery, a ray of freedom, or at least of spirit, begins to emerge: the Greeks either preserved or revived the use of surnames, which perpetuate the fame of hereditary virtue; and we now discern the rise, succession, and alliances of the last dynasties of Constantinople and Trebizond. The *Comneni*, who upheld for a while the fate of the sinking empire, assumed the honour of a Roman origin; but the family had been long since transported from Italy to Asia. Their patrimonial estate was situate in the district of Castamona in the neighbourhood of the Euxine; and one of their chiefs, wh had already entered the paths of ambition, revisited with affection, perhaps with regret, the modest though honourabl dwelling of his fathers. The first of their line was the illustriou Manuel, who, in the reign of the second Basil, contributed b war and treaty to appease the troubles of the East; he left i a tender age two sons, Isaac and John, whom, with the consciousness of desert, he bequeathed to the gratitude and favou of his sovereign. The noble youths were carefully trained i the learning of the monastery, the arts of the palace, and th exercises of the camp; and from the domestic service of th guards they were rapidly promoted to the command of province and armies. Their fraternal union doubled the force and reputaton of the Comneni, and their ancient nobility was illustrate by the marriage of the two brothers, with a captive princess of Bulgaria, and the daughter of a patrician, who had obtained the name of *Charon* from the number of enemies whom he had sent to the infernal shades. The soldiers had served with reluctant loyalty a series of effeminate masters; the elevation of Michael the Sixth was a personal insult to the more deserving generals; and their discontent was inflamed by the parsimony of the emperor and the insolence of the eunuchs. They secretly assembled in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, and the votes of the military synod would have been unanimous in favour of the old and valiant Catacalon, if the patriotism or modesty of the veteran had not suggested the importance of birth as well as merit in the choice of a sovereign. Isaac Comnenus was approved by general [June 8, A.D 1057] consent, and the associates separated without delay to meet in the plains of Phrygia, at the head of their respective squadrons and detachments. The cause of Michael was defended in a single battle by the mercenaries of the Imperial guard, who were aliens to the public interest, and animated only by a principle of honour and gratitude. After their defeat, the fears of the emperor solicited a treaty, which was almost accepted by the moderation of the Comnenian. But the former was betrayed by his ambassadors, and the latter was prevented by his friends. The solitary Michael submitted to the voice of the people; the patriarch annulled their oath of allegiance; and, as he shaved the head of the royal monk, congratulated his beneficial exchange of temporal royalty for the kingdom of heaven: an exchange, however, which the priest, on his own account, would probably have declined. By the hands of the same patriarch,[64] Isaac Comnenus was solemnly crowned; the sword which he in- [Sept 2] scribed on his coins might be an offensive symbol, if it implied his title by conquest; but this sword would have been drawn against the foreign and domestic enemies of the state. The decline of his health and vigour suspended the operation of active virtue; and the prospect of approaching death determined him to interpose some moments between life and eternity. But, instead of leaving the empire as the marriage portion of his daughter, his reason and inclination concurred in the pre- [Maria] ference of his brother John, a soldier, a patriot, and the father of five sons, the future pillars of an hereditary succession. His first modest reluctance might be the natural dictates of discretion and tenderness, but his obstinate and successful perseverance, however it may dazzle with the show of virtue, must be censured as a criminal desertion of his duty and a rare offence against his family and country.[65] The purple which he had refused was accepted by Constantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian house, and whose noble birth was adorned with the experience and reputation of civil policy.[66] In the monastic habit, Isaac recovered his health, and survived two years his voluntary abdication. At the command of his abbot, he observed the rule of St. Basil, and executed the most servile offices of the convent; but his latent vanity was gratified by the frequent and respectful visits of the reigning monarch, who revered in his person the character of a benefactor and a saint.

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[64] [This powerful and ambitious prelate, Michael Cerularius, aimed at securing for the Patriarch the same headship of the Eastern Church and the same independent position in regard to the Emperor, which the Pope held in the West. Isaac deposed him. For this period see H. Mädler, Theodora, Michael Stratiotikos, Isaak Komnenos, 1894.]

[in the Abbey of Studion]

Constantine XI. [X.]. Ducas. A.D. 1059, Dec. 25

If Constantine the Eleventh were indeed the subject most worthy of empire, we must pity the debasement of the age and nation in which he was chosen. In the labour of puerile declamations he sought, without obtaining, the crown of eloquence, more precious in his opinion than that of Rome; and in the subordinate functions of a judge he forgot the duties of a sovereign and a warrior.[67] Far from imitating the patriotic indifference of the authors of his greatness, Ducas was anxious only to secure, at the expense of the republic, the power and prosperity of his children. His three sons, Michael the Seventh, Andronicus the First, and Constantine the Twelfth, were invested in a tender age with the equal title of Augustus; and the succession was speedily opened by their father's death. His widow, Eudocia,[68] was entrusted with the administration; but experience had taught the jealousy of the dying monarch to protect his sons from the danger of her second nuptials; and her solemn engagement, attested by the principal senators, was deposited in the hands of the patriarch. Before the end of seven months, the wants of Eudocia, or those of the state, called aloud for the male virtues of a soldier; and her heart had already chosen Romanus Diogenes, whom she raised from the scaffold

Eudocia. A.D. 1067, May

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[65] ["Gibbon accepts the statement of Nicephorus Bryennius (i. 20) that John refused the imperial crown; but it appears to be merely a flourish of family pride, for Scylitzes expressly declares that Isaac set aside his brother" (Finlay, Hist. of Greece, ii., p. 12, n. 2). Isaac was married to a Bulgarian princess Aikaterina, the daughter probably of John Vladislav, as Scylitzes says (p. 628; cp. Mädler, *op. cit.* p. 13).]

[66] [Especially financial policy.]

[67] [For the anti-military policy adopted by Constantine Ducas, and in general for the condition of the empire at this period, see C. Neumann's excellent work, Das Byzantinische Reich vor den Kreuzzügen.]

[68] [For the literary work and influence of Eudocia, see below, chap. liii.]

to the throne. The discovery of a treasonable attempt had exposed him to the severity of the laws: his beauty and valour absolved him in the eyes of the empress; and Romanus,[69] from a mild exile, was recalled on the second day to the command of the Oriental armies. Her royal choice was yet unknown to the public, and the promise which would have betrayed her falsehood and levity was stolen by a dexterous emissary from the ambition of the patriarch. Xiphilin at first alleged the sanctity of oaths and the sacred nature of a trust; but a whisper that his brother was the future emperor relaxed his scruples, and forced him to confess that the public safety was the supreme law. He resigned the important paper; and, when his hopes were confounded by the nomination of Romanus, he could no longer regain his security, retract his declarations, nor oppose the second nuptials of the empress. Yet a murmur was heard in the palace; and the barbarian guards had raised their battle-axes in the cause of the house of Ducas, till the young princes were soothed by the tears of their mother and the solemn assurances of the fidelity of their guardian, who filled the Imperial station with dignity and honour. Hereafter I shall relate his valiant but unsuccessful efforts to resist the progress of the Turks. His defeat and captivity inflicted a deadly wound on the Byzantine monarchy of the East; and, after he was released from the chains of the sultan, he vainly sought his wife and his subjects. His wife had been thrust into a monastery, and the subjects of Romanus had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law that a prisoner in the hands of the enemy is deprived, as by the stroke of death, of all the public and private rights of a citizen. In the general consternation the Cæsar John asserted the indefeasible right of his three nephews: Constantinople listened to his voice; and the Turkish captive was proclaimed in the capital, and received on the frontier, as an enemy of the republic. Romanus was not more fortunate in domestic than in foreign war: the loss of two battles compelled him to yield, on the assurance of fair and honourable treatment; but his enemies were devoid of faith or humanity; and, after the cruel extinction of his sight, his wounds were left to bleed and corrupt, till in a few days he was relieved from a state of misery. Under the triple reign of the house of Ducas, the two younger brothers were reduced to the vain honours of the purple; but the eldest, the pusillanimous

Romanus III
Diogenes.
A.D. 1067,
August
[December]

[See chap.
lvii.]

Michael VII.
Parapinaces,
Andronicus I.
Constantine
XII. A.D.
1071, August

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[69] [He was stratêgos of Triaditza (Sofia).]

Michael, was incapable of sustaining the Roman sceptre; and his surname of *Parapinaces* denotes the reproach which he shared with an avaricious favourite who enhanced the price, and diminished the measure, of wheat. In the school of Psellus, and after the example of his mother, the son of Eudocia made some proficiency in philosophy and rhetoric; but his character was degraded, rather than ennobled, by the virtues of a monk and the learning of a sophist. Strong in the contempt of their sovereign and their own esteem, two generals at the head of the European and Asiatic legions assumed the purple at Hadrianople and Nice. Their revolt was in the same month; they bore the same name of Nicephorus; but the two candidates were distinguished by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates: the former in the maturity of wisdom and courage, the latter conspicuous only by the memory of his past exploits. While Botaniates advanced with cautious and dilatory steps, his active competitor stood in arms before the gates of Constantinople. The name of Bryennius was illustrious; his cause was popular; but his licentious troops could not be restrained from burning and pillaging a suburb; and the people, who would have hailed the rebel, rejected and repulsed the incendiary of his country. This change of the public opinion was favourable to Botaniates, who at length, with an army of Turks, approached the shores of Chalcedon. A formal invitation, in the name of the patriarch, the synod, and the senate, was circulated through the streets of Constantinople; and the general assembly, in the dome of St. Sophia, debated, with order and calmness, on the choice of their sovereign. The guards of Michael would have dispersed this unarmed multitude; but the feeble emperor, applauding his own moderation and clemency, resigned the ensigns of royalty, and was rewarded with the monastic habit and the title of archbishop of Ephesus. He left a son, a Constantine, born and educated in the purple; and a daughter of the house of Ducas illustrated the blood, and confirmed the succession, of the Comnenian dynasty.

Nicephorus III. Botaniates. A.D. 1078, March 25

John Comnenus, the brother of the emperor Isaac, survived in peace and dignity his generous refusal of the sceptre.[70] By his wife Anne, a woman of masculine spirit and policy, he left eight children: the three daughters multiplied the Comnenian alliances with the noblest of the Greeks; of the five sons, Manuel was stopped by a premature death; Isaac and Alexius restored the Imperial greatness of their house, which was enjoyed without toil or danger by the two younger brethren, Hadrian and Nicephorus. Alexius, the third and most illustrious of the brothers, was endowed by nature with the choicest gifts both of mind and body: they were cultivated by a liberal education, and exercised in the school of obedience and adversity. The youth was dismissed from the perils of the Turkish war by the paternal care of the emperor Romanus; but the mother of the Comneni, with her aspiring race, was accused of treason, and banished, by the sons of Ducas, to an island in the Propontis. The two brothers soon emerged into favour and action, fought by each other's side against the rebels and barbarians, and adhered to the emperor Michael, till he was deserted by the world and by himself. In his first interview with Botaniates, "Prince," said Alexius, with a noble frankness, "my duty rendered me your enemy; the decrees of God and of the people have made me your subject. Judge of my future loyalty by my past opposition." The successor of Michael entertained him with esteem and confidence; his valour was employed against three rebels, who disturbed the peace of the empire, or at least of the emperors. Ursel, Bryennius, and Basilacius were formidable by their numerous forces and military fame; they were successively vanquished in the field, and led in chains to the foot of the throne; and, whatever treatment they might receive from a timid and cruel court, they applauded the clemency, as well as the courage, of their conqueror. But the loyalty of the Comneni was soon tainted by fear and suspicion; nor is it easy to settle between a subject and a despot the debt of gratitude, which the former is tempted to claim by a revolt and the latter to discharge by an executioner. The refusal of Alexius to march against a fourth rebel, the husband of his sister, destroyed the merit or memory of his past services; the favourites of Botaniates provoked the ambition which they apprehended and accused; and the retreat of the two brothers might be justified by the defence of their life or liberty. The women of the family were deposited in a sanctuary, respected by tyrants: the men, mounted on horseback, sallied from the city and erected the standard of civil war. The soldiers, who had been gradually assembled in the capital and the neighbourhood, were devoted to the cause of a victorious and injured leader; the ties of common interest and domestic alliance secured the attachment of the house of Ducas; and the generous dispute of the Comneni was terminated by the decisive

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[70] [See above, n. 65.]

[Nicephorus Melissenus]

resolution of Isaac, who was the first to invest his younger brother with the name and ensigns of royalty. They returned to Constantinople, to threaten rather than besiege that impregnable fortress; but the fidelity of the guards was corrupted; a gate was surprised, and the fleet was occupied by the active courage of George Palæologus, who fought against his father, without foreseeing that he laboured for his posterity. Alexius ascended the throne; and his aged competitor disappeared in a monastery. An army of various nations was gratified with the pillage of the city; but the public disorders were expiated by the tears and fasts of the Comneni, who submitted to every penance compatible with the possession of the empire. [April 1]

Alexius I. Comnenus. A.D. 1081, April 1 [2]

The life of the emperor Alexius has been delineated by a favourite daughter, who was inspired by a tender regard for his person and a laudable zeal to perpetuate his virtues. Conscious of the just suspicion of her readers, the princess Anna Comnena repeatedly protests that, besides her personal knowledge, she had searched the discourse and writings of the most respectable veterans; that, after an interval of thirty years, forgotten by, and forgetful of, the world, her mournful solitude was inaccessible to hope and fear; and that truth, the naked perfect truth, was more dear and sacred than the memory of her parent. Yet, instead of the simplicity of style and narrative which wins our belief, an elaborate affectation of rhetoric and science betrays, in every page, the vanity of a female author. The genuine character of Alexius is lost in a vague constellation of virtues; and the perpetual strain of panegyric and apology awakens our jealousy, to question the veracity of the historian and the merit of the hero. We cannot, however, refuse her judicious and important remark that the disorders of the times were the misfortune and the glory of Alexius; and that every calamity which can afflict a declining empire was accumulated on his reign, by the justice of heaven and the vices of his predecessors. In the East, the victorious Turks had spread, from Persia to the Hellespont, the reign of the Koran and the Crescent; the West was invaded by the adventurous valour of the Normans; and, in the moments of peace, the Danube poured forth new swarms, who had gained, in the science of war, what they had lost in the ferociousness of manners. The sea was not less hostile than the land; and, while the frontiers were assaulted by an open enemy, the palace was distracted with secret treason and conspiracy. On a sudden, the banner of the Cross was displayed by the Latins: Europe was precipitated on Asia;

and Constantinople had almost been swept away by this impetuous deluge. In the tempest Alexius steered the Imperial vessel with dexterity and courage. At the head of his armies he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeats with inexhaustible vigour. The discipline of the camp was revived, and a new generation of men and soldiers was created by the example and the precepts of their leader. In his intercourse with the Latins, Alexius was patient and artful; his discerning eye pervaded the new system of an unknown world; and I shall hereafter describe the superior policy with which he balanced the interests and passions of the champions of the first crusade.[71] In a long reign of thirty-seven years, he subdued and pardoned the envy of his equals; the laws of public and private order were restored; the arts of wealth and science were cultivated; the limits of the empire were enlarged in Europe and Asia; and the Comnenian sceptre was transmitted to his children of the third and fourth generation. Yet the difficulties of the times betrayed some defects in his character; and have exposed his memory to some just or ungenerous reproach. The reader may possibly smile at the lavish praise which his daughter so often bestows on a flying hero; the weakness or prudence of his situation might be mistaken for a want of personal courage; and his political arts are branded by the Latins with the names of deceit and dissimulation. The increase of the male and female branches of his family adorned the throne and secured the succession; but their princely luxury and pride offended the patricians, exhausted the revenue, and insulted the misery of the people. Anna is a faithful witness that his happiness was destroyed, and his health was broken, by the cares of a public life; the patience of Constantinople was fatigued by the length and severity of his reign; and, before Alexius expired, he had lost the love and reverence of his subjects. The clergy could not forgive his application of the sacred riches to the defence of the state; but they applauded his theological learning and ardent zeal for the orthodox faith, which he defended with his tongue, his pen, and his sword. His character was degraded by the superstition of the Greeks; and the same inconsistent principle of human nature enjoined the emperor to found an hospital for the poor and infirm, and to direct the execution of an heretic, who was burnt alive in the square of St. Sophia. Even the sincerity o his moral and religious virtues was suspected by the person who had passed their lives in his familiar confidence. In hi last hours, when he was pressed by his wife Irene to alter th succession, he raised his head, and breathed a pious ejaculatio on the vanity of this world. The indignant reply of the empres may be inscribed as an epitaph on his tomb, "You die, as yo have lived—AN HYPOCRITE!"

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[71] [For the Normans, cp. below, chap. lvi.; for the First Crusade, chap. lviii. For the reigns of Alexius, John, and Manuel: F. Wilken, Rerum ab Alex. i. Joh. et Man. Comnenis gest. libri iv. 1811.]

John, or Calo-Johannes. A.D. 1118, August 15

It was the wish of Irene to supplant the eldest of her surviving sons in favour of her daughter the princess Anna, whos philosophy would not have refused the weight of a diadem But the order of male succession was asserted by the friend of their country; the lawful heir drew the royal signet fro the finger of his insensible or conscious father; and the empir obeyed the master of the palace. Anna Comnena was stimulated by ambition and revenge to conspire against the life c her brother, and, when the design was prevented by the fear or scruples of her husband, she passionately exclaimed tha nature had mistaken the two sexes and had endowed Bryenniu with the soul of a woman. The two sons of Alexius, John an Isaac, maintained the fraternal concord, the hereditary virtu of their race; and the younger brother was content with th title of *Sebastocrator*, which approached the dignity, withou sharing the power, of the emperor. In the same person, th claims of primogeniture and merit were fortunately united; h swarthy complexion, harsh features, and diminutive stature ha suggested the ironical surname of Calo-Johannes, or John th Handsome, which his grateful subjects more seriously applie to the beauties of his mind. After the discovery of her treaso the life and fortune of Anna were justly forfeited to the law Her life was spared by the clemency of the emperor, but h visited the pomp and treasures of her palace, and bestowed th rich confiscation on the most deserving of his friends. Th respectable friend, Axuch, a slave of Turkish extraction, pr sumed to decline the gift and to intercede for the crimina his generous master applauded and imitated the virtue of h favourite; and the reproach or complaint of an injured broth was the only chastisement of the guilty princess. After th example of clemency, the remainder of his reign was nev disturbed by conspiracy or rebellion: feared by his nobl beloved by his people, John was never reduced to the pain necessity of punishing, or even of pardoning, his perso enemies. During his government of twenty-five years, t penalty of death was abolished in the Roman empire, a law of mercy most delightful to the humane theorist, but of which the practice, in a large and vicious community, is seldom consistent with the public safety. Severe to himself, indulgent to others, chaste, frugal, abstemious, the philosophic Marcus would not have disdained the artless virtues of his successor, derived from his heart, and not borrowed from the schools. He despised and moderated the stately magnificence of the Byzantine court, so oppressive to the people, so contemptible to the eye of reason. Under such a prince, innocence had nothing to fear, and merit had everything to hope; and, without assuming the tyrannic office of a censor, he introduced a gradual, though visible, reformation in the public and private manners of Constantinople. The only defect of this accomplished character was the frailty of noble minds, the love of arms and military glory. Yet the frequent expeditions of John the Handsome may be justified, at least in their principle, by the necessity of repelling the Turks from the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. The sultan of Iconium was confined to his capital, the barbarians were driven to the mountains, and the maritime provinces of Asia enjoyed the transient blessings of their deliverance. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo, he repeatedly marched at the head of a victorious army, and, in the sieges and battles of this holy war, his Latin allies were astonished by the superior spirit and prowess of a Greek. As he began to indulge the ambitious hope of restoring the ancient limits of the empire, as he revolved in his mind the Euphrates and Tigris, the dominion of Syria, and the conquest of Jerusalem, the thread of his life and of the public felicity was broken by a singular accident. He hunted the wild boar in the valley of Anazarbus, and had fixed his javelin in the body of the furious animal; but, in the struggle, a poisoned arrow dropped from his quiver, and a slight wound in his hand, which produced a mortification, was fatal to the best and greatest of the Comnenian princes.

Manuel. A.D. 1143, April 8

A premature death had swept away the two eldest sons of John the Handsome; of the two survivors, Isaac and Manuel, his judgment or affection preferred the younger; and the choice of their dying prince was ratified by the soldiers who had applauded the valour of his favourite in the Turkish war. The faithful Axuch hastened to the capital, secured the person of Isaac in honourable confinement, and purchased, with a gift of two hundred pounds of silver, the leading ecclesiastics of St. Sophia, who possessed a decisive voice in the consecration of an emperor. With his veteran and affectionate troops, Manuel soon visited Constantinople; his brother acquiesced in the title of Sebastocrator; his subjects admired the lofty stature and martial graces of their new sovereign, and listened with credulity to the flattering promise that he blended the wisdom of age with the activity and vigour of youth. By the experience of his government, they were taught that he emulated the spirit, and shared the talents, of his father, whose social virtues were buried in the grave. A reign of thirty-seven years is filled by a perpetual though various warfare against the Turks, the Christians, and the hordes in the wilderness beyond the Danube. The arms of Manuel were exercised on mount Taurus, in the plains of Hungary, on the coast of Italy and Egypt, and on the seas of Sicily and Greece; the influence of his negotiations extended from Jerusalem to Rome and Russia; and the Byzantine monarchy, for a while, became an object of respect or terror to the powers of Asia and Europe. Educated in the silk and purple of the East, Manuel possessed the iron temper of a soldier, which cannot easily be paralleled, except in the lives of Richard the First of England, and of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden. Such was his strength and exercise in arms that Raymond, surnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the Greek emperor. In a famous tournament, he entered the lists on a fiery courser, and overturned in his first career two of the stoutest of the Italian knights. The first in the charge, the last in the retreat, his friends and his enemies alike trembled, the former for *his* safety and the latter for their own. After posting an ambuscade in a wood, he rode forwards in search of some perilous adventure, accompanied only by his brother and the faithful Axuch, who refused to desert their sovereign. Eighteen horsemen, after a short combat, fled before them; but the numbers of the enemy increased; the march of the reinforcement was tardy and fearful and Manuel, without receiving a wound, cut his way through a squadron of five hundred Turks. In a battle against the Hungarians, impatient of the slowness of his troops, he snatched a standard from the head of the column, and was the first almost alone, who passed a bridge that separated him from the enemy. In the same country, after transporting his army beyond the Save, he sent back the boats with an order, unde pain of death, to their commander, that he should leave him to conquer or die on that hostile land. In the siege of Corfu towing after him a captive galley, the emperor stood aloft on the poop, opposing against the volleys of darts and stones a large buckler and a flowing sail; nor could he have escaped inevitable death, had not the Sicilian admiral enjoined his archers to respect the person of an hero. In one day, he is said to have slain above forty of the barbarians with his own hand; he returned to the camp, dragging along four Turkish prisoners, whom he had tied to the rings of his saddle; he was ever the foremost to provoke or to accept a single combat; and the *gigantic* champions, who encountered his arm, were transpierced by the lance, or cut asunder by the sword, of the invincible Manuel. The story of his exploits, which appear as a model or a copy of the romances of chivalry, may induce a reasonable suspicion of the veracity of the Greeks; I will not, to vindicate their credit, endanger my own; yet I may observe that, in the long series of their annals, Manuel is the only prince who has been the subject of similar exaggeration. With the valour of a soldier, he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general; his victories were not productive of any permanent or useful conquest; and his Turkish laurels were blasted in his last unfortunate campaign, in which he lost his army in the mountains of Pisidia, and owed his deliverance to the generosity of the sultan. But the most singular feature in the character of Manuel is the contrast and vicissitude of labour and sloth, of hardiness and effeminacy. In war he seemed ignorant of peace, in peace he appeared incapable of war. In the field he slept in the sun or in the snow, tired in the longest marches the strength of his men and horses, and shared with a smile the abstinence or diet of the camp. No sooner did he return to Constantinople than he resigned himself to the arts and pleasures of a life of luxury; the expense of his dress, his table, and his palace, surpassed the measure of his predecessors, and whole summer days were idly wasted in the delicious isles of the Propontis, in the incestuous love of his niece Theodora. The double cost of a warlike and dissolute prince exhausted the revenue and multiplied the taxes; and Manuel, in the distress of his last Turkish camp, endured a bitter reproach from the mouth of a desperate soldier. As he quenched his thirst, he complained that the water of a fountain was mingled with Christian blood. "It is not the first time," exclaimed a voice from the crowd, "that you have drank, O emperor! the blood of your Christian subjects." Manuel Comnenus was twice married, to the virtuous Bertha or Irene of Germany, and to the beauteous Maria, a French or Latin princess of Antioch. The only daughter of his first wife was destined for Bela an Hungarian prince, who was educated at Constantinople, under the name of Alexius; and the consummation of their nuptials might have transferred the Roman sceptre to a race of free and warlike barbarians. But, as soon as Maria of Antioch had given a son and heir to the empire, the presumptive rights of Bela were abolished, and he was deprived of his promised bride; but the Hungarian prince resumed his name and the kingdom of his fathers, and displayed such virtues as might excite the regret and envy of the Greeks. The son of Maria was named Alexius; and at the age of ten years he ascended the Byzantine throne, after his father's decease had closed the glories of the Comnenian line.

Alexius II. A.D. 1180, Sept. 24. Character and first adventures of Andronicus

The fraternal concord of the two sons of the great Alexius had been sometimes clouded by an opposition of interest and passion. By ambition, Isaac the Sebastocrator was excited to flight and rebellion, from whence he was reclaimed by the firmness and clemency of John the Handsome. The errors of Isaac, the father of the emperors of Trebizond, were short and venial; but John, the elder of his sons, renounced for ever his religion. Provoked by a real or imaginary insult of his uncle, he escaped from the Roman to the Turkish camp; his apostacy was rewarded with the sultan's daughter, the title of Chelebi, or noble, and the inheritance of a princely estate; and in the fifteenth century Mahomet the Second boasted of his Imperial descent from the Comnenian family. Andronicus, younger brother of John, son of Isaac, and grandson of Alexius Comnenus, is one of the mos conspicuous characters of the age; and his genuine adventure might form the subject of a very singular romance. To justif the choice of three ladies of royal birth, it is incumbent on m to observe that their fortunate lover was cast in the best proportions of strength and beauty; and that the want of th softer graces was supplied by a manly countenance, a loft stature, athletic muscles, and the air and deportment of a soldie The preservation, in his old age, of health and vigour was th reward of temperance and exercise. A piece of bread and draught of water were often his sole and evening repast; and if he tasted of a wild boar, or a stag, which he had roaste with his own hands, it was the well-earned fruit of a laboriou chase. Dexterous in arms, he was ignorant of fear; his pe suasive eloquence could bend to every situation and characte of life; his style, though not his practice, was fashioned by th example of St. Paul; and, in every deed of mischief, he had a heart to resolve, a head to contrive, and a hand to execute. In his youth, after the death of the emperor John, he followed the retreat of the Roman army; but, in the march through Asia Minor, design or accident tempted him to wander in the mountains; the hunter was encompassed by the Turkish huntsmen, and he remained some time a reluctant or willing captive in the power of the sultan. His virtues and vices recommended him to the favour of his cousin; he shared the perils and the pleasures of Manuel; and, while the emperor lived in public incest with his niece Theodora, the affections of her sister Eudocia were seduced and enjoyed by Andronicus. Above the decencies of her sex and rank, she gloried in the name of his concubine; and both the palace and the camp could witness that she slept, or watched, in the arms of her lover. She accompanied him to his military command of Cilicia, the first scene of his valour and imprudence. He pressed, with active ardour, the siege of Mopsuestia; the day was employed in the boldest attacks; but the night was wasted in song and dance; and a band of Greek comedians formed the choicest part of his retinue. Andronicus was surprised by the sally of a vigilant foe; but, while his troops fled in disorder, his invincible lance transpierced the thickest ranks of the Armenians. On his return to the Imperial camp in Macedonia, he was received by Manuel with public smiles and a private reproof; but the duchies of Naissus, Braniseba, and Castoria were the reward or consolation of the unsuccessful general. Eudocia still attended his motions; at midnight their tent was suddenly attacked by her angry brothers, impatient to expiate her infamy in his blood; his daring spirit refused her advice, and the disguise of a female habit; and, boldly starting from his couch, he drew his sword and cut his way through the numerous assassins. It was here that he first betrayed his ingratitude and treachery: he engaged in a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary and the German emperor; approached the royal tent at a suspicious hour with a drawn sword, and under the mask of a Latin soldier avowed an intention of revenge against a mortal foe; and imprudently praised the fleetness of his horse as an instrument of flight and safety. The monarch dissembled his suspicions; but, after the close of the campaign, Andronicus was arrested and strictly confined in a tower of the palace of Constantinople.

In this prison he was left above twelve years: a most painful restraint, from which the thirst of action and pleasure perpetually urged him to escape. Alone and pensive, he perceived some broken bricks in a corner of the chamber, and gradually widened the passage till he had explored a dark and forgotten recess. Into this hole he conveyed himself and the remains of his provisions, replacing the bricks in their former position, and erasing with care the footsteps of his retreat. At the hour of the customary visit, his guards were amazed by the silence and solitude of the prison, and reported, with shame and fear, his incomprehensible flight. The gates of the palace and city were instantly shut; the strictest orders were dispatched into the provinces for the recovery of the fugitive; and his wife, on the suspicion of a pious act, was basely imprisoned in the same tower. At the dead of night, she beheld a spectre: she recognized her husband; they shared their provisions; and a son was the fruit of these stolen interviews, which alleviated the tediousness of their confinement. In the custody of a woman, the vigilance of the keepers was insensibly relaxed; and the captive had accomplished his real escape, when he was discovered, brought back to Constantinople, and loaded with a double chain. At length he found the moment and the means of his deliverance. A boy, his domestic servant, intoxicated the guards, and obtained in wax the impression of the keys. By the diligence of his friends, a similar key, with a bundle of ropes, was introduced into the prison, in the bottom of a hogshead. Andronicus employed, with industry and courage, the instruments of his safety, unlocked the doors, descended from the tower, concealed himself all day among the bushes, and scaled in the night the garden-wall of the palace. A boat was stationed for his reception; he visited his own house, embraced his children, cast away his chain, mounted a fleet horse, and directed his rapid course towards the banks of the Danube. At Anchialus in Thrace, an intrepid friend supplied him with horses and money; he passed the river, traversed with speed the desert of Moldavia and the Carpathian hills, and had almost reached the town of Halicz, in the Polish Russia, when he was intercepted by a party of Walachians, who resolved to convey their important captive to Constantinople. His presence of mind again extricated him from this danger. Under the pretence of sickness, he dismounted in the night, and was allowed to step aside from the troop; he planted in the ground his long staff; clothed it with his cap and upper gar ment; and, stealing into the wood, left a phantom to amuse for some time the eyes of the Walachians. From Halicz he was honourably conducted to Kiow, the residence of the great duke; the subtle Greek soon obtained the esteem and confidence of Ieroslaus; [Yaroslav] his character could assume the manners of every climate; and the barbarians applauded his strength and courage in the chase of the elks and bears of the forest. In this northern region he deserved the forgiveness of Manuel, who solicited the Russian prince to join his arms in the invasion of Hungary. The influence of Andronicus achieved this important service; his private treaty was signed with a promise of fidelity on one side and of oblivion on the other; and he marched, at the head of the Russian cavalry, from the Borysthenes to the Danube. In his resentment Manuel had ever sympathized with the martial and dissolute character of his cousin; and his free pardon was sealed in the assault of Zemlin, in which he was second, and second only, to the valour of the emperor.

No sooner was the exile restored to freedom and his country, than his ambition revived, at first to his own, and at length to the public, misfortune. A daughter of Manuel was a feeble bar to the succession of the more deserving males of the Comnenian blood; her future marriage with the prince of Hungary was repugnant to the hopes or prejudices of the princes and nobles. But, when an oath of allegiance was required to the presumptive heir, Andronicus alone asserted the honour of the Roman name, declined the unlawful engagement, and boldly protested against the adoption of a stranger. His patriotism was offensive to the emperor, but he spoke the sentiments of the people, and was removed from the royal presence by an honourable banishment, a second command of the Cilician frontier, with the absolute disposal of the revenues of Cyprus. In this station, the Armenians again exercised his courage and exposed his negligence; and the same rebel, who baffled all his operations, was unhorsed and almost slain by the vigour of his lance. But Andronicus soon discovered a more easy and pleasing conquest, the beautiful Philippa, sister of the empress Maria, and daughter of Raymond of Poitou, the Latin prince of Antioch. For her sake he deserted his station, and wasted the summer in balls and tournaments; to his love she sacrificed her innocence, her reputation, and the offer of an advantageous marriage. But the resentment of Manuel for this domestic affront interrupted his pleasures; Andronicus left the indiscreet princess to weep and to repent; and, with a band of desperate adventurers, undertook the pilgrimage of Jerusalem. His birth, his martial renown, and professions of zeal announced him as the champion of the Cross; he soon captivated both the clergy and the king; and the Greek prince was invested with the lordship of Berytus, on the coast of Phœnicia. In his neighbourhood resided a young and handsome queen, of his own nation and family, great-grand-daughter of the Emperor Alexius, and widow of Baldwin the Third, king of Jerusalem. She visited and loved her kinsman. Theodora was the third victim of his amorous seduction; and her shame was more public and scandalous than that of her predecessors. The emperor still thirsted for revenge; and his subjects and allies of the Syrian frontier were repeatedly pressed to seize the person, and put out the eyes, of the fugitive. In Palestine he was no longer safe; but the tender Theodora revealed his danger and accompanied his flight. The queen of Jerusalem was exposed to the East, his obsequious concubine; and two illegitimate children were the living monuments of her weakness. Damascus was his first refuge; and in the character of the great Noureddin and his servant Saladin, the superstitious Greek might learn to revere the virtues of the Musulmans. As the friend of Noureddin he visited, most probably, Bagdad and the courts of Persia; and, after a long circuit round the Caspian Sea and the mountains of Georgia, he finally settled among the Turks of Asia Minor, the hereditary enemies of his country. The sultan of Colonia afforded an hospitable retreat to Andronicus, his mistress, and his band of outlaws; the debt of gratitude was paid by frequent inroads in the Roman province of Trebizond; and he seldom returned without an ample harvest of spoil and of Christian captives. In the story of his adventures, he was fond of comparing himself to David, who escaped, by a long exile, the snares of the wicked. But the royal prophet (he presumed to add) was content to lurk on the borders of Judæa, to slay an Amalekite, and to threaten, in his miserable state, the life of the avaricious Nabal. The excursions of the Comnenian prince had a wider range; and he had spread over the Eastern world the glory of his name and religion. By a sentence of the Greek church, the licentious rover had been separated from the faithful; but even this excommunication may prove that he never abjured the profession of Christianity.

His vigilance had eluded or repelled the open and secret persecution of the emperor; but he was at length ensnared by the captivity of his female companion. The governor of Trebizond succeeded in his attempt to surprise the person of Theodora; the queen of Jerusalem and her two children were sent to Constantinople, and their loss embittered the tedious solitude of banishment. The fugitive implored and obtained a final pardon, with leave to throw himself at the feet of his sovereign, who was satisfied with the submission of this haughty spirit. Prostrate on the ground, he deplored with tears and groans the guilt of his past rebellion; nor would he presume to arise, unless some faithful subject would drag him to the foot of the throne by an iron chain with which he had secretly encircled his neck. This extraordinary penance excited the wonder and pity of the assembly; his sins were forgiven by the church and state; but the just suspicion of Manuel fixed his residence at a distance from the court, at Oenoe, a town of Pontus, surrounded with rich vineyards, and situate on the coast of the Euxine. The death of Manuel and the disorders of the minority soon opened the fairest field to his ambition. The emperor was a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age, without vigour, or wisdom, or experience; his mother, the empress Mary, abandoned her person and government to a favourite of the Comnenian name; and his sister, another Mary, whose husband, an Italian, was decorated with the title of Cæsar, excited a conspiracy, and at length an insurrection, against her odious stepmother. The provinces were forgotten, the capital was in flames, and a century of peace and order was overthrown in the vice and weakness of a few months. A civil war was kindled in Constantinople; the two factions fought a bloody battle in the square of the palace; and the rebels sustained a regular siege in the cathedral of St. Sophia. The patriarch laboured with honest zeal to heal the wounds of the republic, the most respectable patriots called aloud for a guardian and avenger, and every tongue repeated the praise of the talents and even the virtues of Andronicus. In his retirement he affected to revolve the solemn duties of his oath: "If the safety or honour of the Imperial family be threatened, I will reveal and oppose the mischief to the utmost of my power". His correspondence with the patriarch and patricians was seasoned with apt quotations from the Psalms of David and the Epistles of St. Paul; and he patiently waited till he was called to her deliverance by the voice of his country. In his march from Oenoe to Constantinople, his slender train insensibly swelled to a crowd and an army; his professions of religion and loyalty were mistaken for the language of his heart; and the simplicity of a foreign dress, which shewed to advantage his majestic stature, displayed a lively image of his poverty and exile. All opposition sunk before him; he reached the straits of the Thracian Bosphorus; the Byzantine navy sailed from the harbour to receive and transport the saviour of the empire; the torrent was loud and irresistible, and the insects who had basked in the sunshine of royal favour disappeared at the blast of the storm. It was the first care of Andronicus to occupy the palace, to salute the emperor, to confine his mother, to punish her minister, and to restore the public order and tranquillity. He then visited the sepulchre of Manuel: the spectators were ordered to stand aloof; but, as he bowed in the attitude of prayer, they heard, or thought they heard, a murmur of triumph and revenge: "I no longer fear thee, my old enemy, who hast driven me a vagabond to every climate of the earth. Thou art safely deposited under a sevenfold dome, from whence thou canst never arise till the signal of the last trumpet. It is now my turn, and speedily will I trample on thy ashes and thy posterity." From his subsequent tyranny, we may impute such feelings to the man and the moment; but it is not extremely probable that he gave an articulate sound to his secret thoughts. In the first months of his administration, his designs were veiled by a fair semblance of hypocrisy, which could delude only the eyes of the multitude; the coronation of Alexius was performed with due solemnity, and his perfidious guardian, holding in his hands the body and blood of Christ, most fervently declared that he lived, and was ready to die, for the service of his beloved pupil. But his numerous adherents were instructed to maintain that the sinking empire must perish in the hands of a child, that the Romans could only be saved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, skilful in policy, and taught to reign by the long experience of fortune and mankind; and that it was the duty of every citizen to force the reluctant modesty of Andronicus to undertake the burthen of the public care. The young emperor was himself constrained to join his voice to the general acclamation and to solicit the association of a colleague, who instantly degraded him from the supreme rank, secluded his person, and verified the rash declaration of the patriarch that Alexius might be considered as dead, so soon as he was committed to the custody of his guardian. But his death was preceded by the imprisonment and execution of his mother. After blackening her reputation and inflaming against her the passions of the multitude, the tyrant accused and tried the empress for a treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary. His own son, a youth of honour and humanity, avowed his abhorrence of this flagitious act, and three of the judges had the merit of preferring their conscience to their safety; but the obsequious tribunal, without requiring any proof or hearing any defence, condemned the widow of Manuel; and her unfortunate son subscribed the sentence of her death. Maria was strangled, her corpse was buried in the sea, and her memory was wounded by the insult most offensive to female vanity, a false and ugly representation of her beauteous form. The fate of her son was not long deferred; he was strangled with a bowstring, and the tyrant, insensible to pity or remorse, after surveying the body of the innocent youth, struck it rudely with his foot: "Thy father," he cried, "was a *knave*, thy mother a *whore*, and thyself a *fool!*"

Andronicus I. Comnenus A.D. 1183, October

The Roman sceptre, the reward of his crimes, was held by Andronicus about three years and a half, as the guardian or sovereign of the empire. His government exhibited a singular contrast of vice and virtue. When he listened to his passions, he was the scourge, when he consulted his reason, the father, of his people.[72] In the exercise of private justice, he was equitable and rigorous; a shameful and pernicious venality was abolished, and the offices were filled with the most deserving candidates, by a prince who had sense to choose and severity to punish. He prohibited the inhuman practice of pillaging the goods and persons of shipwrecked mariners; the provinces, so long the objects of oppression or neglect, revived in prosperity and plenty; and millions applauded the distant blessings of his reign, while he was cursed by the witnesses of his daily cruelties. The ancient proverb, that bloodthirsty is the man who returns from banishment to power, had been applied with too much truth to Marius and Tiberius; and was now verified for the third time in the life of Andronicus. His memory was stored with a black list of the enemies and rivals, who had traduced his merit, opposed his greatness, or insulted his misfortunes; and the only comfort of his exile was the sacred hope and promise of revenge. The necessary extinction of the young emperor and his mother imposed the fatal obligation of extirpating the friends who hated and might punish the assassin; and the repetition of murder rendered him less willing, and less able, to forgive. An horrid narrative of the victims whom he sacrificed by poison or the sword, by the sea or the flames, would be less expressive of his cruelty than the appellation of the Halcyon-days, which was applied to a rare and bloodless week of repose. The tyrant strove to transfer, on the laws and the judges, some portion of his guilt; but the mask was fallen, and his subjects could no longer mistake the true author of their calamities. The noblest of the Greeks, more especially those who, by descent or alliance, might dispute the Comnenian inheritance, escaped from the monster's den; Nice or Prusa, Sicily or Cyprus, were their places of refuge; and, as their flight was already criminal, they aggravated their offence by an open revolt and the Imperial title. Yet Andronicus resisted the daggers and swords of his most formidable enemies; Nice and Prusa were reduced and chastised; the Sicilians were content with the sack of Thessalonica; and the distance of Cyprus was not more propitious to the rebel than to the tyrant. His throne was subverted by a rival without merit and a people without arms. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the great Alexius, was marked as a victim by the prudence or superstition of the emperor. In a moment of despair, Angelus defended his life and liberty, slew the executioner, and fled to the church of St. Sophia. The sanctuary was insensibly filled with a curious and mournful crowd, who, in his fate, prognosticated their own. But their lamentations were soon turned to curses, and their curses to threats; they dared to ask, "Why do we fear? why do we obey? We are many, and he is one; our patience is the only bond of our slavery." With the dawn of day the city burst into a general sedition, the prisons were thrown open, the coldest and most servile were roused to the defence of their country, and Isaac, the second of the name, was raised from the sanctuary to the throne. Unconscious of his danger, the tyrant was absent, withdrawn from the toils of state, in the delicious islands of the Propontis. He had contracted an indecent marriage with Alice, or Agnes, daughter of Lewis the Seventh of France, and relict of the unfortunate

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[72] [To Fallmerayer belongs the credit of having given a just estimate of the administration of Andronicus (Geschichte des Kaisertums Trapezunt, p. 29). He showed that Andronicus made a serious and resolute attempt to rescue the empire from its decline, on the lines which had been followed by Basil II. and abandoned since his death. The objects of Andronicus were to purify the administration and to remedy the great economical evil which was ruining the empire—the growth of vast estates. He was consequently detested by the aristocratic and official classes, and it was men of these classes who wrote his history.]

Alexius; and his society, more suitable to his temper than to his age, was composed of a young wife and a favourite concubine. On the first alarm he rushed to Constantinople, impatient for the blood of the guilty; but he was astonished by the silence of the palace, the tumult of the city, and the general desertion of mankind. Andronicus proclaimed a free pardon to his subjects; they neither desired nor would grant forgiveness: he offered to resign the crown to his son Manuel; but the virtues of the son could not expiate his father's crimes. The sea was still open for his retreat; but the news of the revolution had flown along the coast; when fear had ceased, obedience was no more; the Imperial galley was pursued and taken by an armed brigantine; and the tyrant was dragged to the presence of Isaac Angelus, loaded with fetters, and a long chain round his neck. His eloquence and the tears of his female companions pleaded in vain for his life; but, instead of the decencies of a legal execution, the new monarch abandoned the criminal to the numerous sufferers whom he had deprived of a father, an husband, or a friend. His teeth and hair, an eye and a hand, were torn from him, as a poor compensation for their loss; and a short respite was allowed, that he might feel the bitterness of death. Astride on a camel, without any danger of a rescue, he was carried through the city, and the basest of the populace rejoiced to trample on the fallen majesty of their prince. After a thousand blows and outrages, Andronicus was hung by the feet between two pillars that supported the statues of a wolf and sow; and every hand that could reach the public enemy inflicted on his body some mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty, till two friendly or furious Italians, plunging their swords into his body, released him from all human punishment. In this long and painful agony, "Lord have mercy upon me!" and "Why will you bruise a broken reed?" were the only words that escaped from his mouth. Our hatred for the tyrant is lost in pity for the man; nor can we blame his pusillanimous resignation, since a Greek Christian was no longer master of his life.

Isaac II. Angelus. A.D 1185, Sept. 12

I have been tempted to expatiate on the extraordinary character and adventures of Andronicus; but I shall here terminate the series of the Greek emperors since the time of Heraclius. The branches that sprang from the Comnenian trunk had insensibly withered; and the male line was continued only in the posterity of Andronicus himself, who, in the public confusion, usurped the sovereignty of Trebizond, so obscure in history and so famous in romance. A private citizen of Philadelphia, Constantine Angelus, had emerged to wealth and honours by his marriage with a daughter of the emperor Alexius. His son Andronicus is conspicuous only by his cowardice. His grandson Isaac punished and succeeded the tyrant; but he was dethroned by his own vices and the ambition of his brother; and their discord introduced the Latins to the conquest of Constantinople, the first great period in the fall of the Eastern empire.

A.D. 1204, April 12

If we compute the number and duration of the reigns, it will be found that a period of six hundred years is filled by sixty emperors; including, in the Augustan list, some female sovereigns, and deducting some usurpers who were never acknowledged in the capital, and some princes who did not live to possess their inheritance. The average proportion will allow ten years for each emperor, far below the chronological rule of Sir Isaac Newton, who, from the experience of more recent and regular monarchies, has defined about eighteen or twenty years as the term of an ordinary reign. The Byzantine empire was most tranquil and prosperous, when it could acquiesce in hereditary succession; five dynasties, the Heraclian, Isaurian, Amorian, Basilian, and Comnenian families, enjoyed and transmitted the royal patrimony during their respective series of five, four, three, six, and four generations; several princes number the years of their reign with those of their infancy; and Constantine the Seventh and his two grandsons occupy the space of an entire century. But in the intervals of the Byzantine dynasties, the succession is rapid and broken, and the name of a successful candidate is speedily erased by a more fortunate competitor. Many were the paths that led to the summit of royalty; the fabric of rebellion was overthrown by the stroke of conspiracy or undermined by the silent arts of intrigue; the favourites of the soldiers or people, of the senate or clergy, of the women and eunuchs, were alternately clothed with the purple; the means of their elevation were base, and their end was often contemptible or tragic. A being of the nature of man, endowed with the same faculties, but with a longer measure of existence, would cast down a smile of pity and contempt on the crimes and follies of human ambition, so eager, in a narrow span, to grasp at a precarious and short-lived enjoyment. It is thus that the experience of history exalts and enlarges the horizon of our intellectual view. In a composition of some days, in a perusal of some hours, six hundred years have rolled away, and the duration of a life or reign is contracted to a fleeting moment; the grave is ever beside the throne; the success of a criminal is almost instantly followed by the loss of his prize; and our immortal reason survives and disdains the sixty phantoms of kings, who have passed before our eyes and faintly dwell on our remembrance. The observation that, in every age and climate, ambition has prevailed with the same commanding energy may abate the surprise of a philosopher; but, while he condemns the vanity, he may search the motive, of this universal desire to obtain and hold the sceptre of dominion. To the greater part of the Byzantine series we cannot reasonably ascribe the love of fame and of mankind. The virtue alone of John Comnenus was beneficent and pure; the most illustrious of the princes who precede or follow that respectable name have trod with some dexterity and vigour the crooked and bloody paths of a selfish policy; in scrutinising the imperfect characters of Leo the Isaurian, Basil the First, and Alexius Comnenus, of Theophilus, the second Basil, and Manuel Comnenus, our esteem and censure are almost equally balanced; and the remainder of the Imperial crowd could only desire and expect to be forgotten by posterity. Was personal happiness the aim and object of their ambition? I shall not descant on the vulgar topics of the misery of kings; but I may surely observe that their condition, of all others, is the most pregnant with fear and the least susceptible of hope. For these opposite passions, a larger scope was allowed in the revolutions of antiquity than in the smooth and solid temper of the modern world, which cannot easily repeat either the triumph of Alexander or the fall of Darius. But the peculiar infelicity of the Byzantine princes exposed them to domestic perils, without affording any lively promise of foreign conquest. From the pinnacle of greatness, Andronicus was precipitated by a death more cruel and shameful than that of the vilest malefactor; but the most glorious of his predecessors had much more to dread from their subjects than to hope from their enemies. The army was licentious without spirit, the nation turbulent without freedom; the barbarians of the East and West pressed on the monarchy, and the loss of the provinces was terminated by the final servitude of the capital.

The entire series of Roman emperors, from the first of the Cæsars to the last of the Constantines, extends above fifteen hundred years; and the term of dominion unbroken by foreign conquest surpasses the measure of the ancient monarchies: the Assyrians or Medes, the successors of Cyrus, or those of Alexander.

CHAPTER XLIX

Introduction, Worship, and Persecution of Images—Revolt of Italy and Rome—Temporal Dominion of the Popes—Conquest of Italy by the Franks—Establishment of Images—Character and Coronation of Charlemagne—Restoration and Decay of the Roman Empire in the West—Independence of Italy—Constitution of the Germanic Body

Introduction of images into the Christian church

In the connexion of the church and state I have considered the former as subservient only and relative to the latter: a salutary maxim, if in fact, as well as in narrative, it had ever been held sacred. The oriental philosophy of the Gnostics, the dark abyss of predestination and grace, and the strange transformations of the Eucharist from the sign to the substance of Christ's body,[1] I have purposely abandoned to the curiosity of speculative divines. But I have reviewed, with diligence and pleasure, the objects of ecclesiastical history, by which the decline and fall of the Roman empire were materially affected, the propagation of Christianity, the constitution of the Catholic church, the ruin of Paganism, and the sects that arose from the mysterious controversies concerning the Trinity and incarnation. At the head of this class, we may justly rank the worship of images, so fiercely disputed in the eighth and ninth centuries; since a question of popular superstition produced the revolt of Italy, the temporal power of the popes, and the restoration of the Roman empire in the West.

The primitive Christians were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use and abuse of images, and this aversion may be ascribed to their descent from the Jews and their enmity to the Greeks. The Mosaic law had severely proscribed all representations of the Deity; and that precept was firmly established in the principles and practice of the chosen people. The wit of the Christian apologists was pointed against the foolish idolaters, who bowed before the workmanship of their own hands: the images of brass and marble, which, had *they* been endowed with sense and motion, should have started rather from the pedestal to adore the creative powers of the artist.[2] Perhaps some recent and imperfect converts of the Gnostic tribe might crown the statues of Christ and St. Paul with the profane honours which they paid to those of Aristotle and Pythagoras;[3] but the public religion of the Catholics was uniformly simple and spiritual; and the first notice of the use of pictures is in the censure of the council of Illiberis, [Elvira] three hundred years after the Christian æra.[3a] Under the successors of Constantine, in the peace and luxury of the triumphant church, the more prudent bishops condescended to indulge a visible superstition for the benefit of the multitude; and, after the ruin of Paganism, they were no longer restrained by the apprehension of an odious parallel. The first introduction of a symbolic worship was in the veneration of the cross and of relics. The saints and martyrs, whose intercession was implored, were seated on the right hand of God; but the gracious and often supernatural favours, which, in the popular belief, were showered round their tomb, conveyed an unquestionable sanction of the devout pilgrims, who visited, and touched, and kissed these lifeless remains, the memorials of their merits and sufferings.[4] But a memorial, more interesting than the skull or the sandals of a departed worthy, is a faithful copy of his person and features, delineated by the arts of painting or sculpture. In every age, such copies, so congenial to human feelings, have been cherished by the zeal of private friendship or public esteem; the images of the Roman emperors were adored with civil and almost religious honours; a reverence less ostentatious, but more sincere, was applied to the statues of sages and patriots; and these profane virtues, these splendid sins, disappeared in the presence of the holy men who had died for their celestial and everlasting country. At first, the experiment was made with caution and scruple; and the venerable

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[1] The learned Selden has given the history of transubstantiation in a comprehensive and pithy sentence: "This opinion is only rhetoric turned into logic" (his Works, vol. iii. p. 2073, in his Table-talk).

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[2] Nec intelligunt homines ineptissimi, quod, si sentire simulacra et moveri possent [ultro], adoratura hominem fuissent a quo sunt expolita (Divin. Institut. l. ii. c. 2). Lactantius is the last, as well as the most eloquent, of the Latin apologists. Their raillery of idols attacks not only the object, but the form and matter.

[3] See Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Augustin (Basnage, Hist. des Eglises Réformées, tom. ii. p. 1313). This Gnostic practice has a singular affinity with the private worship of Alexander Severus (Lampridius, c. 29; Lardner, Heathen Testimonies, vol. iii. p. 34).

[3a] [Canon 36, Mansi, Conc. 12, 264.]

[4] See this History, vol. ii. p. 209, p. 455; vol. iii. p. 208-215.

pictures were discreetly allowed to instruct the ignorant, to awaken the cold, and to gratify the prejudices of the heathen proselytes. By a slow though inevitable progression, the honours of the original were transferred to the copy; the devout Christian prayed before the image of a saint; and the Pagan rites of genuflexion, luminaries, and incense again stole into the Catholic church. The scruples of reason, or piety, were silenced by the strong evidence of visions and miracles; and the pictures which speak, and move, and bleed, must be endowed with a divine energy, and may be considered as the proper objects of religious adoration. The most audacious pencil might tremble in the rash attempt of defining, by forms and colours, the infinite Spirit, the eternal Father, who pervades and sustains the universe.[5] But the superstitious mind was more easily reconciled to paint and to worship the angels, and, above all, the Son of God, under the human shape which, on earth, they have condescended to assume. The second person of the Trinity had been clothed with a real and mortal body; but that body had ascended into heaven, and, had not some similitude been presented to the eyes of his disciples, the spiritual worship of Christ might have been obliterated by the visible relics and representations of the saints. A similar indulgence was requisite, and propitious, for the Virgin Mary; the place of her burial was unknown; and the assumption of her soul and body into heaven was adopted by the credulity of the Greeks and Latins. The use, and even the worship, of images was firmly established before the end of the sixth century; they were fondly cherished by the warm imagination of the Greeks and Asiatics; the Pantheon and Vatican were adorned with the emblems of a new superstition; but this semblance of idolatry was more coldly entertained by the rude barbarians and the Arian clergy of the West. The bolder forms of sculpture, in brass or marble, which peopled the temples of antiquity, were offensive to the fancy or conscience of the Christian Greeks; and a smooth surface of colours has ever been esteemed a more decent and harmless mode of imitation.[6]

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[5] *Οὐ γὰρ τὸ Θεῖον ἁπλοῦν ὑπάρχον καὶ ἄληπτον μορφαῖς τισι καὶ σχήμασιν ἀπεικάζομεν. οὔτε κηρῷ καὶ ξύλοις τὴν ὑπερούσιον καὶ προάναρχον οὐσίαν τιμᾶν ἡμεῖς διεγνώκαμεν* (Concilium Nicenum, ii. in Collect. Labb. tom. viii. p. 1025, edit. Venet.). Il seroit peut-être à propos de ne point souffrir d'images de la Trinité ou de la Divinité; les défenseurs les plus zélés des images ayant condamné celles-ci, et le concile de Trente ne parlant que des images de Jésus Christ et des Saints (Dupin, Bibliot. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 154).

[6] This general history of images is drawn from the xxiid book of the Hist. des Eglises Réformées of Basnage, tom. ii. p. 1310-1337. He was a Protestant,

The image Edessa

[Abgar V. A.D. 13-50]

The merit and effect of a copy depends on its resemblance with the original; but the primitive Christians were ignorant of the genuine features of the Son of God, his mother, and his apostles: the statue of Christ at Paneas in Palestine[7] was more probably that of some temporal saviour; the Gnostics and their profane monuments were reprobated; and the fancy of the Christian artists could only be guided by the clandestine imitation of some heathen model. In this distress, a bold and dexterous invention assured at once the likeness of the image and the innocence of the worship. A new superstructure of fable was raised on the popular basis of a Syrian legend, on the correspondence of Christ and Abgarus, so famous in the days of Eusebius, so reluctantly deserted by our modern advocates. The bishop of Cæsarea[8] records the epistle,[9] but he most strangely forgets the picture of Christ,[10]—the perfect impression

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but of a manly spirit; and on this head the Protestants are so notoriously in the right that they can venture to be impartial. See the perplexity of poor Friar Pagi, Critica, tom. i. p. 42. [Schwarzlose, der Bilderstreit, chap. 1 (1890).]

[7] After removing some rubbish of miracle and inconsistency, it may be allowed that, as late as the year 300, Paneas in Palestine was decorated with a bronze statue, representing a grave personage wrapt in a cloak, with a grateful or suppliant female kneeling before him, and that an inscription—τῷ Σωτῆρι, τῷ εὐεργέτῃ—was perhaps inscribed on the pedestal. By the Christians, this group was foolishly explained of their founder, and the *poor* woman whom he had cured of the bloody flux (Euseb. vii. 18, Philostorg. vii. 3, &c.). M. de Beausobre more reasonably conjectures the philosopher Apollonius, or the emperor Vespasian. In the latter supposition, the female is a city, a province, or perhaps the queen Berenice (Bibliothèque Germanique, tom. xiii. p. 1-92).

[8] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 13 [cp. ii. 1]. The learned Assemannus has brought up the collateral aid of three Syrians, St. Ephrem, Josua Stylites, and James bishop of Sarug; but I do not find any notice of the Syriac original [cp. next note] or the archives of Edessa (Bibliot. Orient. tom. i. p. 318, 420, 554). Their vague belief is probably derived from the Greeks.

[9] The evidence for these epistles is stated and rejected by the candid Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, vol. i. p. 297-309). Among the herd of bigots who are forcibly driven from this convenient but untenable post, I am ashamed, with the Grabes, Caves, Tillemonts, &c. to discover Mr. Addison, an English gentleman (his Works, vol. i. p. 528, Baskerville's edition); but his superficial tract on the Christian religion owes its credit to his name, his style, and the interested applause of our clergy. [The conversion of Edessa seems to have been achieved later than 200 A.D. by Bardesanes, under a later Abgar (202-217); and the legend probably arose soon after. About A.D. 400, the document quoted by Eusebius was edited in an improved form and increased by the addition of the miraculous picture. This is the so-called *Doctrina Addaei* or *Acta Thaddaei*, which has come down in Syriac (G. Phillips, The doctrine of Addai, 1876), Greek (Tischendorf, Act. Ap. Apoc., 261 *sqq.*) and Armenian. See R. A. Lipsins, die edessenische Abgarsage, 1880; L. Tixeront, Les orig. de l'église d'Edesse et la légende d'Abgar, 1888.]

[10] From the silence of James of Sarug (Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. p. 289, 318) and the testimony of Evagrius (Hist. Eccles. l. iv. c. 27), I conclude that this fable was invented between the years 521 and 594, most probably after the siege of Edessa in 540 (Asseman. tom. i. p. 416; Procopius, de Bell. Persic. l. ii. [c. 12]). It is the sword and buckler of Gregory II. (in Epist. i. ad Leon. Isaur. Concil. tom. viii. p. 656, 657), of John Damascenus (Opera, tom. i. p. 281, edit. Lequien), and

of his face on a linen, with which he gratified the faith of the royal stranger, who had invoked his healing power and offered the strong city of Edessa to protect him against the malice of the Jews. The ignorance of the primitive church is explained by the long imprisonment of the image, in a niche of the wall, from whence, after an oblivion of five hundred years, it was released by some prudent bishop, and seasonably presented to the devotion of the times. Its first and most glorious exploit was the deliverance of the city from the arms of Chosroes Nushirvan; and it was soon revered as a pledge of the divine promise that Edessa should never be taken by a foreign enemy. It is true, indeed, that the text of Procopius ascribes the double deliverance of Edessa to the wealth and valour of her citizens, who purchased the absence and repelled the assaults of the Persian monarch. He was ignorant, the profane historian, of the testimony which he is compelled to deliver in the ecclesiastical page of Evagrius, that the Palladium was exposed on the rampart, and that the water which had been sprinkled on the holy face, instead of quenching, added new fuel to, the flames of the besieged. After this important service, the image of Edessa was preserved with respect and gratitude; and, if the Armenians rejected the legend, the more credulous Greeks adored the similitude, which was not the work of any mortal pencil, but the immediate creation of the divine original. The style and sentiments of a Byzantine hymn will declare how far their worship was removed from the grossest idolatry. "How can we with mortal eyes contemplate this image, whose celestial splendour the host of heaven presumes not to behold? HE who dwells in heaven condescends this day to visit us by his venerable image; HE who is seated on the cherubim visits us this day by a picture, which the Father has delineated with his immaculate hand, which he has formed in an ineffable manner, and which we sanctify by adoring it with fear and love." Before the end of the sixth century, these images, *made without hands* (in Greek it is a single word [11]), were propagated in the

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of the second Nicene Council (Actio, v. p. 1030). The most perfect edition may be found in Cedrenus (Compend. p. 175-178 [i. p. 308 *sqq.*, ed. Bonn]).

[11] Ἀχειροποίητος. See Ducange, in Gloss. Græc. et Lat. The subject is treated with equal learning and bigotry by the Jesuit Gretser (Syntagma de Imaginibus non Manu factis, ad calcem Codini de Officiis, p. 289-330), the ass, or rather the fox, of Ingoldstadt (see the Scaligerana); with equal reason and wit by the Protestant Beausobre, in the ironical controversy which he has spread through many volumes of the Bibliothèque Germanique (tom. xviii. p. 1-50, xx. p. 27-68, xxv. p. 1-36, xxvii. p. 85-118, xxviii. p. 1-33, xxxi. p. 111-148, xxxii. p. 75-107, xxxiv. p. 67-96). [The Hellenic parallel to these εἰκόνες ἀχειροποίητοι are the ἀγάλματα διοπετῆ.]

Its copies

camps and cities of the Eastern empire;[12] they were the objects of worship, and the instruments of miracles; and in the hour of danger or tumult their venerable presence could revive the hope, rekindle the courage, or repress the fury, of the Roman legions. Of these pictures, the far greater part, the transcripts of a human pencil, could only pretend to a secondary likeness and improper title; but there were some of higher descent, who derived their resemblance from an immediate contact with the original, endowed, for that purpose, with a miraculous and prolific virtue. The most ambitious aspired from a filial to a fraternal relation with the image of Edessa; and such is the *veronica* of Rome, or Spain, or Jerusalem, which Christ in his agony and bloody sweat applied to his face and delivered to an holy matron. The fruitful precedent was speedily transferred to the Virgin Mary and the saints and martyrs. In the church of Diospolis in Palestine, the features of the mother of God[13] were deeply inscribed in a marble column; the East and West have been decorated by the pencil of St. Luke; and the evangelist, who was perhaps a physician, has been forced to exercise the occupation of a painter, so profane and odious in the eyes of the primitive Christians. The Olympian Jove, created by the muse of Homer and the chisel of Phidias, might inspire a philosophic mind with momentary devotion; but these Catholic images were faintly and flatly delineated by monkish artists in the last degeneracy of taste and genius.[14]

Opposition to image-worship

The worship of images had stolen into the church by insensible degrees, and each petty step was pleasing to the superstitious mind, as productive of comfort and innocent of sin. But in the beginning of the eighth century, in the full magnitude of the abuse, the more timorous Greeks were awakened by an apprehension that, under the mask of Christianity, they had restored the religion of their fathers; they heard, with grief and impatience, the name of idolaters:

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[12] Theophylact. Simocatta (l. ii. c. 3, p. 34, l. iii. c. 1, p. 63) celebrates the θεανδρικὸν εἴκασμα, which he styles ἀχειροποίητον; yet it was no more than a copy, since he adds, ἀρχέτυπον τὸ ἐκείνου οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι (of Edessa) θρησκεύουσί τι ἄρρητον. See Pagi, tom. ii. A.D. 586, No. 11.

[13] See, in the genuine or supposed works of John Damascenus, two passages on the Virgin and St. Luke, which have not been noticed by Gretser, nor consequently by Beausobre. Opera Joh. Damascen. tom. i. p. 618, 631. [There is an important passage, showing that image-worship was thoroughly established in the beginning of the 7th cent., in the story of *Barlaam* and *Josaphat* (see Appendix 1). See Migne, P.G., 96, p. 1032.]

[14] "Your scandalous figures stand quite out from the canvas: they are as bad as a group of statues!" It was thus that the ignorance and bigotry of a Greek priest applauded the pictures of Titian, which he had ordered, and refused to accept.

the incessant charge of the Jews and Mahometans,[15] who derived from the Law and the Koran an immortal hatred to graven images and all relative worship. The servitude of the Jews might curb their zeal and depreciate their authority; but the triumphant Musulmans, who reigned at Damascus and threatened Constantinople, cast into the scale of reproach the accumulated weight of truth and victory. The cities of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, had been fortified with the images of Christ, his mother, and his saints; and each city presumed on the hope or promise of miraculous defence. In a rapid conquest of ten years, the Arabs subdued those cities and these images; and, in their opinion, the Lord of Hosts pronounced a decisive judgment between the adoration and contempt of these mute and inanimate idols. For a while Edessa had braved the Persian assaults; but the chosen city, the spouse of Christ, was involved in the common ruin; and his divine resemblance became the slave and trophy of the infidels. After a servitude of three hundred years, the Palladium was yielded to the devotion of Constantinople, for a ransom of twelve thousand pounds of silver, the redemption of two hundred Musulmans, and a perpetual truce for the territory of Edessa.[16] In this season of distress and dismay, the eloquence of the monks was exercised in the defence of images; and they attempted to prove that the sin and schism of the greatest part of the Orientals had forfeited the favour, and annihilated the virtue, of these precious symbols. But they were now opposed by the murmurs of many simple or rational Christians, who appealed to the evidence of texts, of facts, and of the primitive times, and secretly desired the reformation of the church. As the worship of images had never been established by any general or positive law, its progress in the Eastern empire had been retarded, or accelerated, by the differences of men and manners, the local degrees of refinement, and the personal characters of the bishops. The splendid devotion was fondly cherished by the levity of the capital and the inventive genius of the Byzantine clergy, while the rude and remote districts of Asia were strangers to this innovation of sacred luxury. Many large congregations of Gnostics and Arians maintained, after their conversion, the simple worship which had preceded their separation; and the Armenians, the most warlike subjects of Rome, were not reconciled, in the twelfth century, to the sight of images.[17] These various denominations of men afforded a feud of prejudice and aversion, of small account in the villages of Anatolia or Thrace, but which, in the fortune of a soldier, a prelate, or an eunuch, might be often connected with the powers of the church and state.

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[15] By Cedrenus, Zonaras, Glycas, and Manasses, the origin of the Iconoclasts is imputed to the caliph Yezid and two Jews, who promised the empire to Leo; and the reproaches of these hostile sectaries are turned into an absurd conspiracy for restoring the purity of the Christian worship (see Spanheim, Hist. Imag. c. 2). [Yezid II. issued a decree banishing images from Christian churches in A.D. 723.]

[16] See Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 267), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 201), and Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem, p. 264); and the criticisms of Pagi (tom. iii. A.D. 944). The prudent Franciscan refuses to determine whether the image of Edessa now reposes at Rome or Genoa; but its repose is inglorious, and this ancient object of worship is no longer famous or fashionable.

Leo the Iconoclast, and successors. A.D. 726-840

Of such adventurers, the most fortunate was the emperor Leo the Third,[18] who, from the mountains of Isauria, ascended the throne of the East. He was ignorant of sacred and profane letters; but his education, his reason, perhaps his intercourse with the Jews and Arabs, had inspired the martial peasant with an hatred of images; and it was held to be the duty of a prince to impose on his subjects the dictates of his own conscience. But in the outset of an unsettled reign, during ten years of toil and danger, Leo submitted to the meanness of hypocrisy, bowed before the idols which he despised, and satisfied the Roman pontiff with the annual professions of his orthodoxy and zeal. In the reformation of religion, his first steps were moderate and cautious: he assembled a great council of senators and bishops, and enacted, with their consent, that all the images should be removed from the sanctuary and altar to a proper height in the churches, where they might be visible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the superstition, of the people. But it was impossible, on either side, to check the rapid though adverse impulse of veneration and abhorrence;

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[17] *Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Ἀλαμανοῖς ἐπίσης ἡ ἁγίων εἰκόνων προσκύνησις ἀπηγόρευται* (Nicetas, l. ii. p. 258 [p. 527, ed. Bonn]). The Armenian churches are still content with the cross (Missions du Levant, tom. iii. p. 148); but surely the superstitious Greek is unjust to the superstition of the Germans of the xiith century.

[18] Our original, but not impartial, monuments of the Iconoclasts must be drawn from the Acts of the Councils, tom. viii. and ix. Collect. Labbé, edit. Venet., and the historical writings of Theophanes, Nicephorus, Manasses, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. Of the modern Catholics, Baronius, Pagi, Natalis Alexander (Hist. Eccles. Seculum viii. and ix.), and Maimbourg (Hist. des Iconoclastes) have treated the subject with learning, passion, and credulity. The Protestant labours of Frederic Spanheim (Historia Imaginum Restituta) and James Basnage (Hist. des Eglises Réformées, tom. ii. l. xxiii. p. 1339-1385) are cast into the Iconoclast scale. With this mutual aid, and opposite tendency, it is easy for *us* to poise the balance with philosophic indifference. [See further, Appendix 1.]

in their lofty position, the sacred images still edified their votaries and reproached the tyrant.[18a] He was himself provoked by resistance and invective; and his own party accused him of an imperfect discharge of his duty, and urged for his imitation the example of the Jewish king, who had broken, without scruple, the brazen serpent of the temple. By a second edict, he proscribed the existence as well as the use of religious **[A.D. 729]** pictures; the churches of Constantinople and the provinces were cleansed from idolatry; the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints were demolished, or a smooth surface of plaster was spread over the walls of the edifice. The sect of the Iconoclasts was supported by the zeal and despotism of six emperors, and the East and West were involved in a noisy conflict of one hundred and twenty years. It was the design of Leo the Isaurian to pronounce the condemnation of images, as an article of faith, and by the authority of a general council; but the convocation of such an assembly was reserved for his son Constantine;[19] and, though it is stigmatized by triumphant bigotry as a meeting of fools and atheists, their own partial and mutilated acts betray many symptoms of reason and piety. **Their synod of Constantinople. A.D. 754 [753]** The debates and decrees of many provincial synods introduced the summons of the general council, which met in the suburbs of Constantinople, and was composed of the respectable number of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops of Europe and Anatolia; for the patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were the slaves of the caliph, and the Roman pontiff had withdrawn the churches of Italy and the West from the communion of the Greeks. This Byzantine synod assumed the rank and powers of the seventh general council; yet even this title was a recognition of the six preceding assemblies which had laboriously built the structure of the Catholic faith. After a serious deliberation of six months, the three hundred and thirty-eight bishops pronounced and subscribed an unanimous decree, that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the Eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; that image-worship was a corruption of Christianity, and a renewal of Paganism; that all such monuments of idolatry should be broken or erased;

[18a] [This is probably incorrect. See Appendix 15 on Leo's edicts.]

[19] Some flowers of rhetoric are Σύνοδον παράνομον καὶ ἄθεον, and the bishops τοῖς ματαιόφροσιν. By [Pseudo-]Damascenus it is styled ἄκυρος καὶ ἄδεκτος (Opera, tom. i. p. 623). Spanheim's Apology for the Synod of Constantinople (p. 171, &c.) is worked up with truth and ingenuity, from such materials as he could find in the Nicene Acts (p. 1046, &c.). The witty John of Damascus converts ἐπισκόπους into ἐπισκότους, makes them κοιλιοδούλους, slaves of their belly, &c. (Opera, tom. i. p. 306).

and that those who should refuse to deliver the objects of their private superstition were guilty of disobedience to the authority of the church and of the emperor. In their loud and loyal acclamations, they celebrated the merits of their temporal redeemer; and to his zeal and justice they entrusted the execution of their spiritual censures. At Constantinople, as in the former councils, the will of the prince was the rule of episcopal faith; but, on this occasion, I am inclined to suspect that a large majority of the prelates sacrificed their secret conscience to the temptations of hope and fear. In the long night of superstition, the Christians had wandered far away from the simplicity of the gospel; nor was it easy for them to discern the clue, and tread back the mazes, of the labyrinth. The worship of images was inseparably blended, at least to a pious fancy, with the Cross, the Virgin, the saints, and their relics; the holy ground was involved in a cloud of miracles and visions; and the nerves of the mind, curiosity and scepticism, were benumbed by the habits of obedience and belief. Constantine himself is accused of indulging a royal licence to doubt, or deny, or deride the mysteries of the Catholics,[20] but they were deeply inscribed in the public and private creed of his bishops; and the boldest Iconoclast might assault with a secret horror the monuments of popular devotion, which were consecrated to the honour of his celestial patrons. In the reformation of the sixteenth century, freedom and knowledge had expanded all the faculties of man, the thirst of innovation superseded the reverence of antiquity, and the vigour of Europe could disdain those phantoms which terrified the sickly and servile weakness of the Greeks.

Their creed

Their persecution of the images and monks. A.D. 726-775

The scandal of an abstract heresy can be only proclaimed to the people by the blast of the ecclesiastical trumpet; but the most ignorant can perceive, the most torpid must feel, the profanation and downfall of their visible deities. The first hostilities of Leo were directed against a lofty Christ on the vestibule, and above the gate, of the palace.[20a] A ladder had been planted for the assault, but it was furiously shaken by a crowd of zealots and women; they beheld, with pious transport, the ministers of sacrilege tumbling from on high and dashed against the pavement; and the honours of the ancient martyrs were prostituted to these criminals, who justly suffered for murder and rebellion.[21] The execution of the Imperial edicts was resisted by frequent tumults in Constantinople and the provinces; the person of Leo was endangered, his officers were massacred, and the popular enthusiasm was quelled by the strongest efforts of the civil and military power. Of the Archipelago, or Holy Sea, the numerous islands were filled with images and monks; their votaries abjured, without scruple, the enemy of Christ, his mother, and the saints; they armed a fleet of boats and galleys, displayed their consecrated banners, and boldly steered for the harbour of Constantinople, to place on the throne a new favourite of God and the people. They depended on the succour of a miracle; but their miracles were [A.D. 727] inefficient against the *Greek fire;* and, after the defeat and conflagration of their fleet, the naked islands were abandoned to the clemency or justice of the conqueror. The son of Leo, in the first year of his reign, had undertaken an expedition against the Saracens; during his absence, the capital, the palace, and the purple were occupied by his kinsman Artavasdes, the ambitious champion of the orthodox faith. The worship of images was triumphantly restored; the patriarch renounced his dissimulation, or dissembled his sentiments; and the righteous claim of the usurper was acknowledged both in the new, and in ancient, Rome. Constantine flew for refuge to his paternal mountains; but he descended at the head of the bold and affectionate Isaurians; and his final victory confounded the arms and predictions of the fanatics. His long reign was distracted with clamour, sedition, conspiracy, and mutual hatred, and sanguinary revenge; the persecution of images was the motive, or pretence, of his adversaries; and, if they missed a temporal diadem, they were rewarded by the Greeks with the crown of martyrdom. In every act of open and clandestine treason, the emperor felt the unforgiving enmity of the monks, the faithful slaves of the superstition to which they owed their riches and influence. They prayed, they preached, they absolved, they inflamed, they conspired; the solitude of Palestine poured forth a torrent of invective; and the pen of St. John Damascenus,[22] the last of the Greek fathers, devoted the tyrant's head, both in this world and the next.[23] I am not at leisure to examine how far the monks provoked, nor how much they have exaggerated, their real and pretended sufferings, nor how many lost their lives or limbs, their eyes or their beards, by the cruelty of the emperor. From the chastisement of individuals, he proceeded to the abolition of the order; and, as it was wealthy and useless, his resentment might be stimulated by avarice and justified by patriotism. The formidable name and mission of the *Dragon*,[24] his visitor-general, excited the terror and abhorrence of the *black* nation; the religious communities were dissolved, the buildings were converted into magazines, or barracks; the lands, moveables, and cattle were confiscated; and our modern precedents will support the charge that much wanton or malicious havoc was exercised against the relics, and even the books, of the monasteries. With the habit and profession of monks, the public and private worship of images was rigorously proscribed; and it should seem that a solemn abjuration of idolatry was exacted from the subjects, or at least from the clergy, of the Eastern empire.[25]

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[20] He is accused of proscribing the title of saint; styling the Virgin, Mother of *Christ;* comparing her after her delivery to an empty purse; of Arianism, Nestorianism, &c. In his defence, Spanheim (c. iv. p. 207) is somewhat embarrassed between the interest of a Protestant and the duty of an orthodox divine.

[20a] [Cp. Vit. Steph. Jun., ap. Migne, P.G. 100, p. 1085.]

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[21] The holy confessor Theophanes approves the principle of their rebellion, θείῳ κινούμενοι ζήλῳ (p. 339 [A.M. 6218]). Gregory II. (in Epist. i. ad Imp. Leon. Concil. tom. viii. p. 661, 664) applauds the zeal of the Byzantine women who killed the Imperial officers.

[22] John, or Mansur, was a noble Christian of Damascus, who held a consider-

State of Italy

The patient East abjured, with reluctance, her sacred images; they were fondly cherished, and vigorously defended, by the independent zeal of the Italians. In ecclesiastical rank and jurisdiction, the patriarch of Constantinople and the pope of

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able office in the service of the caliph. His zeal in the cause of images exposed him to the resentment and treachery of the Greek emperor; and on the suspicion of a treasonable correspondence he was deprived of his right hand, which was miraculously restored by the Virgin. After this deliverance, he resigned his office, distributed his wealth, and buried himself in the monastery of St. Sabas, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. The legend is famous; but his learned editor, Father Lequien, has unluckily proved that St. John Damascenus was already a monk before the Iconoclast dispute (Opera, tom. i. Vit. St. Joan. Damascen. p. 10-13, et Notas ad loc.). [Cp. Appendix 1.]

[23] After sending Leo to the devil, he introduces his heir—τὸ μιαρὸν αὐτοῦ γέννημα, καὶ τῆς κακίας αὐτοῦ κληρονόμος ἐν διπλῷ γενόμενος (Opera Damascen. tom. i. p. 625 [c. Const. Cab., c. 20]). If the authenticity of this piece be suspicious [there is no doubt that it is spurious], we are sure that in other works, no longer extant, Damascenus bestowed on Constantine the title of νέον Μωαμὲθ Χριστόμαχον, μισάγιον (tom. i. p. 306). [The authority for these citations from John of Damascus is the Vita Stephani Junioris. Cp. Appendix 1.]

[24] In the narrative of this persecution from Theophanes and Cedrenus, Spanheim (p. 235-238) is happy to compare the *Draco* of Leo with the dragoons (*Dracones*) of Louis XIV.; and highly solaces himself with this controversial pun.

[25] Πρόγραμμα γὰρ ἐξέπεμψε κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐξαρχίαν τὴν ὑπό τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, πάντας ὑπογράψαι καὶ ὀμνύναι τοῦ ἀθετῆσαι τὴν προσκύνησιν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων ([pseudo-] Damascen. Op. tom. i. p. 625 [c. Const. Caball., 21]). This oath and subscription I do not remember to have seen in any modern compilation.

Rome were nearly equal. But the Greek prelate was a domesti slave under the eye of his master, at whose nod he alternatel passed from the convent to the throne, and from the throne t the convent. A distant and dangerous station, amidst the ba barians of the West, excited the spirit and freedom of the Lati bishops. Their popular election endeared them to the Romans the public and private indigence was relieved by their ampl revenue; and the weakness or neglect of the emperors com pelled them to consult, both in peace and war, the tempora safety of the city. In the school of adversity the priest insen sibly imbibed the virtues and the ambition of a prince; th same character was assumed, the same policy was adopted, b the Italian, the Greek, or the Syrian, who ascended the chai of St. Peter; and, after the loss of her legions and provinces, th genius and fortune of the popes again restored the supremacy o Rome. It is agreed that in the eighth century their dominio was founded on rebellion, and that the rebellion was produced and justified, by the heresy of the Iconoclasts; but the conduc of the second and third Gregory, in this memorable contest, i variously interpreted by the wishes of their friends and enemies The Byzantine writers unanimously declare that, after a fruit less admonition, they pronounced the separation of the Eas and West, and deprived the sacrilegious tyrant of the revenu and sovereignty of Italy. Their excommunication is still mor clearly expressed by the Greeks, who beheld the accomplish ment of the papal triumphs; and, as they are more strongl attached to their religion than to their country, they praise instead of blaming, the zeal and orthodoxy of these apostolica men.[26] The modern champions of Rome are eager to accep the praise and the precedent: this great and glorious exampl of the deposition of royal heretics is celebrated by the cardinal Baronius and Bellarmine;[27] and, if they are asked why th same thunders were not hurled against the Neros and Julian of antiquity, they reply that the weakness of the primitiv church was the sole cause of her patient loyalty.[28] On this occasion, the effects of love and hatred are the same; and the zealous Protestants, who seek to kindle the indignation, and to alarm the fears, of princes and magistrates, expatiate on the insolence and treason of the two Gregories against their lawful sovereign.[29] They are defended only by the moderate Catholics, for the most part, of the Gallican church,[30] who respect the saint without approving the sin. These common advocates of the crown and the mitre circumscribe the truth of facts by the rule of equity, scripture, and tradition; and appeal to the evidence of the Latins,[31] and the lives[32] and epistles of the popes themselves.

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[26] Καὶ τὴν 'Ρώμην σὺν πάσῃ [τῇ] 'Ιταλίᾳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἀπέστησε, says Theo phanes (Chronograph. p. 343 [A.M. 6221]). For this Gregory is styled by Ced renus ἀνὴρ ἀποστολικός (p. 450). Zonaras specifies the thunder, ἀναθέματι συνοδικ (tom. ii. l. xv. p. 104, 105 [c. 4, ad init.]). It may be observed that the Greek are apt to confound the times and actions of two Gregories.

[27] See Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A.D. 730, No. 4, 5, dignum exemplum! Bellar min. de Romano Pontifice, l. v. c. 8, mulctavit eum parte imperii. Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, l. iii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 169. Yet such is the change of Italy tha Sigonius is corrected by the editor of Milan, Philippus Argelatus, a Bolognese, an subject of the pope.

Epistles of Gregory II. to the emperor. A.D. 727

Two original epistles, from Gregory the Second to the emperor Leo, are still extant;[33] and, if they cannot be praised as the most perfect models of eloquence and logic, they ex-

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[28] Quod si Christiani olim non deposuerunt Neronem aut Julianum, id fuit quia deerant vires temporales Christianis (honest Bellarmine, de Rom. Pont. l. v. c. 7). Cardinal Perron adds a distinction more honourable to the first Christians, but not more satisfactory to modern princes—the *treason* of heretics and apostates, who break their oath, belie their coin, and renounce their allegiance to Christ and his vicar (Perroniana, p. 89).

[29] Take, as a specimen, the cautious Basnage (Hist. de l'Eglise, p. 1350, 1351), and the vehement Spanheim (Hist. Imaginum), who, with an hundred more, tread in the footsteps of the centuriators of Magdeburg.

[30] See Launoy (Opera, tom. v. pars ii. epist. vii. 7, p. 456-474), Natalis Alexander (Hist. Nov. Testamenti, secul. viii. Dissert. i. p. 92-96), Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 215-216), and Giannone (Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 317-320), a disciple of the Gallican school. In the field of controversy I always pity the moderate party, who stand on the open middle ground exposed to the fire of both sides.

[31] They appeal to Paul Warnefrid, or Diaconus (de Gestis Langobard. l. vi. c. 49, p. 506, 507, in Script. Ital. Muratori, tom. i. pars i.), and the nominal Anastasius (de Vit. Pont. in Muratori, tom. iii. pars i. Gregorius II. p. 154. Gregorius III. p. 158. Zacharias, p. 161. Stephanus III. p. 165. Paulus, p. 172. Stephanus IV. p. 174. Hadrianus, p. 179. Leo III. p. 195). Yet I may remark that the true Anastasius (Hist. Eccles. p. 134, edit. Reg.), and the Historia Miscella (l. xxi. p. 151, in tom. i. Script. Ital.), both of the ixth century, translate and approve the Greek text of Theophanes.

[32] With some minute difference, the most learned critics, Lucas Holstenius, Schelestrate, Ciampini, Bianchini, Muratori (Prolegomena ad tom. iii. pars i.), are agreed that the Liber Pontificalis was composed and continued by the apostolical librarians and notaries of the viiith and ixth centuries; and that the last and smallest part is the work of Anastasius, whose name it bears. The style is barbarous, the narrative partial, the details are trifling; yet it must be read as a curious and authentic record of the times. The epistles of the popes are dispersed in the volumes of Councils. [See Appendix 1.]

[33] The two epistles of Gregory II. have been preserved in the Acts of the Nicene Council (tom. viii. p. 651-674). They are without a date, which is variously fixed, by Baronius in the year 726, by Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 120) in 729, and by Pagi in 730. Such is the force of prejudice, that some *Papists* have praised the good sense and moderation of these letters. [See Appendix 14. For the pontificate of Gregory: Dahmen, Das Pontifikat Gregors II., 1888.]

hibit the portrait, or at least the mask, of the founder of t
papal monarchy. “During ten pure and fortunate years,” sa
Gregory to the emperor, “we have tasted the annual comf
of your royal letters, subscribed in purple ink with your o
hand, the sacred pledges of your attachment to the orthod
creed of our fathers. How deplorable is the change! h
tremendous the scandal! You now accuse the Catholics
idolatry; and, by the accusation, you betray your own impie
and ignorance. To this ignorance we are compelled to adapt t
grossness of our style and arguments; the first elements of h
letters are sufficient for your confusion; and, were you to en
a grammar-school and avow yourself the enemy of our worsh
the simple and pious children would be provoked to cast th
horn-books at your head.” After this decent salutation, t
pope attempts the usual distinction between the idols of antiqu
and the Christian images. The former were the fanciful rep
sentations of phantoms or dæmons, at a time when the tr
God had not manifested his person in any visible likeness. T
latter are the genuine forms of Christ, his mother, and his sain
who had approved, by a crowd of miracles, the innocence a
merit of this relative worship. He must indeed have trust
to the ignorance of Leo, since he could assert the perpet
use of images from the apostolic age, and their veneral
presence in the six synods of the Catholic church. A m
specious argument is drawn from present possession and rece
practice; the harmony of the Christian world supersedes t
demand of a general council; and Gregory frankly confes
that such assemblies can only be useful under the reign of
orthodox prince. To the impudent and inhuman Leo, m
guilty than an heretic, he recommends peace, silence, a
implicit obedience to his spiritual guides of Constantinople a
Rome. The limits of civil and ecclesiastical powers are defin
by the pontiff. To the former he appropriates the body; to t
latter, the soul: the sword of justice is in the hands of t
magistrate; the more formidable weapon of excommunicati
is entrusted to the clergy; and in the exercise of their divi
commission a zealous son will not spare his offending fathe
the successor of St. Peter may lawfully chastise the kings of t
earth. “You assault us, O tyrant! with a carnal and milita
hand; unarmed and naked, we can only implore the Christ, t
prince of the heavenly host, that he will send unto you a dev
for the destruction of your body and the salvation of your so
You declare, with foolish arrogance, I will despatch my ord

to Rome; I will break in pieces the image of St. Peter; and Gregory, like his predecessor Martin, shall be transported in chains, and in exile, to the foot of the Imperial throne. Would to God that I might be permitted to tread in the footsteps of the holy Martin; but may the fate of Constans serve as a warning to the persecutors of the church! After his just condemnation by the bishops of Sicily, the tyrant was cut off, in the fulness of his sins, by a domestic servant; the saint is still adored by the nations of Scythia, among whom he ended his banishment and his life. But it is our duty to live for the edification and support of the faithful people; nor are we reduced to risk our safety on the event of a combat. Incapable as you are of defending your Roman subjects, the maritime situation of the city may perhaps expose it to your depredation; but we can remove to the distance of four-and-twenty *stadia*,[34] to the first [=3 miles] fortress of the Lombards, and then——you may pursue the winds. Are you ignorant that the popes are the bond of union, the mediators of peace, between the East and West? The eyes of the nations are fixed on our humility; and they revere, as a God upon earth, the apostle St. Peter, whose image you threaten to destroy.[35] The remote and interior kingdoms of the West present their homage to Christ and his vicegerent; and we now prepare to visit one of their most powerful monarchs, who desires to receive from our hands the sacrament of baptism.[36] The barbarians have submitted to the yoke of the gospel, while you alone are deaf to the voice of the shepherd. These pious barbarians are kindled into rage; they thirst to avenge the persecution of the East. Abandon your rash and fatal enterprise; reflect, tremble, and repent. If you persist, we are innocent of the blood that will be spilt in the contest; may it fall on your own head."

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[34] Εἴκοσι τέσσαρα στάδια ὑποχωρήσει ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Καμπανίας, καὶ ὕπαγε δίωξον τοὺς ἀνέμους (Epist. i. p. 664). This proximity of the Lombards is hard of digestion. Camillo Pellegrini (Dissert. iv. de Ducatu Beneventi, in the Script. Ital. tom. v. p. 172, 173) forcibly reckons the twenty-four stadia, not from Rome, but from the limits of the Roman duchy, to the first fortress, perhaps Sora, of the Lombards. I rather believe that Gregory, with the pedantry of the age, employs *stadia* for miles without much inquiry into the genuine measure.

[35] Ὃν αἱ πᾶσαι βασίλειαι τῆς δύσεως ὡς Θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι.

[36] Ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσωτέρου δύσεως τοῦ λεγομένου Σεπτέτου (p. 665). The pope appears to have imposed on the ignorance of the Greeks; he lived and died in the Lateran; and in his time all the kingdoms of the West had embraced Christianity. May not this unknown *Septetus* have some reference to the chief of the Saxon *Heptarchy* to Ina king of Wessex, who, in the pontificate of Gregory the Second, visited Rome, for the purpose, not of baptism, but of pilgrimage? (Pagi, A.D. 689, No 2, A.D. 726, No. 15). [Schenk adopts this explanation, in his art. on Leo III., Byz. Ztsch. v. p. 289.]

Revolt of Italy. A.D. 728, &c.

The first assault of Leo against the images of Constantinop
had been witnessed by a crowd of strangers from Italy and t
West, who related, with grief and indignation, the sacrilege
the emperor. But on the reception of his proscriptive edi
they trembled for their domestic deities; the images of Chr
and the virgin, of the angels, martyrs, and saints, were abolish
in all the churches of Italy; and a strong alternative was pr
posed to the Roman pontiff, the royal favour as the price
his compliance, degradation and exile as the penalty of h
disobedience. Neither zeal nor policy allowed him to hesitat
and the haughty strain in which Gregory addressed the en
peror displays his confidence in the truth of his doctrine or t
powers of resistance. Without depending on prayers or miracl
he boldly armed against the public enemy, and his pastor
letters admonished the Italians of their danger and their duty
At this signal, Ravenna, Venice, and the cities of the Exarcha
and Pentapolis, adhered to the cause of religion; their milita
force by sea and land consisted, for the most part, of t
natives; and the spirit of patriotism and zeal was transfus
into the mercenary strangers. The Italians swore to live an
die in the defence of the pope and the holy images; t
Roman people was devoted to their father, and even the Lor
bards were ambitious to share the merit and advantage of th
holy war. The most treasonable act, but the most obvio
revenge, was the destruction of the statues of Leo himself; t
most effectual and pleasing measure of rebellion was the wit
holding the tribute of Italy, and depriving him of a pow
which he had recently abused by the imposition of a ne
capitation.[38] A form of administration was preserved by t
election of magistrates and governors; and so high was t
public indignation that the Italians were prepared to crea
an orthodox emperor, and to conduct him with a fleet and arm

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[37] I shall transcribe the important and decisive passage of the Liber Pontifical
Respiciens ergo pius vir profanam principis jussionem, jam contra Imperatore
quasi contra *hostem* se armavit, renuens hæresim ejus, scribens ubique se cave
Christianos, eo quod orta fuisset impietas talis. *Igitur* permoti omnes Pent
polenses atque Venetiarum exercitus contra Imperatoris jussionem restiterun
dicentes se nunquam in ejusdem pontificis condescendere necem, sed pro ej
magis defensione viriliter decertare (p. 156).

[38] A *census*, or capitation, says Anastasius (p. 156); a most cruel tax, unknov
to the Saracens themselves, exclaims the zealous Maimbourg (Hist. des Icon
clastes, l. i.), and Theophanes (p. 344), who talks of Pharaoh's numbering the ma
children of Israel. This mode of taxation was familiar to the Saracens; and, mo
unluckily for the historian, it was imposed a few years afterwards in France by h
patron Lewis XIV.

o the palace of Constantinople. In that palace, the Roman ishops, the second and third Gregory, were condemned as the uthors of the revolt, and every attempt was made, either by raud or force, to seize their persons and to strike at their lives. he city was repeatedly visited or assaulted by captains of the uards, and dukes and exarchs of high dignity or secret trust; hey landed with foreign troops, they obtained some domestic id, and the superstition of Naples may blush that her fathers ere attached to the cause of heresy. But these clandestine r open attacks were repelled by the courage and vigilance f the Romans; the Greeks were overthrown and massacred, heir leaders suffered an ignominious death, and the popes, owever inclined to mercy, refused to intercede for these guilty ictims. At Ravenna,[39] the several quarters of the city had ong exercised a bloody and hereditary feud; in religious con-roversy they found a new aliment of faction; but the votaries f images were superior in numbers or spirit, and the exarch, ho attempted to stem the torrent, lost his life in a popular edition. To punish this flagitious deed and restore his do-inion in Italy, the emperor sent a fleet and army into the driatic gulf. After suffering from the winds and waves much oss and delay, the Greeks made their descent in the neighbour-ood of Ravenna; they threatened to depopulate the guilty apital and to imitate, perhaps to surpass, the example of Jus-inian the Second, who had chastised a former rebellion by the hoice and execution of fifty of the principal inhabitants. The omen and clergy, in sackcloth and ashes, lay prostrate in rayer; the men were in arms for the defence of their country; he common danger had united the factions, and the event of battle was preferred to the slow miseries of a siege. In a ard-fought day, as the two armies alternately yielded and dvanced, a phantom was seen, a voice was heard, and Ravenna as victorious by the assurance of victory. The strangers re-eated to their ships, but the populous sea-coast poured forth multitude of boats; the waters of the Po were so deeply fected with blood that during six years the public prejudice bstained from the fish of the river; and the institution of an nnual feast perpetuated the worship of images and the ab-

[A.D. 727]

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[39] See the Liber Pontificalis of Agnellus (in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of uratori, tom. ii. pars i.), whose deeper shade of barbarism marks the difference etween Rome and Ravenna. Yet we are indebted to him for some curious and omestic facts—the quarters and factions of Ravenna (p. 154), the revenge of stinian II. (p. 160, 161), the defeat of the Greeks (p. 170, 171), &c. [The story in gnellus is very doubtful. Cp. Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vi. 453-4.]

horrence of the Greek tyrant. Amidst the triumph of th Catholic arms, the Roman pontiff convened a synod of ninety three bishops against the heresy of the Iconoclasts. With thei consent he pronounced a general excommunication against a who by word or deed should attack the tradition of the father and the images of the saints ; in this sentence the emperor wa tacitly involved ; [40] but the vote of a last and hopeless remon strance may seem to imply that the anathema was yet suspende over his guilty head. No sooner had they confirmed their ow safety, the worship of images, and the freedom of Rome an Italy, than the popes appear to have relaxed of their severit and to have spared the relics of the Byzantine dominio Their moderate counsels delayed and prevented the election a new emperor, and they exhorted the Italians not to separat from the body of the Roman monarchy. The exarch was permi ted to reside within the walls of Ravenna, a captive rather than master ; and, till the Imperial coronation of Charlemagne, th government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name the successors of Constantine.[41]

Republic of Rome

The liberty of Rome, which had been oppressed by the arm and arts of Augustus, was rescued, after seven hundred an fifty years of servitude, from the persecution of Leo the Isaurian By the Cæsars, the triumphs of the consuls had been annih lated : in the decline and fall of the empire, the god Terminu the sacred boundary, had insensibly receded from the ocea the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates ; and Rome wa reduced to her ancient territory from Viterbo to Terracina, an from Narni to the mouth of the Tiber.[42] When the kings wer banished, the republic reposed on the firm basis which had bee founded by their wisdom and virtue. Their perpetual juris diction was divided between two annual magistrates; the senate continued to exercise the powers of administration and counsel; and the legislative authority was distributed in the assemblies of the people by a well-proportioned scale of property and service. Ignorant of the arts of luxury, the primitive Romans had improved the science of government and war; the will of the community was absolute; the rights of individuals were sacred; one hundred and thirty thousand citizens were armed for defence or conquest; and a band of robbers and outlaws was moulded into a nation, deserving of freedom and ambitious of glory.[43] When the sovereignty of the Greek emperors was extinguished, the ruins of Rome presented the sad image of depopulation and decay; her slavery was an habit, her liberty an accident: the effect of superstition, and the object of her own amazement and terror. The last vestige of the substance, or even the forms, of the constitution was obliterated from the practice and memory of the Romans; and they were devoid of knowledge, or virtue, again to build the fabric of a commonwealth. Their scanty remnant, the offspring of slaves and strangers, was despicable in the eyes of the victorious barbarians. As often as the Franks or Lombards expressed their most bitter contempt of a foe, they called him a Roman; "and in this name," says the bishop Liutprand, "we include whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever is perfidious, the extremes of avarice and luxury, and every vice that can prostitute the dignity of human nature".[44] By the necessity of their situation, the inhabitants of Rome were cast into the rough model of a republican government; they were compelled to elect some judges in peace, and some leaders in war; the nobles assembled to deliberate, and their resolves could not be executed without the union and consent of the multitude. The style of the Roman senate and people was revived,[45] but the spirit was fled; and their new independence was disgraced b the tumultuous conflict of licentiousness and oppression. Th want of laws could only be supplied by the influence of religio and their foreign and domestic counsels were moderated by th authority of the bishop. His alms, his sermons, his correspon ence with the kings and prelates of the West, his recent se vices, their gratitude and oath, accustomed the Romans t consider him as the first magistrate or prince of the city. Th Christian humility of the popes was not offended by the nam of *Dominus*, or Lord; and their face and inscription are sti apparent on the most ancient coins.[46] Their temporal dominic is now confirmed by the reverence of a thousand years; an their noblest title is the free choice of a people whom the had redeemed from slavery.

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[40] Yet Leo was undoubtedly comprised in the si quis . . . imaginum sacraru . . . destructor . . . extiterit sit extorris a corpore D. N. Jesu Christi vel toti ecclesiæ unitate. The canonists may decide whether the guilt or the name co stitutes the excommunication ; and the decision is of the last importance to the safety, since, according to the oracle (Gratian Caus. xxiii. q. 5, c. 47, apud Spa heim, Hist. Imag. p. 112), homicidas non esse qui excommunicatos trucidant.

[41] Compescuit tale consilium Pontifex, sperans conversionem principis (Anasta p. 156). Sed ne desisterent ab amore et fide R. J. admonebat (p. 157). Th popes style Leo and Constantine Copronymus, Imperatores et Domini, with t strange epithet of *Piissimi*. A famous Mosaic of the Lateran (A.D. 798) represen Christ, who delivers the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Constantine (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 337).

[42] I have traced the Roman duchy according to the maps, and the maps accor ing to the excellent dissertation of father Beretti (de Chorographiâ Italiæ Me Ævi, sect. xx. p. 216-232). Yet I must nicely observe that Viterbo is of Lomba foundation (p. 211), and that Terracina was usurped by the Greeks.

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[43] On the extent, population, &c. of the Roman kingdom, the reader may peruse, with pleasure, the *Discours Préliminaire* to the République Romaine of M. de Beaufort (tom. i.), who will not be accused of too much credulity for the early ages of Rome.

[44] Quos (*Romanos*) nos, Longobardi scilicet, Saxones, Franci, Lotharingi, Bagoarii, Suevi, Burgundiones, tanto dedignamur ut inimicos nostros commoti nil aliud contumeliarum nisi Romane dicamus; hoc solo, id est Romanorum nomine, quicquid ignobilitatis, quicquid timiditatis, quicquid avaritiæ, quicquid luxuriæ, quicquid mendacii, immo quicquid vitiorum est comprehendentes (Liutprand, in Legat. [c. 12] Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 481). For the sins of Cato or Tully, Minos might have imposed as a fit penance the daily perusal of this barbarous passage.

[45] Pipino regi Francorum [et patricio Romanorum], omnis senatus, atque universa populi generalitas a Deo servatæ Romanæ urbis. Codex Carolin. epist. 36,

Rome attacked by the Lombards. A.D. 730-752

In the quarrels of ancient Greece, the holy people of El enjoyed a perpetual peace, under the protection of Jupiter, an in the exercise of the Olympic games.[47] Happy would it hav been for the Romans, if a similar privilege had guarded th patrimony of St. Peter from the calamities of war; if th Christians who visited the holy threshold would have sheathe their swords in the presence of the apostle and his successo But this mystic circle could have been traced only by the wan of a legislator and a sage; this pacific system was incompatib with the zeal and ambition of the popes; the Romans were no addicted, like the inhabitants of Elis, to the innocent an placid labours of agriculture; and the barbarians of Ital though softened by the climate, were far below the Grecia states in the institutions of public and private life. A memo able example of repentance and piety was exhibited by Liutpran king of the Lombards. In arms, at the gate of the Vatica [A.D. 730] the conqueror listened to the voice of Gregory the Second, withdrew his troops, resigned his conquests, respectfully visite

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in Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 160. The names of senatus and senator we never totally extinct (Dissert. Chorograph. p. 216, 217); but in the middle ag they signified little more than nobiles, optimates, &c. (Ducange, Gloss. Latin.).

[46] See Muratori, Antiquit. Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. ii. Dissertat. xxvii. p. 54 On one of these coins we read Hadrianus Papa (A.D. 772); on the reverse, Vic DDNN. with the word *CONOB*, which the Père Joubert (Science des Médaille tom. ii. p. 42) explains by *CON*stantinopoli *O*fficina *B* (*secunda*). [OB = 72. C above, vol. 2, p. 195, n. 189.]

[47] See West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games (Pindar, vol. ii. p. 32-3 edition in 12mo), and the judicious reflections of Polybius (tom. i. l. iv. p. 46 edit. Gronov. [c. 73]).

[48] The speech of Gregory to the Lombard is finely composed by Sigonius (Regno Italiæ, l. iii. Opera, tom. ii. p. 173), who imitates the licence and the spi of Sallust or Livy. [Liutprand had formed a league with the exarch Eutychi against the Pope.]

the church of St. Peter, and after performing his devotions, offered his sword and dagger, his cuirass and mantle, his silver cross and his crown of gold, on the tomb of the apostle. But this religious fervour was the illusion, perhaps the artifice, of the moment; the sense of interest is strong and lasting; the love of arms and rapine was congenial to the Lombards; and both the prince and people were irresistibly tempted by the disorders of Italy, the nakedness of Rome, and the unwarlike profession of her new chief. On the first edicts of the emperor, they declared themselves the champions of the holy images; Liutprand invaded the province of Romagna, which had already assumed that distinctive appellation; the Catholics of the Exarchate yielded without reluctance to his civil and military power; and a foreign enemy was introduced for the [A.D. 738?] first time into the impregnable fortress of Ravenna. That city and fortress were speedily recovered by the active diligence [A.D. 740] and maritime forces of the Venetians; and those faithful subjects obeyed the exhortation of Gregory himself, in separating the personal guilt of Leo from the general cause of the Roman empire.[49] The Greeks were less mindful of the service than the Lombards of the injury; the two nations, hostile in their faith, were reconciled in a dangerous and unnatural alliance; the king and the exarch marched to the conquest of Spoleto [A.D. 742] and Rome; the storm evaporated without effect; but the policy of Liutprand alarmed Italy with a vexatious alternative of hostility and truce. His successor Astolphus declared himself the equal enemy of the emperor and the pope; Ravenna was subdued by force or treachery,[50] and this final conquest ex- [A.D. 750-1] tinguished the series of the exarchs, who had reigned with a subordinate power since the time of Justinian and the ruin of the Gothic kingdom. Rome was summoned to acknowledge the victorious Lombard as her lawful sovereign; the annual tribute of a piece of gold was fixed as the ransom of each citizen; and the sword of destruction was unsheathed to exact the penalty of her disobedience The Romans hesitated; they entreated; they complained; and the threatening barbarians were checked by arms and negotiations, till the popes had engaged the friendship of an ally and avenger beyond the Alps.[51]

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[49] The Venetian historians, John Sagorninus (Chron. Venet. p. 13) and the doge Andrew Dandolo (Scriptores Rer. Ital. tom. xii. p. 135), have preserved this epistle of Gregory. The loss and recovery of Ravenna are mentioned by Paulus Diaconus (de Gest. Langobard. l. vi. c. 49, 54, in Script. Ital. tom. i. pars i. p. 506, 508); but our chronologists, Pagi, Muratori, &c. cannot ascertain the date or circumstances. [Monticolo, Le spedizioni di Liutprando, &c., in the Arch. d. R. Soc. Rom. di storia patria (1892), p. 321 *sqq.*; Hodgkin, op. cit. vi. note F. p. 505-8. The date of the recovery of Ravenna was probably A.D. 740, that of the capture A.D. 738 or 739; but Monticolo places both in A.D. 735.]

[50] The option will depend on the various readings of the Mss. of Anastasius—*deceperat*, or *decerpserat* (Script. Ital. tom. iii. pars i. p. 167). [*Decerpserat* has no Ms. authority. See Lib. Pont. i. p. 444, ed. Duchesne.]

Her deliverance by Pepin. A.D. 754

In his distress, the first [51a] Gregory had implored the aid of the hero of the age, of Charles Martel, who governed the French monarchy with the humble title of mayor or duke; and who, by his signal victory over the Saracens, had saved his country, and perhaps Europe, from the Mahometan yoke. The ambassadors of the pope were received by Charles with decent reverence; but the greatness of his occupations and the shortness of his life prevented his interference in the affairs of Italy, except by a friendly and ineffectual mediation. His son Pepin, the heir of his power and virtues, assumed the office of champion of the Roman church; and the zeal of the French prince appears to have been prompted by the love of glory and religion. But the danger was on the banks of the Tiber, the succour on those of the Seine; and our sympathy is cold to the relation of distant misery. Amidst the tears of the city, Stephen the Third embraced the generous resolution of visiting in person the courts of Lombardy and France, to deprecate the injustice of his enemy, or to excite the pity and indignation of his friend. After soothing the public despair by litanies and orations, he undertook this laborious journey with the ambassadors of the French monarch and the Greek emperor. The king of the Lombards was inexorable; but his threats could not silence the complaints, nor retard the speed, of the Roman pontiff, who traversed the Pennine Alps, reposed in the abbey of St. Maurice, and hastened to grasp the right hand of his protector, a hand which was never lifted in vain, either in war or friendship. Stephen was entertained as the visible successor of the apostle; at the next assembly, the field of March or of May, his injuries were exposed to a devout and warlike nation, and he repassed the Alps, not as a suppliant, but as a conqueror, at the head of a French army, which was led by the king in person. The Lombards, after a weak resistance, obtained an

[A.D. 753]

[at Quierzy. A.D. 754]

[A.D. 754]

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[51] The Codex Carolinus is a collection of the epistles of the Popes to Charles Martel (whom they style *Subregulus*), Pepin and Charlemagne, as far as the year 791, when it was formed by the last of these princes. His original and authentic Ms. (Bibliothecæ Cubicularis) is now in the Imperial library of Vienna [No. 449], and has been published by Lambecius and Muratori (Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 75, &c.). [Ed. Jaffé, 1867; and Gundlach, in M.G.H., Epp. iii., 1892.]

[51a] [*Read* third.]

ignominious peace, and swore to restore the possessions, and to respect the sanctity, of the Roman church. But no sooner was Astolphus delivered from the presence of the French arms, than he forgot his promise and resented his disgrace. Rome was again encompassed by his arms; and Stephen, apprehensive of [A.D. 756] fatiguing the zeal of his Transalpine allies, enforced his complaint and request by an eloquent letter in the name and person of St. Peter himself.[52] The apostle assures his adoptive sons, the king, the clergy, and the nobles of France, that, dead in the flesh, he is still alive in the spirit; that they now hear, and must obey, the voice of the founder and guardian of the Roman church; that the Virgin, the angels, the saints, and the martyrs, and all the host of heaven, unanimously urge the request, and will confess the obligation; that riches, victory, and paradise will crown their pious enterprise; and that eternal damnation will be the penalty of their neglect, if they suffer his tomb, his temple, and his people to fall into the hands of the perfidious Lombards. The second expedition of Pepin was not less rapid and fortunate than the first: St. Peter [A.D. 756] was satisfied, Rome was again saved, and Astolphus was taught the lessons of justice and sincerity by the scourge of a foreign master. After this double chastisement, the Lombards languished about twenty years in a state of languor and decay. But their minds were not yet humbled to their condition; and, instead of affecting the pacific virtues of the feeble, they peevishly harassed the Romans with a repetition of claims, evasions, and inroads, which they undertook without reflection and terminated without glory. On either side, their expiring monarchy was pressed by the zeal and prudence of pope Hadrian the first, by the genius, the fortune, and greatness of Charlemagne the son of Pepin; these heroes of the church and state were united in public and domestic friendship; and, while they trampled on the prostrate, they varnished their proceedings with the fairest colours of equity and moderation.[53] The passes of the Alps, and the walls

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[52] See this most extraordinary letter in the Codex Carolinus, epist. iii. p. 92. The enemies of the popes have charged them with fraud and blasphemy; yet they surely meant to persuade rather than deceive. This introduction of the dead, or of immortals, was familiar to the ancient orators, though it is executed on this occasion in the rude fashion of the age.

[53] Except in the divorce of the daughter of Desiderius, whom Charlemagne repudiated sine aliquo crimine. Pope Stephen IV. had most furiously opposed the alliance of a noble Frank—cum perfidâ, horridâ, nec dicendâ, fœtentissimâ natione Longobardorum—to whom he imputes the first stain of leprosy (Cod. Carolin. epist. 45, p. 178, 179). Another reason against the marriage was the existence of a first wife (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 232, 233, 236, 237). But Charlemagne indulged himself in the freedom of polygamy or concubinage.

Conquest of Lombardy by Charlemagne. A.D. 774 [ten months]

of Pavia, were the only defence of the Lombards; the former were surprised, the latter were invested, by the son of Pepin; and after a blockade of two years, Desiderius, the last of their native princes, surrendered his sceptre and his capital. Under the dominion of a foreign king, but in the possession of their national laws, the Lombards became the brethren, rather than the subjects, of the Franks; who derived their blood, and manners, and language from the same Germanic origin.[54]

Pepin and Charlemagne, kings of France. A.D. 751, 753-768

The mutual obligations of the popes and the Carlovingian family form the important link of ancient and modern, of civil and ecclesiastical, history. In the conquest of Italy, the champions of the Roman church obtained a favourable occasion, a specious title, the wishes of the people, the prayers and intrigues of the clergy. But the most essential gifts of the popes to the Carlovingian race were the dignities of king of France [55] and of patrician of Rome. I. Under the sacerdotal monarchy of St. Peter, the nations began to resume the practice of seeking, on the banks of the Tiber, their kings, their laws, and the oracles of their fate. The Franks were perplexed between the name and substance of their government. All the powers of royalty were exercised by Pepin, mayor of the palace; and nothing, except the regal title, was wanting to his ambition. His enemies were crushed by his valour; his friends were multiplied by his liberality; his father had been the saviour of Christendom; and the claims of personal merit were repeated and ennobled in a descent of four generations. The name and image of royalty was still preserved in the last descendant of Clovis, the feeble Childeric; but his obsolete right could only be used as an instrument of sedition; the nation was desirous of restoring the simplicity of the constitution; and Pepin, a subject and a prince, was ambitious to ascertain his own rank and the fortune of his family. The mayor and the nobles were bound, by an oath of fidelity, to the royal phantom; the blood of Clovis was pure and sacred in their eyes; and their common ambassadors addressed the Roman pontiff, to dispel their scruples or to absolve their promise. The interest of pope Zachary, the successor of the two Gregories, prompted him to decide, and to decide in their favour; he pronounced that the nation might lawfully unite, in the same person, the title and authority of king; and that the unfortunate Childeric, a victim of the public safety, should be degraded, shaved, and confined in a monastery for the remainder of his days. An answer so agreeable to their wishes was accepted by the Franks, as the opinion of a casuist, the sentence of a judge, or the oracle of a prophet; the Merovingian race disappeared from the earth; and Pepin was exalted on a buckler by the suffrage of a free people, accustomed to obey his laws and to march under his standard. His coronation was twice performed, with the sanction of the popes, by their most faithful servant St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, and by the grateful hands of Stephen the Third, who, in the monastery of St. Denys, placed the diadem on the head of his benefactor. The royal unction of the kings of Israel was dexterously applied;[56] the successor of St. Peter assumed the character of a divine ambassador; a German chieftain was transformed into the Lord's anointed; and this Jewish rite has been diffused and maintained by the superstition and vanity of modern Europe. The Franks were absolved from their ancient oath; but a dire anathema was thundered against them and their posterity, if they should dare to renew the same freedom of choice, or to elect a king, except in the holy and meritorious race of the Carlovingian princes. Without apprehending the future danger, these princes gloried in their present security; the secretary of Charlemagne affirms that the French sceptre was transferred by the authority of the popes;[57] and in their boldest enterprises they insist, with confidence, on this signal and successful act of temporal jurisdiction.

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[54] See the Annali d'Italia of Muratori, tom. vi. and the three first dissertations of his Antiquitates Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. i.

[55] Besides the common historians, three French critics, Launoy (Opera, tom. v. pars ii. l. vii. epist. 9, p. 477-487), Pagi (Critica, A.D. 751, No. 1-6, A.D. 752 No. 1-10), and Natalis Alexander (Hist. Novi Testamenti, Dissertat. ii. p. 96-107) have treated this subject of the deposition of Childeric with learning and attention but with a strong bias to save the independence of the crown. Yet they are hard pressed by the texts which they produce of Eginhard, Theophanes, and the old annals, Laureshamenses, Fuldenses, Loisielani [= Laurissenses maiores].

Patricians of Rome

II. In the change of manners and language, the patricians of Rome[58] were far removed from the senate of Romulus or the palace of Constantine, from the free nobles of the republic or the fictitious parents of the emperor. After the recovery of Italy and Africa by the arms of Justinian, the importance and danger of those remote provinces required the presence of a supreme magistrate; he was indifferently styled the exarch or the patrician; and these governors of Ravenna, who fill their place in the chronology of princes, extended their jurisdiction over the Roman city. Since the revolt of Italy and the loss of the Exarchate, the distress of the Romans had exacted some sacrifice of their independence. Yet, even in this act, they exercised the right of disposing of themselves; and the decrees of the senate and people successively invested Charles Martel and his posterity with the honours of patrician of Rome. The leaders of a powerful nation would have disdained a servile title and subordinate office; but the reign of the Greek emperors was suspended; and, in the vacancy of the empire, they derived a more glorious commission from the pope and the republic. The Roman ambassadors presented these patricians [A.D. 739, 796] with the keys of the shrine of St. Peter, as a pledge and symbol of sovereignty; with a holy banner, which it was their right and duty to unfurl in the defence of the church and city.[59] In the time of Charles Martel and of Pepin, the interposition of the Lombard kingdom covered the freedom, while it threatened the safety, of Rome; and the *patriciate* represented only the title, the service, the alliance, of these distant protectors. The power and policy of Charlemagne annihilated an enemy, and imposed a master. In his first visit to the capital, he was received with all the honours which had formerly been paid to the exarch, the representative of the emperor; and these honours obtained some new decorations from the joy and gratitude of pope Hadrian the First.[60] No sooner was he informed of the sudden approach of the monarch, than he dispatched the magistrates and nobles of Rome to meet him, with the banner, about thirty miles from the city. At the distance of one mile, the Flaminian way was lined with the *schools*, or national communities, of Greeks, Lombards, Saxons, &c.; the Roman youth was under arms; and the children of a more tender age, with palms and olive branches in their hands, chaunted the praises of their great deliverer. At the aspect of the holy crosses and ensigns of the saints, he dismounted from his horse, led the procession of his nobles to the Vatican, and, as he ascended the stairs, devoutly kissed each step of the threshold of the apostles. In the portico, Hadrian expected him at the head of his clergy; they embraced, as friends and equals; but, in their march to the altar, the king or patrician assumed the right hand of the pope. Nor was the Frank content with these vain and empty demonstrations of respect. In the twenty-six years that elapsed between the conquest of Lombardy and his Imperial coronation, Rome, which had been delivered by the sword, was subject as his own to the sceptre, of Charlemagne. The people swore allegiance to his person and family; in his name money was coined and justice was administered; and the election of the popes was examined and confirmed by his authority. Except an original and self-inherent claim of sovereignty, there was not any prerogative remaining which the title of emperor could add to the patrician of Rome.[61]

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[56] Not absolutely for the first time. On a less conspicuous theatre, it had been used, in the vith and viith centuries, by the provincial bishops of Britain and Spain. The royal unction of Constantinople was borrowed from the Latins in the last age of the empire. Constantine Manasses mentions that of Charlemagne as a foreign, Jewish, incomprehensible ceremony. See Selden's Titles of Honour, in his Works, vol. iii. part i. p. 234-249. I should have noticed (as Professor Sickel has pointed out to me in his essay (p. 35) mentioned below, *sub* p. 283) that there is no evidence that anointing was practised at Constantinople in 8th century.

[57] See Eginhard, in Vitâ Caroli Magni, c. i. p. 9, &c. c. iii. p. 24. Childeric was deposed—*jussu*, the Carlovingians were established—*auctoritate*, Pontificis Romani. Launoy, &c. pretend that these strong words are susceptible of a very soft interpretation. Be it so; yet Eginhard understood the world, the court, and the Latin language.

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[58] For the title and powers of patrician of Rome, see Ducange (Gloss. Latin. tom. v. p. 149-151), Pagi (Critica, A.D. 740, No. 6-11), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 308-329), and St. Marc (Abrégé Chronologique d'Italie, tom. i. p. 379-482). Of these the Franciscan Pagi is the most disposed to make the patrician a lieutenant of the church rather than of the empire. [That the patriciate of Pippin and Charles was not an empty title but had rights and duties is shown by Sickel, Gött. gel. Anz. 1897, p. 847, 848. On the term *patriciatus Petri* for the territorial lordship of the popes, cp. Kehr, Gött. Nachrichten, 1896, p. 144.]

[59] The papal advocates can soften the symbolic meaning of the banner and the keys; but the style of ad *regnum* dimisimus, or direximus (Codex Carolin. epist. i. tom. iii. pars ii. p. 76), seems to allow of no palliation or escape. In the Ms. of the Vienna library, they read, instead of *regnum*, *rogum*, prayer or request (see Ducange), and the royalty of Charles Martel is subverted by this important correction (Catalini, in his Critical Prefaces, Annali d'Italia, tom. xvii. p. 95-99). [Sickel shows that the banner had no juridical significance, op. cit. p. 850-1. For the keys, cp. Appendix 16.]

Donations of Pepin and Charlemagne to the popes

The gratitude of the Carlovingians was adequate to these obligations, and their names are consecrated as the saviours and benefactors of the Roman church. Her ancient patrimony of farms and houses was transformed by their bounty into the temporal dominion of cities and provinces; and the donation of the Exarchate was the first-fruits of the conquests of Pepin.[62]

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[60] In the authentic narrative of this reception, the Liber Pontificalis observes—obviam illi ejus sanctitas dirigens venerabiles cruces, id est signa; sicut mos est ad exarchum aut patricium suscipiendum, eum cum ingenti honore suscipi fecit (tom. iii. pars i. p. 185).

[61] Paulus Diaconus, who wrote before the *empire* of Charlemagne, describes Rome as his subject city—vestræ [? vestras] civitates [Romanos ipsamque urbem Romuleam; ap. Freher, i. p. 574] (ad Pompeium Festum) suis addidit sceptris (de Metensis Ecclesiæ Episcopis). Some Carlovingian medals, struck at Rome, have engaged Le Blanc to write an elaborate, though partial, dissertation on their authority at Rome, both as patricians and emperors (Amsterdam, 1692, in 4to).

[62] Mosheim (Institution. Hist. Eccles. p. 263) weighs this donation with fair and deliberate prudence. The original act has never been produced; but the Liber Pontificalis represents (p. 171), and the Codex Carolinus supposes, this ample gift. Both are contemporary records; and the latter is the more authentic, since it has been preserved, not in the papal, but the Imperial, library. [See Appendix 16.]

Astolphus with a sigh relinquished his prey; the keys and the hostages of the principal cities were delivered to the French ambassador; and, in his master's name, he presented them before the tomb of St. Peter. The ample measure of the Exarchate [63] might comprise all the provinces of Italy which had obeyed the emperor and his vicegerent; but its strict and proper limits were included in the territories of Ravenna, Bologna, and Ferrara; its inseparable dependency was the Pentapolis, which stretched along the Adriatic from Rimini, to Ancona, and advanced into the midland country as far as the ridges of the Apennine. In this transaction, the ambition and avarice of the popes has been severely condemned. Perhaps the humility of a Christian priest should have rejected an earthly kingdom, which it was not easy for him to govern without renouncing the virtues of his profession. Perhaps a faithful subject, or even a generous enemy, would have been less impatient to divide the spoils of the barbarian; and, if the emperor had entrusted Stephen to solicit in his name the restitution of the Exarchate, I will not absolve the pope from the reproach of treachery and falsehood. But in the rigid interpretation of the laws every one may accept, without injury, whatever his benefactor can bestow without injustice. The Greek emperor had abdicated or forfeited his right to the Exarchate; and the sword of Astolphus was broken by the stronger sword of the Carlovingian. It was not in the cause of the Iconoclast that Pepin had exposed his person and army in a double expedition beyond the Alps; he possessed, and might lawfully alienate, his conquests; and to the importunities of the Greeks he piously replied that no human consideration should tempt him to resume the gift which he had conferred on the Roman pontiff for the remission of his sins and the salvation of his soul. The splendid donation was granted in supreme and absolute dominion, and the world beheld, for the first time, a Christian bishop invested with the prerogatives of a temporal prince: the choice of magistrates, the exercise of justice, the imposition of taxes, and the wealth of the palace of Ravenna. In the dissolution of the Lombard kingdom, the inhabitants of the duchy of Spoleto [64] sought a refuge from the storm, shaved their heads after the Roman fashion, declared themselves the servants and subjects of St. Peter, and completed, by this voluntary surrender, the present circle of the ecclesiastical state. That mysterious circle was enlarged to an indefinite extent by the verbal or written donation of Charlemagne,[65] who, in the first transports of his victory, despoiled himself and the Greek emperor of the cities and islands which had formerly been annexed to the Exarchate. But, in the cooler moments of absence and reflection, he viewed, with an eye of jealousy and envy, the recent greatness of his ecclesiastical ally. The execution of his own and his father's promises was respectfully eluded; the king of the Franks and Lombards asserted the inalienable rights of the empire; and, in his life and death, Ravenna,[66] as well as Rome, was numbered in the list of his metropolitan cities. The sovereignty of the Exarchate melted away in the hands of the popes; they found in the archbishops of Ravenna a dangerous and domestic rival;[67] the nobles and priests disdained the yoke of a priest; and, in the disorders of the times, they could only retain the memory of an ancient claim, which, in a more prosperous age, they have revived and realised.

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[63] Between the exorbitant claims, and narrow concessions, of interest and prejudice, from which even Muratori (Antiquitat. tom. i. p. 63-68) is not exempt, I have been guided, in the limits of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, by the Dissertatio Chorographica Italiæ Medii Ævi, tom. x. p. 160-180.

[64] Spoletini deprecati sunt, ut eos in servitio B. Petri reciperet et more Romanorum tonsurari faceret (Anastasius, p. 185). Yet it may be a question whether they gave their own persons or their country.

Forgery of the donation of Constantine

Fraud is the resource of weakness and cunning; and the strong, though ignorant, barbarian was often entangled in the net of sacerdotal policy. The Vatican and Lateran were an arsenal and manufacture, which, according to the occasion, have produced or concealed a various collection of false or genuine, of corrupt or suspicious acts, as they tended to promote the interest of the Roman church. Before the end of the eighth century, some apostolical scribe, perhaps the notorious Isidore, composed the decretals, and the donation of Constantine, the two magic pillars of the spiritual and temporal monarchy of the popes. This memorable donation was introduced to the world by an epistle of Hadrian the First, who exhorts Charlemagne to imitate the liberality, and revive the name, of the great Constantine.[68] According to the legend, the first of the Christian emperors was healed of the leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism, by St. Silvester, the Roman bishop; and never was physician more gloriously recompensed. His royal proselyte withdrew from the seat and patrimony of St. Peter; declared his resolution of founding a new capital in the East; and resigned to the popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West.[69] This fiction was productive of the most beneficial effects. The Greek princes were convicted of the guilt of usurpation; and the revolt of Gregory was the claim of his lawful inheritance. The popes were delivered from their debt of gratitude; and the nominal gifts of the Carlovingians were no more than the just and irrevocable restitution of a scanty portion of the ecclesiastical state. The sovereignty of Rome no longer depended on the choice of a fickle people; and the successors of St. Peter and Constantine were invested with the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars. So deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times that the most absurd of fables was received, with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law.[70] The emperors and the Romans were incapable of discerning a forgery that subverted their rights and freedom; and the only opposition proceeded from a Sabine monastery, which, in the beginning of the twelfth century, disputed the truth and validity of the donation of Constantine.[71] In the revival of letters and liberty this fictitious deed was transpierced by the pen of Laurentius Valla, the pen of an eloquent critic and a Roman patriot.[72] His contemporaries of the fifteenth century were astonished at his sacrilegious boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason that before the end of the next age the fable was rejected by the contempt of historians[73] and poets,[74] and the tacit or modest censure of the advocates of the Roman church.[75] The popes themselves have indulged a smile at the credulity of the vulgar;[76] but a false and obsolete title still sanctifies their reign; and, by the same fortune which has attended the decretals and the Sibylline oracles, the edifice has subsisted after the foundations have been undermined.

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[65] The policy and donations of Charlemagne are carefully examined by St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. i. p. 390-408), who has well studied the Codex Carolinus. I believe, with him, that they were only verbal. The most ancient act of donation that pretends to be extant is that of the emperor Lewis the Pious (Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, l. iv., Opera, tom. ii. p. 267-270). Its authenticity, or at least its integrity, are much questioned (Pagi, A.D. 817, No. 7, &c., Muratori, Annali, tom. vi. p. 432, &c.; Dissertat. Chorographica, p. 33, 34), but I see no reasonable objection to these princes so freely disposing of what was not their own. [The genuineness of the Ludovicianum, A.D. 817, is now generally admitted. The mention of the islands Sardinia and Sicily may be an interpolation.]

[66] Charlemagne solicited and obtained from the proprietor, Hadrian I., the mosaics of the palace of Ravenna, for the decoration of Aix-la-Chapelle (Cod. Carolin. epist. 67, p. 223). [He built his palace on the model of Theodoric's, and his church (included in the present cathedral of Aachen) on the pattern of San Vitale, at Ravenna. His architect's name was Odo.]

[67] The popes often complain of the usurpations of Leo of Ravenna (Codex Carolin. epist. 51, 52, 53, p. 200-205). Si corpus St. Andreæ fratris germani St. Petri hic humasset, nequâquam nos Romani pontifices sic subjugassent (Agnellus, Liber Pontificalis, in Scriptores Rerum Ital. tom. ii. pars i. p. 107).

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[68] Piissimo Constantino magno per ejus largitatem S. R. Ecclesia elevata et exaltata est, et potestatem in his Hesperiæ partibus largiri dignatus est. . . . Quia ecce novus Constantinus his temporibus, &c. (Codex Carolin. epist. 49, in tom. iii. pars ii. p. 195). Pagi (Critica, A.D. 324, No. 16) ascribes them to an impostor of the viiith century, who borrowed the name of St. Isidore: his humble title of *Peccator* was ignorantly, but aptly, turned into *Mercator;* his merchandise was indeed profitable, and a few sheets of paper were sold for much wealth and power.

[69] Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 4-7) has enumerated the several editions of this Act, in Greek and Latin. The copy which Laurentius Valla recites and refutes appears to be taken either from the spurious Acts of St. Silvester or from Gratian's Decree, to which, according to him and others, it has been surreptitiously tacked.

[70] In the year 1059, it was believed (was it believed?) by pope Leo IX., cardinal Peter Damianus, &c. Muratori places (Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 23, 24) the fictitious donations of Lewis the Pious, the Othos, &c. de Donatione Constantini. See a Dissertation of Natalis Alexander, seculum iv. diss. 25, p. 335-350.

Restoration of images in the East by the empress Irene. A.D. 780, &c.

While the popes established in Italy their freedom and dominion, the images, the first cause of their revolt, were restored in the Eastern empire.[77] Under the reign of Constantine the Fifth, the union of civil and ecclesiastical power had overthrown the tree, without extirpating the root, of superstition. The idols, for such they were now held, were secretly cherished by the order and the sex most prone to devotion; and the fond alliance of the monks and females obtained a final victory over the reason and authority of man. Leo the Fourth maintained with less rigour the religion of his father and grandfather; but his wife, the fair and ambitious Irene, had imbibed the zeal of the Athenians, the heirs of the idolatry, rather than the philosophy, of their ancestors. During the life of her husband, these sentiments were inflamed by danger and dissimulation, and she could only labour to protect and promote some favourite monks, whom she drew from their caverns and seated on the metropolitan thrones of the East. But, as soon as she reigned in her own name and that of her son, Irene more seriously undertook the ruin of the Iconoclasts; and the first step of her future persecution was a general edict for liberty of conscience. In the restoration of the monks, a thousand images were exposed to the public veneration; a thousand legends were invented of their sufferings and miracles. By the opportunities of death or removal the episcopal seats were judiciously filled; the most eager competitors for earthly or celestial favour anticipated and flattered the judgment of their sovereign; and the promotion of her secretary Tarasius gave Irene the patriarch of Constantinople and the command of the Oriental church. But the decrees of a general council could only be repealed by a similar assembly;[78] the Iconoclasts whom she convened were bold in possession and averse to debate; and the feeble voice of the bishops was re-echoed by the more formidable clamour of the soldiers and people of Constantinople. The delay and

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[71] See a large account of the controversy (A.D. 1105), which arose from a private lawsuit, in the Chronicon Farfense [by Gregorius Catinensis] (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars ii. p. 637, &c.), a copious extract from the archives of that Benedictine abbey. They were formerly accessible to curious foreigners (Le Blanc and Mabillon), and would have enriched the first volume of the Historia Monastica Italia of Quirini. But they are now imprisoned (Muratori, Scriptores R. I. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 269) by the timid policy of the court of Rome; and the future cardinal yielded to the voice of authority and the whispers of ambition (Quirini, Comment. pars ii. p. 123-136). [The Registrum of Farfa is being published (not yet complete) by J. Georgi and U. Balzani. The Orth. defens. imperialis de investitura (A.D. iiii.) is ed. by Heinemann in M.G.H., Libelli de lite, ii. 535 *sqq.* (1893).]

[72] I have read in the collection of Schardius (de Potestate Imperiali Ecclesiasticâ, p. 734-780) this animated discourse, which was composed by the author A.D. 1440, six years after the flight of pope Eugenius IV. It is a most vehement party pamphlet: Valla justifies and animates the revolt of the Romans, and would even approve the use of a dagger against their sacerdotal tyrant. Such a critic might expect the persecution of the clergy; yet he made his peace, and is buried in the Lateran (Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, VALLA; Vossius, de Historicis Latinis, p. 580).

[73] See Guicciardini, a servant of the popes, in that long and valuable digression, which has resumed its place in the last edition, correctly published from the author's Ms. and printed in four volumes in quarto, under the name of Friburgo, 1775 (Istoria d'Italia, tom. i. p. 385-395).

[74] The Paladin Astolpho found it in the moon, among the things that were lost upon earth (Orlando Furioso, xxxiv. 80).

Di vari fiori ad un gran monte passa,
Ch'ebbe già buono odore, or puzza forte
Questo era il dono (se però dir lece)
Che Constantino al buon Silvestro fece.

Yet this incomparable poem has been approved by a bull of Leo X.

[75] See Baronius, A.D. 324, No. 117-123, A.D. 1191, No. 51, &c. The cardinal wishes to suppose that Rome was offered Constantine, and *refused* by Silvester. The act of donation he considers, strangely enough, as a forgery of the Greeks.

[76] Baronius n'en dit guères contre; encore en a-t-il trop dit, et l'on vouloit sans moi (*Cardinal du Perron*), qui l'empêchai, censurer cette partie de son histoire. J'en devisai un jour avec le Pape, et il ne me repondit autre chose "che volete? i Canonici la tengono," il le disoit *en riant* (Perroniana, p. 77).

VIIth general council, IId of Nice. A.D 787, Sept. 24—Oct. 23

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[77] The remaining history of images, from Irene to Theodora, is collected, for the Catholics, by Baronius and Pagi (A.D. 780-840), Natalis Alexander (Hist. N. T. seculum viii. Panoplia adversus Hæreticos, p. 118-178), and Dupin (Bibliot. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 136-154); for the Protestants, by Spanheim (Hist. Imag. p. 305-639), Basnage (Hist. de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 556-572, tom. ii. p. 1362-1385), and Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. secul. viii. et ix.). The Protestants, except Mosheim, are soured with controversy; but the Catholics, except Dupin, are inflamed by the fury and superstition of the monks; and even le Beau (Hist. du Bas Empire), a gentleman and a scholar, is infected by the odious contagion.

[78] See the Acts, in Greek and Latin, of the second Council of Nice, with a number of relative pieces, in the viiith volume of the Councils, p. 645-1600. A faithful version, with some critical notes, would provoke, in different readers, a sigh or a smile.

intrigues of a year, the separation of the disaffected troops, and the choice of Nice for a second orthodox synod removed these obstacles; and the episcopal conscience was again, after the Greek fashion, in the hands of the prince. No more than eighteen days were allowed for the consummation of this important work; the Iconoclasts appeared, not as judges, but as criminals or penitents; the scene was decorated by the legates of pope Hadrian and the Eastern patriarchs;[79] the decrees were framed by the president Tarasius, and ratified by the acclamations and subscriptions of three hundred and fifty bishops. They unanimously pronounced that the worship of images is agreeable to scripture and reason, to the fathers and councils of the church: but they hesitate whether that worship be relative or direct; whether the Godhead and the figure of Christ be entitled to the same mode of adoration. Of this second Nicene council, the acts are still extant: a curious monument of superstition and ignorance, of falsehood and folly. I shall only notice the judgment of the bishops on the comparative merit of image-worship and morality. A monk had concluded a truce with the dæmon of fornication, on condition of interrupting his daily prayers to a picture that hung in his cell. His scruples prompted him to consult the abbot. "Rather than abstain from adoring Christ and his Mother in their holy images, it would be better for you," replied the casuist, "to enter every brothel, and visit every prostitute, in the city."[80]

Final establishment of images by the empress Theodora. A.D. 842

For the honour of orthodoxy, at least the orthodoxy of the Roman church, it is somewhat unfortunate that the two princes who convened the two councils of Nice are both stained with the blood of their sons. The second of these assemblies was approved and rigorously executed by the despotism of Irene, and she refused her adversaries the toleration which at first she had granted to her friends. During the five succeeding reigns, a period of thirty-eight years, the contest was maintained, with unabated rage and various success, between the worshippers, and the breakers, of the images; but I am not inclined to pursue with minute diligence the repetition of the same events. Nicephorus allowed a general liberty of speech and practice; and the only virtue of his reign is accused by the monks as the cause of his temporal and eternal perdition. Superstition and weakness formed the character of Michael the First, but the saints and images were incapable of supporting their votary on the throne. In the purple, Leo the Fifth asserted the name and religion of an Armenian; and the idols, with their seditious adherents, were condemned to a second exile. Their applause would have sanctified the murder of an impious tyrant, but his assassin and successor, the second Michael, was tainted from his birth with the Phrygian heresies: he attempted to mediate between the contending parties; and the intractable spirit of the Catholics insensibly cast him into the opposite scale.[81] His moderation was guarded by timidity; but his son Theophilus, alike ignorant of fear and pity, was the last and most cruel of the Iconoclasts.[82] The enthusiasm of the times ran strongly against them; and the emperors, who stemmed the torrent, were exasperated and punished by the public hatred. After the death of Theophilus, the final victory of the images was achieved by a second female, his widow Theodora, whom he left the guardian of the empire. Her measures were bold and decisive. The fiction of a tardy repentance absolved the fame and the soul of her deceased husband;[83] the sentence of the Iconoclast patriarch was commuted from the loss of his eyes to a whipping of two hundred lashes; the bishops trembled, [A.D. 843] the monks shouted, and the festival of orthodoxy preserves the annual memory of the triumph of the images.[84] A single question yet remained, whether they are endowed with any proper and inherent sanctity; it was agitated by the Greeks of the eleventh century;[85] and, as this opinion has the strongest recommendation of absurdity, I am surprised that it was not more explicitly decided in the affirmative. In the West, pope Hadrian the First accepted and announced the decrees of the Nicene assembly, which is now revered by the Catholics as the seventh in rank of the general councils. Rome and Italy were docile to the voice of their father; but the greatest part of the Latin Christians were far behind in the race of superstition. The churches of France, Germany, England, and Spain, steered a middle course between the adoration and the destruction of images, which they admitted into their temples, not as objects of worship, but as lively and useful memorials of faith and history. An angry book of controversy was composed and published in the name of Charlemagne;[86] under his authority a synod of three hundred bishops was assembled at Frankfort;[87] they blamed the fury of the Iconoclasts, but they pronounced a more severe censure against the superstition of the Greeks and the decrees of their pretended council, which was long despised by the barbarians of the West.[88] Among them the worship of images advanced with a silent and insensible progress; but a large atonement is made for their hesitation and delay by the gross idolatry of the ages which precede the reformation, and of the countries, both in Europe and America, which are still immersed in the gloom of superstition.

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[79] The pope's legates were casual messengers, two priests without any special commission, and who were disavowed on their return. Some vagabond monks were persuaded by the Catholics to represent the Oriental patriarchs. This curious anecdote is revealed by Theodore Studites (epist. i. 38, in Sirmond. Opp. tom. v. p. 1319), one of the warmest Iconoclasts of the age.

[80] Συμφέρει δὲ σοὶ μὴ καταλιπεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ πορνεῖον εἰς ὃ μὴ εἰσέλθῃς, ἢ ἵνα ἀρνήσῃ τὸ προσκυνεῖν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ μητρὸς ἐν εἰκόνι. These visits could not be innocent, since the Δαίμων πορνείας (the dæmon of fornication) ἐπολέμει δὲ αὐτὸν . .·. ἐν μίᾳ οὖν ὡς ἐπέκειτο αὐτῷ σφόδρα, &c. Actio iv. p. 901, Actio v. p. 1031.

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[81] [Michael was really indifferent in religious matters; his policy was toleration.]

[82] [His edict against Image-worship was published in A.D. 832. The chief martyrs were Lazarus the painter, who was scourged and imprisoned, and the brothers Theodore and Theophanes, who were tortured. Verses were branded on the head of Theodore, here known as *Graptos*. None of the martyrs suffered death.]

[83] [See the De Theophili imperatoris absolutione, in Regel's Anal. Byz.-Russ. p. 19 *sqq.* (cp. p. x. *sqq.*).]

[84] [The *Sunday of Orthodoxy*. There is a full study on the council of 842 by Th. Uspenski in his Ocherki po ist. Viz. obrazannosti, p. 3-88.]

[85] See an account of this controversy in the Alexias of Anna Comnena (l. v. p. 129 [c. 2]) and Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 371, 372).

Reluctance of the Frank and of Char magne. A. 794, &c.

Final separa tion of the popes from the Eastern empire. A. 774-800

It was after the Nicene synod, and under the reign of the pious Irene, that the popes consummated the separation of Rome and Italy, by the translation of the empire to the less orthodox Charlemagne. They were compelled to choose between the rival nations; religion was not the sole motive of their choice; and, while they dissembled the failings of their friends, they beheld, with reluctance and suspicion, the Catholic virtues of their foes. The difference of language and manners had perpetuated the enmity of the two capitals; and they were alienated from each other by the hostile opposition of seventy years. In that schism the Romans had tasted of freedom, and the popes of sovereignty: their submission would have exposed them to the revenge of a jealous tyrant; and the revolution of Italy had betrayed the impotence, as well as the tyranny, of the Byzantine court. The Greek emperors had restored the images, but they had not restored the Calabrian estates[89] and the Illyrian diocese,[90] which the Iconoclasts had torn away from the successors of St. Peter; and pope Hadrian threatens them with a sentence of excommunication unless they speedily abjure this practical heresy.[91] The Greeks were now orthodox, but their religion might be tainted by the breath of the reigning monarch; the Franks were now contumacious, but a discerning eye might discern their approaching conversion from the use, to the adoration, of images. The name of Charlemagne was stained by the polemic acrimony of his scribes; but the conqueror himself conformed, with the temper of a statesman, to the various practice of France and Italy. In his four pilgrimages or visits to the Vatican, he embraced the popes in the communion of friendship and piety; knelt before the tomb, and consequently before the image, of the apostle; and joined, without scruple, in all the prayers and processions of the Roman liturgy. Would prudence or gratitude allow the pontiffs to renounce their benefactor? Had they a right to alienate his gift of the Exarchate? Had they power to abolish his government of Rome? The title of patrician was below the merit and greatness of Charlemagne; and it was only by reviving the Western empire that they could pay their obligations or secure their establishment. By this decisive measure they would finally eradicate the claims of the Greeks; from the debasement of a provincial town, the majesty of Rome would be restored; the Latin Christians would be united under a supreme head, in their ancient metropolis; and the conquerors of the West would receive their crown from the successors of St. Peter. The Roman church would acquire a zealous and respectable advocate; and, under the shadow of the Carlovingian power, the bishop might exercise, with honour and safety, the government of the city.[92]

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[86] The Libri Carolini (Spanheim, p. 443-529), composed in the palace or winter quarters of Charlemagne, at Worms, A.D. 790; and sent by Engebert to pope Hadrian I. who answered them by a grandis et verbosa epistola (Concil. tom. viii. p. 1553). The Carolines propose 120 objections against the Nicene synod, and such words as these are the flowers of their rhetoric—dementiam priscæ Gentilitatis obsoletum errorem . . . argumenta insanissima et absurdissima . . . derisione dignas nænias, &c. &c.

[87] The assemblies of Charlemagne were political, as well as ecclesiastical; and the three hundred members (Nat. Alexander, sec. viii. p. 53), who sat and voted at Frankfort, must include not only the bishops, but the abbots, and even the principal laymen.

[88] Qui supra sanctissima patres nostri (episcopi et sacerdotes) *omnimodis* servitium et adorationem imaginum renuentes contempserunt, atque consentientes condemnaverunt (Concil. tom. ix. p. 101; Canon ii. Frankfurd). A polemic must be hard-hearted indeed, who does not pity the efforts of Baronius, Pagi, Alexander, Maimbourg, &c. to elude this unlucky sentence.

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[89] Theophanes (p. 343 [*sub* A.M. 6224]) specifies those of Sicily and Calabria, which yielded an annual rent of three talents and a half of gold (perhaps 7000l. sterling). Liutprand more pompously enumerates the patrimonies of the Roman church in Greece, Judæa, Persia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Egypt, and Libya, which were detained by the injustice of the Greek emperor (Legat. ad. Nicephorum, in Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. ii. pars i. p. 481 [c. 17]).

[90] The great diocese of the Eastern Illyricum, with Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily (Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 145). By the confession of the Greeks, the patriarch of Constantinople had detached from Rome the metropolitans of Thessalonica, Athens, Corinth, Nicopolis, and Patræ (Luc. Holsten. Geograph. Sacra, p. 22); and his spiritual conquests extended to Naples and Amalphi (Giannone Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 517-524. Pagi, A.D. 730, No. 11). [See Mansi, Conc. 13, 808; 15, 167.]

[91] In hoc ostenditur, quia ex uno capitulo ab errore reversis, in aliis duobus, in *eodem* (was it the same?) permaneant errore . . . de diocesi S. R. E. seu de patrimoniis iterum increpantes commonemus, ut si ea restituere noluerit hereticum eum pro hujusmodi errore perseverantiâ decernemus (Epist. Hadrian. Papæ ad Carolum Magnum, in Concil. tom. viii. p. 1598); to which he adds a reason, most directly opposite to his conduct, that he preferred the salvation of souls and rule of faith to the goods of this transitory world.

Coronation of Charlemagne as emperor of Rome and of the West. A.D. 800, Dec. 25

Before the ruin of paganism in Rome, the competition for a wealthy bishopric had often been productive of tumult and bloodshed. The people was less numerous, but the times were more savage, the prize more important, and the chair of St. Peter was fiercely disputed by the leading ecclesiastics who aspired to the rank of sovereign. The reign of Hadrian the First[93] surpasses the measure of past or succeeding ages;[94] the walls of Rome, the sacred patrimony, the ruin of the Lombards and the friendship of Charlemagne, were the trophies of his fame; he secretly edified the throne of his successors, and displayed in a narrow space the virtues of a great prince. His memory was revered; but in the next election, a priest of the Lateran (Leo the Third) was preferred to the nephew and the favourite of Hadrian, whom he had promoted to the first dignities of the church. Their acquiescence or repentance disguised, above four years, the blackest intention of revenge, till the day

[A.D. 795]

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[92] Fontanini considers the emperors as no more than the advocates of the church (advocatus et defensor S. R. E. See Ducange, Gloss. Lat. tom. i. p. 97). His antagonist, Muratori, reduces the popes to be no more than the exarchs of the emperor. In the more equitable view of Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 264, 265) they held Rome under the empire as the most honourable species of fief or benefice—premuntur nocte caliginosâ!

[93] His merits and hopes are summed up in an epitaph of thirty-eight verses, of which Charlemagne declares himself the author (Concil. tom. viii. p. 520).

> Post patrem lacrymans Carolus hæc carmina scripsi.
>   Tu mihi dulcis amor, te modo plango pater——
> Nomina jungo simul titulis, clarissime, nostra
>   Adrianus, Carolus, rex ego, tuque pater.

The poetry might be supplied by Alcuin; but the tears, the most glorious tribute, can only belong to Charlemagne.

[94] Every new pope is admonished—"Sancte Pater, non videbis annos Petri," twenty-five years. On the whole series the average is about eight years—a short hope for an ambitious cardinal.

[A.D. 798] of a procession, when a furious band of conspirators dispersed the unarmed multitude and assaulted with blows and wounds the sacred person of the pope. But their enterprise on his life or liberty was disappointed, perhaps by their own confusion and remorse. Leo was left for dead on the ground; on his revival from the swoon, the effect of his loss of blood, he recovered his speech and sight; and this natural event was improved to the miraculous restoration of his eyes and tongue, of which he had been deprived, twice deprived, by the knife of the assassins.[95] From his prison, he escaped to the Vatican; the duke of Spoleto hastened to his rescue, Charlemagne sympathized in his injury, and in his camp of Paderborn in Westphalia accepted or solicited a visit from the Roman pontiff. Leo repassed the Alps with a commission of counts and bishops, the guards of his safety and the judges of his innocence; and it was not without reluctance that the conqueror of the Saxons
[A.D. 799] delayed till the ensuing year the personal discharge of this pious office. In his fourth and last pilgrimage, he was received at Rome with the due honours of king and patrician; Leo was permitted to purge himself by oath of the crimes imputed to his charge; his enemies were silenced, and the sacrilegious attempt against his life was punished by the mild and insufficient penalty of exile. On the festival of Christmas, the last
[A.D. 800] year of the eighth century, Charlemagne appeared in the church of St. Peter; and, to gratify the vanity of Rome, he had exchanged the simple dress of his country for the habit of a patrician.[96] After the celebration of the holy mysteries, Leo suddenly placed a precious crown on his head,[97] and the dome

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[95] The assurance of Anastasius (tom. iii. pars i. p. 197, 198) is supported by the credulity of some French annalists; but Eginhard and other writers of the same age are more natural and sincere. "Unus ei oculus paullulum est læsus," says John the deacon of Naples (Vit. Episcop. Napol. in Scriptores Muratori, tom. i. pars ii. p. 312). Theodolphus, a contemporary bishop of Orleans, observes with prudence (l. iii. carm. 3):—

> Reddita sunt? mirum est; mirum est auferre nequîsse,
> Est tamen in dubio, hinc mirer an inde magis.

[96] Twice, at the request of Hadrian and Leo, he appeared at Rome—longâ tunicâ et chlamyde amictus, et calceamentis quoque Romano more formatis. Eginhard (c. xxiii. p. 109-113) describes, like Suetonius, the simplicity of his dress, so popular in the nation that, when Charles the Bald returned to France in a foreign habit, the patriotic dogs barked at the apostate (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. iv. p. 109).

[97] See Anastasius (p. 199) and Eginhard (c. xxviii. p. 124-128). The unction is mentioned by Theophanes (p. 399 [A.M. 6289]), the oath by Sigonius (from the Ordo Romanus), and the pope's adoration more antiquorum principum by the Annales Bertiniani (Script. Murator. tom. i. pars ii. p. 505) [cp. Chron. Moissac. ad. ann. 801].

resounded with the acclamations of the people, "Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned by God, the great and pacific emperor of the Romans!" The head and body of Charlemagne were consecrated by the royal unction; after the example of the Cæsars he was saluted or adored by the pontiff; his coronation oath represents a promise to maintain the faith and privileges of the church; and the first-fruits were paid in his rich offerings to the shrine of the apostle. In his familiar conversation, the emperor protested his ignorance of the intentions of Leo, which he would have disappointed by his absence on that memorable day. But the preparations of the ceremony must have disclosed the secret; and the journey of Charlemagne reveals his knowledge and expectation: he had acknowledged that the imperial title was the object of his ambition, and a Roman senate had pronounced that it was the only adequate reward of his merit and services.[98]

Reign and character of Charlemagn
A.D. 768-81

The appellation of *great* has been often bestowed and sometimes deserved, but CHARLEMAGNE is the only prince in whose favour the title has been indissolubly blended with the name.[99] That name, with the addition of *saint*, is inserted in the Roman calendar; and the saint, by a rare felicity, is crowned with the praises of the historians and philosophers of an enlightened age.[100] His *real* merit is doubtless enhanced by the barbarism of the nation and the times from which he emerged; but the

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[98] This great event of the translation or restoration of the empire is related and discussed by Natalis Alexander (secul. ix. dissert. i. p. 390-397), Pagi (tom. iii. p. 418), Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 339-352), Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. iv. Opp. tom. ii. p. 247-251), Spanheim (de fictâ Translatione Imperii), Giannone (tom. i. p. 395-405), St. Marc (Abrégé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 438-450), Gaillard (Hist. de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 386-446). Almost all these moderns have some religious or national bias. [The Pope's act was a surprise to Charles, who would have wished to become Emperor in some other way—how we know not. There is an interesting discussion of the question in Bryce's Holy Roman Empire, c. 5.]

[99] [The question has been raised whether *Charlemagne* is nothing more than a popular equivalent of Carolus Magnus. The fact that *magnus* was a purely literary word (even in the days of Cicero there can be little doubt that *grandis* was the ordinary colloquial word) seemed an objection; and it was held by Mr. Freeman that *Charlemagne* arose originally from a confusion with *Carloman*, and was then established in use by a false connexion with Carolus Magnus.]

[100] By Mably (Observations sur l'Histoire de France), Voltaire (Histoire Générale), Robertson (History of Charles V.), and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxxi. c. 18). In the year 1782, M. Gaillard published his Histoire de Charlemagne (in 4 vols. in 12mo), which I have freely and profitably used. The author is a man of sense and humanity; and his work is laboured with industry and elegance. But I have likewise examined the original monuments of the reigns of Pepin and Charlemagne, in the fifth volume of the Historians of France.

apparent magnitude of an object is likewise enlarged by an unequal comparison; and the ruins of Palmyra derive a casual splendour from the nakedness of the surrounding desert. Without injustice to his fame, I may discern some blemishes in the sanctity and greatness of the restorer of the Western empire. Of his moral virtues, chastity is not the most conspicuous;[101] but the public happiness could not be materially injured by his nine wives or concubines, the various indulgence of meaner or more transient amours, the multitude of his bastards whom he bestowed on the church, and the long celibacy and licentious manners of his daughters,[102] whom the father was suspected of loving with too fond a passion. I shall be scarcely permitted to accuse the ambition of a conqueror; but, in a day of equal retribution, the sons of his brother Carloman, the Merovingian princes of Aquitain, and the four thousand five hundred Saxons who were beheaded on the same spot, would have something to allege against the justice and humanity of Charlemagne. His treatment of the vanquished Saxons[103] was an abuse of the right of conquest; his laws were not less sanguinary than his arms; and, in the discussion of his motives, whatever is subtracted from bigotry must be imputed to temper. The sedentary reader is amazed by his incessant activity of mind and body; and his subjects and enemies were not less astonished at his sudden presence, at the moment when they believed him at the most distant extremity of the empire; neither peace nor war, nor summer nor winter, were a season of repose: and our fancy cannot easily reconcile the annals of his reign with the geography of his expeditions. But this activity was a national rather than a personal virtue; the vagrant life of a Frank was spent in the chase, in pilgrimage, in military adventures; and the journeys of Charlemagne were distinguished only by a more numerous train and a more mportant purpose. His military renown must be tried by the scrutiny of his troops, his enemies, and his actions. Alexander conquered with the arms of Philip, but the *two* heroes who preceded Charlemagne bequeathed him their name, their examples, and the companions of their victories. At the head of his veteran and superior armies, he oppressed the savage or degenerate nations who were incapable of confederating for their common safety; nor did he ever encounter an equal antagonist n numbers, in discipline, or in arms. The science of war has been lost and revived with the arts of peace; but his campaigns are not illustrated by any siege or battle of singular difficulty and success; and he might behold, with envy, the Saracen rophies of his grandfather. After his Spanish expedition, his rear-guard was defeated in the Pyrenæan mountains; and the oldiers, whose situation was irretrievable and whose valour was useless, might accuse, with their last breath, the want of skill or caution of their general.[104] I touch with reverence the laws of Charlemagne, so highly applauded by a respectable judge. They compose not a system, but a series, of occasional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of his farms, the care of his poultry, and even the sale of his eggs. He wished to improve the laws and he character of the Franks; and his attempts, however feeble and imperfect, are deserving of praise. The inveterate evils of he times were suspended or mollified by his government;[105] but in his institutions I can seldom discover the general views nd the immortal spirit of a legislator, who survives himself for he benefit of posterity. The union and stability of his empire depended on the life of a single man; he imitated the dangerous practice of dividing his kingdoms among his sons; and, fter his numerous diets, the whole constitution was left to uctuate between the disorders of anarchy and despotism. His steem for the piety and knowledge of the clergy tempted him o entrust that aspiring order with temporal dominion and civil urisdiction; and his son Lewis, when he was stripped and degraded by the bishops, might accuse, in some measure, the imprudence of his father. His laws enforced the imposition of tithes, because the dæmons had proclaimed in the air that the default of payment had been the cause of the last scarcity.[106] The literary merits of Charlemagne are attested by the foundation of schools, the introduction of arts, the works which were published in his name, and his familiar connexion with the subjects and strangers whom he invited to his court to educate both the prince and people. His own studies were tardy, laborious, and imperfect; if he spoke Latin and understood Greek, he derived the rudiments of knowledge from conversation rather than from books; and, in his mature age, the emperor strove to acquire the practice of writing, which every peasant now learns in his infancy.[107] The grammar and logic, the music and astronomy, of the times were only cultivated as the handmaids of superstition; but the curiosity of the human mind must ultimately tend to its improvement, and the encouragement of learning reflects the purest and most pleasing lustre on the character of Charlemagne.[108] The dignity of his person,[109] the length of his reign, the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, and the reverence of distant nations distinguish him from the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new æra from his restoration of the Western empire.

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[101] The vision of Weltin, composed by a monk eleven years after the death of Charlemagne, shews him in purgatory, with a vulture, who is perpetually gnawing the guilty member, while the rest of his body, the emblem of his virtues, is sound and perfect (see Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 317-360).

[102] The marriage of Eginhard with Imma, daughter of Charlemagne, is, in my opinion, sufficiently refuted by the *probrum* and *suspicio* that sullied these fair damsels, without excepting his own wife (c. xix. p. 98-100, cum Notis Schmincke). The husband must have been too strong for the historian.

[103] Besides the massacres and transmigrations, the pain of death was pronounced against the following crimes: 1. The refusal of baptism. 2. The false pretence of baptism. 3. A relapse to idolatry. 4. The murder of a priest or bishop. 5. Human sacrifices. 6. Eating meat in Lent. But every crime might be expiated by baptism or penance (Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 241-247); and the Christian Saxons became the friends and equals of the Franks (Struv. Corpus Hist. Germanicæ, p. 133).

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[104] In this action, the famous Rutland, Rolando, Orlando, was slain—cum plurius aliis. See the truth in Eginhard (c. 9, p. 51-56), and the fable in an ingenious upplement of M. Gaillard (tom. iii. p. 474). The Spaniards are too proud of a ctory which history ascribes to the Gascons, and romance to the Saracens.

[105] Yet Schmidt, from the best authorities, represents the interior disorders and oppression of his reign (Hist. des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 45-49).

Extent of his empire in France

That empire was not unworthy of its title;[110] and some of the fairest kingdoms of Europe were the patrimony or conquest of a prince who reigned at the same time in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Hungary.[111] I. The Roman province of Gaul had been transformed into the name and monarchy of France; but, in the decay of the Merovingian line, its limits were contracted by the independence of the *Britons* and the revolt of *Aquitain*. Charlemagne pursued, and confined, the Britons on the shores of the ocean; and that ferocious tribe, whose origin and language are so different from the French, was chastised by the imposition of tribute, hostages, and peace. After a long and evasive contest, the rebellion of the dukes of [A.D. 769] Aquitain was punished by the forfeiture of their province, their liberty, and their lives. Harsh and rigorous would have been such treatment of ambitious governors, who had too faithfully copied the mayors of the palace. But a recent discovery[112] has proved that these unhappy princes were the last and lawful heirs of the blood and sceptre of Clovis, a younger branch, from the brother of Dagobert, of the Merovingian house. Their ancient kingdom was reduced to the duchy of Gascogne, to the counties of Fesenzac and Armagnac, at the foot of the Pyrenees; their race was propagated till the beginning of the sixteenth century; and, after surviving their Carlovingian tyrants, they were reserved to feel the injustice, or the favours, of a third dynasty. By the re-union of Aquitain, France was enlarged to its present boundaries, with the additions of the Netherlands and Spain, as far as the Rhine. II. The Saracens had been Spain expelled from France by the grandfather and father of Charlemagne; but they still possessed the greatest part of Spain, from the rock of Gibraltar to the Pyrenees. Amidst their civil divisions, an Arabian emir of Saragossa implored his protection [A.D. 777] in the diet of Paderborn. Charlemagne undertook the expedition, restored the emir, and, without distinction of faith, im- [A.D. 778] partially crushed the resistance of the Christians, and rewarded the obedience and service of the Mahometans. In his absence he instituted the *Spanish march*,[113] which extended from the Pyrenees to the river Ebro; Barcelona was the residence of the French governor; he possessed the counties of *Rousillon* and *Catalonia;* and the infant kingdoms of *Navarre* and *Arragon* were Italy subject to his jurisdiction. III. As king of the Lombards, and patrician of Rome, he reigned over the greatest part of ITALY,[114] [A.D. 774] a tract of a thousand miles from the Alps to the borders of Calabria. The duchy of *Beneventum*, a Lombard fief, had spread, at the expense of the Greeks, over the modern kingdom of Naples. But Arrechis, the reigning duke, refused to be included in the slavery of his country; assumed the independent title of prince; and opposed his sword to the Carlovingian monarchy. His defence was firm, his submission was not inglorious, and the emperor was content with an easy tribute, the demolition of his fortresses, and the acknowledgment, on his coins, of a supreme lord. The artful flattery of his son Grimoald added the appellation of father, but he asserted his dignity with prudence, and Beneventum insensibly escaped from the French Germany yoke.[115] IV. Charlemagne was the first who united GERMANY under the same sceptre. The name of *Oriental France* is preserved in the circle of *Franconia;* and the people of *Hesse* and *Thuringia* were recently incorporated with the victors by the conformity of religion and government. The *Alemanni*, so formidable to the Romans, were the faithful vassals and confederates of the Franks; and their country was inscribed within the modern limits of *Alsace*, *Swabia*, and *Switzerland*. The *Bavarians*, with a similar indulgence of their laws and manners, were less [A.D. 788] patient of a master; the repeated treasons of Tasillo justified the abolition of her hereditary dukes; and their power was shared among the counts, who judged and guarded that important frontier. But the north of Germany, from the Rhine and [A.D. 772-804] beyond the Elbe, was still hostile and Pagan; nor was it till after a war of thirty-three years that the Saxons bowed under the yoke of Christ and of Charlemagne. The idols and their votaries were extirpated; the foundation of eight bishoprics, of [Osnabruck] Munster, Osnaburgh, Paderborn, and Minden, of Bremen, Ver-den, Hildesheim, and Halberstadt, define, on either side of the Weser, the bounds of ancient Saxony; these episcopal seats were the first schools and cities of that savage land; and the religion and humanity of the children atoned, in some degree, for the massacre of the parents. Beyond the Elbe, the *Slavi*, or Sclavonians, of similar manners and various denominations,[116] overspread the modern dominions of Prussia, Poland, and Bohemia, and some transient marks of obedience have tempted the French historian to extend the empire to the Baltic and the Vistula. The conquest or conversion of those countries is of a more recent age; but the first union of *Bohemia* with the Germanic body may be justly ascribed to the arms of Charlemagne. [Bohemian campaigns. A.D. 805-6]

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[106] Omnis homo ex suâ proprietate legitimam decimam ad ecclesiam conferat. Experimento enim didicimus, in anno, quo illa valida fames irrepsit, ebullire vacuas annonas a dæmonibus devoratas et voces exprobationis auditas. Such is the decree and assertion of the great Council of Frankfort (canon xxv. tom. ix. p. 105). Both Selden (Hist. of Tithes; Works, vol. iii. part ii. p. 1146) and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxxi. c. 12) represent Charlemagne as the first *legal* author of tithes. Such obligations have country gentlemen to his memory!

[107] Eginhard (c. 25, p. 119) clearly affirms, tentabat et scribere . . . sed parum prospere successit labor præposterus et sero inchoatus. The moderns have perverted and corrected this obvious meaning, and the title of M. Gaillard's Dissertation (tom. iii. p. 247-260) betrays his partiality.

[108] See Gaillard, tom. iii. p. 138-176, and Schmidt, tom. ii. p. 121-129.

[109] M. Gaillard (tom. iii. p. 372) fixes the true stature of Charlemagne (see a Dissertation of Marquard Freher ad calcem Eginhard. p. 220, &c.) at five feet nin inches of French, about six feet one inch and a fourth English, measure. Th romance writers have increased it to eight feet, and the giant was endowed wit matchless strength and appetite: at a single stroke of his good sword *Joyeuse* h cut asunder an horseman and his horse; at a single repast he devoured a goose two fowls, a quarter of mutton, &c.

[110] See the concise but correct and original work of d'Anville (Etats formés e Europe après la Chute de l'Empire Romain en Occident, Paris, 1771, in 4to) whose map includes the empire of Charlemagne; the different parts are illustrate by Valesius (Notitia Galliarum) for France, Beretti (Dissertatio Chorographica) fo Italy, de Marca (Marca Hispanica) for Spain. For the middle geography of Ger many, I confess myself poor and destitute.

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[111] After a brief relation of his wars and conquests (Vit. Carol. c. 5-14), Eginhard recapitulates, in a few words (c. 15), the countries subject to his empire. Struvius (Corpus Hist. German. p. 118-149) has inserted in his Notes the texts of the old Chronicles.

[112] Of a charter granted to the monastery of Alaon (A.D. 845) by Charles the Bald, which deduces this royal pedigree. I doubt whether some subsequent links of the ixth and xth centuries are equally firm; yet the whole is approved and defended by M. Gaillard (tom. ii. p. 60-81, 203-206), who affirms that the family of Montesquieu (not of the president de Montesquieu) is descended, in the female line, from Clotaire and Clovis—an innocent pretension!

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[113] The governors or counts of the Spanish march revolted from Charles the Simple about the year 900; and a poor pittance, the Rousillon, has been recovered in 1642 by the kings of France (Longuerue, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 220-222). Yet the Rousillon contains 188,900 subjects, and annually pays 2,600,000 livres (Necker, Administration des Finances, tom. i. p. 278, 279); more people perhaps, and doubtless more money, than the march of Charlemagne.

[114] Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. ii. p. 200, &c.

[115] See Giannone, tom. i. p. 374, 375, and the Annals of Muratori.

V. He retaliated on the Avars, or Huns of Pannonia, the same Hungary calamities which they had inflicted on the nations. Their rings, the wooden fortifications which encircled their districts and villages, were broken down by the triple effort of a French army, that was poured into their country by land and water, through the Carpathian mountains and along the plain of the Danube. After a bloody conflict of eight years, the loss of some [A.D. 788-796] French generals was avenged by the slaughter of the most noble Huns; the relics of the nation submitted; the royal residence of the chagan was left desolate and unknown; and the treasures, the rapine of two hundred and fifty years, enriched the victorious troops or decorated the churches of Italy and Gaul.[117] After the reduction of Pannonia, the empire of Charlemagne was bounded only by the conflux of the Danube with the Theiss and the Save; the provinces of Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia were an easy, though unprofitable, accession; and it was an effect of his moderation that he left the maritime cities under the real or nominal sovereignty of the Greeks. But these distant possessions added more to the reputation than to the power of the Latin emperor; nor did he risk any ecclesiastical foundations to reclaim the barbarians from their vagrant life and idol-

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[116] [It is interesting to observe on the map of Europe in the 8th and 9th centuries hat a strong serried array of Slavonic peoples reached from the Baltic to the onian and Aegean seas. At the end of the 9th century the Magyars made a ermanent breach in the line.]

[117] Quot prælia in eo gesta! quantum sanguinis effusum sit! Testatur vacua mni habitatione Pannonia, et locus in quo regia Cagani fuit ita desertus, ut ne estigium quidem humanæ habitationis appareat. Tota in hoc bello Hunnorum obilitas periit, tota gloria decidit, omnis pecunia et congesti ex longo tempore esauri direpti sunt. Eginhard, c. 13. [The Avaric war strictly lasted six years, .D. 791-6. Gibbon counts eight years (nine?) by dating the outbreak of the war ith the invasion of Friuli and Beneventum by the Avars in A.D. 788.]

[Rhine-Danube canal A.D. 793]

atrous worship. Some canals of communication between th rivers, the Saône and the Meuse, the Rhine and the Danube were faintly attempted.[118] Their execution would have vivifie the empire; and more cost and labour were often wasted in th structure of a cathedral.

His neighbours and enemies

If we retrace the outlines of this geographical picture, it wil be seen that the empire of the Franks extended, between eas and west, from the Ebro to the Elbe or Vistula; between th north and south, from the duchy of Beneventum to the rive Eyder, the perpetual boundary of Germany and Denmark. Th personal and political importance of Charlemagne was magnifie by the distress and division of the rest of Europe. The island of Great Britain and Ireland were disputed by a crowd of prince of Saxon or Scottish origin; and, after the loss of Spain, th Christian and Gothic kingdom of Alphonso the Chaste wa confined to the narrow range of the Asturian mountains. Thes petty sovereigns revered the power or virtue of the Carlovingia monarch, implored the honour and support of his alliance, an styled him their common parent, the sole and supreme empero of the West.[119] He maintained a more equal intercourse wit the caliph Harun al Rashid,[120] whose dominion stretched fro Africa to India, and accepted from his ambassadors a tent, water-clock, an elephant, and the keys of the Holy Sepulchre It is not easy to conceive the private friendship of a Frank an an Arab, who were strangers to each other's person, and language, and religion; but their public correspondence wa founded on vanity, and their remote situation left no room fo a competition of interest.[121] Two-thirds of the Western empir of Rome were subject to Charlemagne, and the deficiency was amply supplied by his command of the inaccessible or invincible nations of Germany. But in the choice of his enemies we may be reasonably surprised that he so often preferred the poverty of the north to the riches of the south. The three-and-thirty campaigns laboriously consumed in the woods and morasses of Germany would have sufficed to assert the amplitude of his title by the expulsion of the Greeks from Italy and the Saracens from Spain. The weakness of the Greeks would have ensured an easy victory; and the holy crusade against the Saracens would have been prompted by glory and revenge, and loudly justified by religion and policy. Perhaps, in his expeditions beyond the Rhine and the Elbe, he aspired to save his monarchy from the fate of the Roman empire, to disarm the enemies of civilised society, and to eradicate the seed of future emigrations. But it has been wisely observed that, in a light of precaution, all conquest must be ineffectual, unless it could be universal; since the increasing circle must be involved in a larger sphere of hostility.[122] The subjugation of Germany withdrew the veil which had so long concealed the continent or islands of Scandinavia from the knowledge of Europe, and awakened the torpid courage of their barbarous natives. The fiercest of the Saxon idolaters escaped from the Christian tyrant to their brethren of the north; the ocean and Mediterranean were covered with their piratical fleets; and Charlemagne beheld with a sigh the destructive progress of the Normans, who, in less than seventy years, precipitated the fall of his race and monarchy.

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[118] The junction of the Rhine and Danube was undertaken only for the service the Pannonian war (Gaillard, Vie de Charlemagne, tom. ii. p. 312-315). The cana which would have been only two leagues in length, and of which some traces a still extant in Swabia, was interrupted by excessive rains, military avocations, a superstitious fears (Schæpflin, Hist. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xviii. 256. Molimina fluviorum, &c. jungendorum, p. 59-62).

[119] See Eginhard, c. 16, and Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361-385, who mentions, with loose reference, the intercourse of Charlemagne and Egbert, the emperor's gift his own sword, and the modest answer of his Saxon disciple. The anecdote, genuine, would have adorned our English histories. [On the relations of Char with England, see Palgrave, English Commonwealth, i. 484 *sqq.;* Freeman, Norm Conquest, i. Appendix D.]

[120] The correspondence is mentioned only in the French annals, and Orientals are ignorant of the caliph's friendship for the *Christian dog*—a po appellation, which Harun bestows on the emperor of the Greeks.

[121] [It lay in the nature of things (as Mr. Freeman was fond of pointing o that the Western Emperor should be hostile to his neighbour the Emir (afterwa Caliph) of Cordova and friendly to the Caliph of Bagdad, while his rival Eastern Emperor was hostile to the Caliph of Bagdad and friendly to the dist ruler of Cordova.]

His successors, A.D. 814-887, in Italy; 911 in Germany; 987 in France

Had the pope and the Romans revived the primitive constitution, the titles of emperor and Augustus were conferred on Charlemagne for the term of his life; and his successors, on each vacancy, must have ascended the throne by a formal or tacit election. But the association of his son Lewis the Pious asserts the independent right of monarchy and conquest, and the emperor seems on this occasion to have foreseen and prevented the latent claims of the clergy. The royal youth was commanded to take the crown from the altar, and with his own hands to place it on his head, as a gift which he held from God, his father, and the nation.[123] The same ceremony was repeated,

A.D. 813

[122] Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 361-365, 471-476, 492. I have borrowed his judicious remarks on Charlemagne's plan of conquest, and the judicious distinction of his enemies of the first and the second *enceinte* (tom. ii. p. 184, 509, &c.).

[123] Thegan, the biographer of Lewis, relates this coronation; and Baronius has

Lewis the Pious. A.D. 814-840

Lothaire I. A.D. 840-856 [855]

Lewis II. A.D. 856-875

[A.D. 884]

Division of the empire. A.D. 888

though with less energy, in the subsequent associations
Lothaire and Lewis the Second; the Carlovingian sceptre
transmitted from father to son in a lineal descent of f
generations; and the ambition of the popes was reduced to
empty honour of crowning and anointing these heredit
princes who were already invested with their power a
dominion. The pious Lewis survived his brothers, and e
braced the whole empire of Charlemagne; but the nations a
the nobles, his bishops and his children, quickly discerned t
this mighty mass was no longer inspired by the same soul; a
the foundations were undermined to the centre, while the
ternal surface was yet fair and entire. After a war, or batt
which consumed one hundred thousand Franks, the emp
was divided by treaty between his three sons, who had viola
every filial and fraternal duty. The kingdoms of Germany a
France were for ever separated; the provinces of Gaul, betwe
the Rhone and the Alps, the Meuse and the Rhine, w
assigned, with Italy, to the Imperial dignity of Lothaire.
the partition of his share, Lorraine and Arles, two recent a
transitory kingdoms, were bestowed on the younger childre
and Lewis the Second, his eldest son, was content with
realm of Italy, the proper and sufficient patrimony of a Rom
emperor. On his death without any male issue, the vaca
throne was disputed by his uncles and cousins, and the po
most dexterously seized the occasion of judging the claims a
merits of the candidates, and of bestowing on the most ob
quious or most liberal the Imperial office of advocate of
Roman church. The dregs of the Carlovingian race no lon
exhibited any symptoms of virtue or power, and the ridicul
epithets of the *bald*, the *stammerer*, the *fat*, and the *sim*
distinguished the tame and uniform features of a crowd of ki
alike deserving of oblivion. By the failure of the collate
branches, the whole inheritance devolved to Charles the F
the last emperor of his family; his insanity authorised
desertion of Germany, Italy, and France; he was deposed i
diet, and solicited his daily bread from the rebels, by wh
contempt his life and liberty had been spared. According
the measure of their force, the governors, the bishops, and

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honestly transcribed it (A.D. 813, No. 13, &c.; see Gaillard, tom. ii. p. 506,
508), howsoever adverse to the claims of the popes. For the series of the Ca
vingians, see the historians of France, Italy, and Germany; Pfeffel, Schm
Velly, Muratori, and even Voltaire, whose pictures are sometimes just and alw
pleasing.

lords usurped the fragments of the falling empire; and some preference was shewn to the female or illegitimate blood of Charlemagne. Of the greater part the title and possession were alike doubtful, and the merit was adequate to the contracted scale of their dominions. Those who could appear with an army at the gates of Rome were crowned emperors in the Vatican; but their modesty was more frequently satisfied with the appellation of kings of Italy; and the whole term of seventy-four years may be deemed a vacancy, from the abdication of Charles the Fat to the establishment of Otho the [Otto] First.

Otho king Germany restores and appropriates the Western empire. A.D 962 [Jan. 31]

Otho[124] was of the noble race of the dukes of Saxony; and, if he truly descended from Witikind, the adversary and proselyte of Charlemagne, the posterity of a vanquished people was exalted to reign over their conquerors. His father Henry the Fowler was elected, by the suffrage of the nation, to save and institute the kingdom of Germany. Its limits[125] were enlarged on every side by his son, the first and greatest of the Othos. A portion of Gaul to the west of the Rhine, along the banks of the Meuse and the Moselle, was assigned to the Germans, by whose blood and language it has been tinged since the time of Cæsar and Tacitus. Between the Rhine, the Rhone, and the Alps, the successors of Otho acquired a vain supremacy over the broken kingdoms of Burgundy and Arles.[126] In the north, Christianity was propagated by the sword of Otho, the conqueror and apostle of the Slavic nations of the Elbe and Oder; the marches of Brandenburg and Sleswick were fortified with German colonies; and the king of Denmark, the dukes of Poland and Bohemia, confessed themselves his tributary vassals. At the head of a victorious army, he passed the Alps, subdued the kingdom of Italy, delivered the pope, and for ever fixed the

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[124] He was the son of Otho, the son of Ludolph, in whose favour the duchy of Saxony had been instituted, A.D. 858. Ruotgerus, the biographer of a St. Bruno [brother of Otto the Great] (Bibliot. Bunavianæ Catalog. tom. iii. vol. ii. p. 679), gives a splendid character of his family. Atavorum atavi usque ad hominum memoriam omnes nobilissimi; nullus in eorum stirpe ignotus, nullus degener facile reperitur (apud Struvium, Corp. Hist. German. p. 216). [The Vit. Brunonis is edited separately by Pertz in the Scr. rer. Germ., 1841.] Yet Gundling (in Henrico Aucupe) is not satisfied of his descent from Witikind.

[125] See the treatise of Conringius (de Finibus Imperii Germanici Francofurt, 1680, in 4to): he rejects the extravagant and improper scale of the Roman and Carlovingian empires, and discusses, with moderation, the rights of Germany, her vassals, and her neighbours.

[126] [The kingdom of Arles, or Lower Burgundy, was founded in 879 by Boso of Vienne; the kingdom of Upper Burgundy (between Jura and the Pennine Alps) in 888 by Count Rudolf, the Guelf. The two kingdoms were united in 933, and this kingdom of Arles was annexed to the Empire under Conrad II. a hundred years later (1033).]

Imperial crown in the name and nation of Germany. Fro
that memorable æra, two maxims of public jurisprudence we
introduced by force, and ratified by time: I. *That* the prin
who was elected in the German diet acquired from that insta
the subject kingdoms of Italy and Rome; II. But that
might not legally assume the titles of emperor and Augustu
till he had received the crown from the hands of the Rom
pontiff.[127]

Transactions of the Western and Eastern empires

The Imperial dignity of Charlemagne was announced to t
East by the alteration of his style; and, instead of saluting
fathers, the Greek emperors, he presumed to adopt the mo
equal and familiar appellation of brother.[128] Perhaps in
connexion with Irene he aspired to the name of husband:
embassy to Constantinople spoke the language of peace a
friendship, and might conceal a treaty of marriage with th
ambitious princess, who had renounced the most sacred duti
of a mother. The nature, the duration, the probable cons
quences of such an union between two distant and dissona
empires, it is impossible to conjecture; but the unanimo
silence of the Latins may teach us to suspect that the repo
was invented by the enemies of Irene, to charge her with t
guilt of betraying the church and state to the strangers of t
West.[129] The French ambassadors were the spectators, a
had nearly been the victims, of the conspiracy of Nicephor
and the national hatred. Constantinople was exasperated
the treason and sacrilege of ancient Rome: A proverb, "Th
the Franks were good friends and bad neighbours," was
every one's mouth; but it was dangerous to provoke a neighbo
who might be tempted to reiterate, in the church of St. Sophi
the ceremony of his Imperial coronation. After a tedio
journey of circuit and delay, the ambassadors of Nicephor
found him in his camp, on the banks of the river Sala; a

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[127] The power of custom forces me to number Conrad I. and Henry I., t
Fowler, in the list of emperors, a title which was never assumed by those kings
Germany. The Italians, Muratori for instance, are more scrupulous and corre
and only reckon the princes who have been crowned at Rome.

[128] Invidiam tamen suscepti nominis (C. P. imperatoribus super hoc indigna
tibus) magnâ tulit patientiâ, vicitque eorum contumaciam . . . mittendo ad e
crebras legationes, et in epistolis fratres eos appellando. Eginhard, c. 28, p. 1
Perhaps it was on their account that, like Augustus, he affected some reluctan
to receive the empire.

[129] Theophanes speaks of the coronation and unction of Charles, Κάρουλλ
(Chronograph. p. 399 [A.M. 6289]), and of his treaty of marriage with Irene (p. 4
[A.M. 6294]), which is unknown to the Latins. Gaillard relates his transactio
with the Greek empire (tom. ii. p. 446-468).

Charlemagne affected to confound their vanity by displaying in a Franconian village the pomp, or at least the pride, of the Byzantine palace.[130] The Greeks were successively led through four halls of audience; in the first, they were ready to fall prostrate before a splendid personage in a chair of state, till he informed them that he was only a servant, the constable, or master of the horse, of the emperor. The same mistake and the same answer were repeated in the apartments of the count palatine, the steward, and the chamberlain; and their impatience was gradually heightened, till the doors of the presence-chamber were thrown open, and they beheld the genuine monarch, on his throne, enriched with the foreign luxury which he despised, and encircled with the love and reverence of his victorious chiefs. A treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between the two empires, and the limits of the East and West were defined by the right of present possession. But the Greeks[131] soon forgot this humiliating equality, or remembered it only to hate the barbarians by whom it was extorted. During the short union of virtue and power, they respectfully saluted the *august* Charlemagne with the acclamations of *basileus* and emperor of the Romans. As soon as these qualities were separated in the person of his pious son, the Byzantine letters were inscribed, "To the king, or, as he styles himself, the emperor, of the Franks and Lombards". When both power and virtue were extinct, they despoiled Lewis the Second of his hereditary title, and, with the barbarous appellation of rex or *rega*, degraded him among the crowd of Latin princes. His reply[132] is expressive of his weakness; he proves, with some learning, that both in sacred and profane history the name of king is synonymous with the Greek word *basileus;* if, at Constantinople, it were assumed in a more exclusive and imperial sense, he claims from his ancestors, and from the pope, a just participation of the honours of the Roman purple. The same

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[130] Gaillard very properly observes that this pageant was a farce suitable to children only, but that it was indeed represented in the presence, and for the benefit, of children of a larger growth.

[131] Compare, in the original texts collected by Pagi (tom. iii. A.D. 812, No. 7, A.D. 824, No. 10, &c.), the contrast of Charlemagne and his son: To the former the ambassadors of Michael (who were indeed disavowed) more suo, id est, linguâ Græcâ laudes dixerunt, imperatorem eum et Βασιλέα appellantes; to the latter, *Vocato* imperatori *Francorum*, &c. [Gasquet, L'empire byzantin et la monarchie franque, 1888.]

[132] See the epistle, in Paralipomena, of the anonymous writer of Salerno (Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 243-254, c. 93-107), whom Baronius (A.D. 871, No. 51-71) mistook for Erchempert, when he transcribed it in his Annals.

controversy was revived in the reign of the Othos; and thei
ambassador describes, in lively colours, the insolence of th
Byzantine court.[133] The Greeks affected to despise the povert
and ignorance of the Franks and Saxons; and, in their las
decline, refused to prostitute to the kings of Germany the titl
of Roman emperors.

Authority of the emperors in the elections of the popes. A.D. 800-1060

These emperors, in the election of the popes, continued t
exercise the powers which had been assumed by the Gothi
and Grecian princes; and the importance of this prerogativ
increased with the temporal estate and spiritual jurisdiction o
the Roman church. In the Christian aristocracy, the principa
members of the clergy still formed a senate to assist the ad
ministration, and to supply the vacancy, of the bishop. Rom
was divided into twenty-eight parishes, and each parish wa
governed by a cardinal-priest, or presbyter, a title which, how
ever common and modest in its origin, has aspired to emulat
the purple of kings. Their number was enlarged by the associa
tion of the seven deacons of the most considerable hospital
the seven palatine judges of the Lateran, and some dignitarie
of the church. This ecclesiastical senate was directed by th
seven cardinal-bishops of the Roman province, who were les
occupied in the suburb dioceses of Ostia, Porto, Velitræ, Tus
culum, Præneste, Tibur, and the Sabines, than by their weekl
service in the Lateran, and their superior share in the honour
and authority of the apostolic see. On the death of the pope
these bishops recommended a successor to the suffrage of th
college of cardinals,[134] and their choice was ratified or rejecte
by the applause or clamour of the Roman people. But th
election was imperfect; nor could the pontiff be legally conse
crated till the emperor, the advocate of the church, ha
graciously signified his approbation and consent. The roya
commissioner examined, on the spot, the form and freedo
of the proceedings; nor was it till after a previous scrutiny int

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[133] Ipse enim vos, non *imperatorem*, id est Βασιλέα suâ linguâ, sed ob indign
tionem Ῥῆγα, id est *regem* nostrâ vocabat (Liutprand, in Legat. in Script. Ita
tom. ii. pars i. p. 479 [c. 2]). The pope had exhorted Nicephorus, emperor of t
Greeks, to make peace with Otho, the august emperor of the *Romans*—quæ i
scriptio secundum Græcos peccatrix et temeraria . . . imperatorem inquiun
universalem, *Romanorum*, *Augustum*, *magnum*, *solum*, Nicephorum (p. 486 [c. 47

[134] The origin and progress of the title of cardinal may be found in Thomass
(Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1261-1298), Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ Me
Ævi, tom. vi. dissert. lxi. p. 159-182), and Mosheim (Institut. Hist. Eccles. p. 34
347), who accurately remarks the forms and changes of the election. The cardin
bishops, so highly exalted by Peter Damianus, are sunk to a level with the rest
the sacred college.

the qualifications of the candidates that he accepted an oath of fidelity and confirmed the donations which had successively enriched the patrimony of St. Peter. In the frequent schisms, the rival claims were submitted to the sentence of the emperor; and in a synod of bishops he presumed to judge, to condemn, and to punish the crimes of a guilty pontiff. Otho the First imposed a treaty on the senate and people, who engaged to prefer the candidate most acceptable to his majesty;[135] his successors anticipated or prevented their choice; they bestowed the Roman benefice, like the bishoprics of Cologne or Bamberg, on their chancellors or preceptors; and, whatever might be the merit of a Frank or Saxon, his name sufficiently attests the interposition of foreign power. These acts of prerogative were most speciously excused by the vices of a popular election. The competitor who had been excluded by the cardinals appealed to the passions or avarice of the multitude; the Vatican and the Lateran were stained with blood; and the most powerful senators, the marquises of Tuscany and the counts of Tusculum, held the apostolic see in a long and disgraceful servitude. The Roman pontiffs of the ninth and tenth centuries were insulted, imprisoned, and murdered by their tyrants; and such was their indigence after the loss and usurpation of the ecclesiastical patrimonies, that they could neither support the state of a prince nor exercise the charity of a priest.[136] The influence of two sister prostitutes, Marozia and Theodora, was founded on their wealth and beauty, their political and amorous intrigues: the most strenuous of their lovers were rewarded with the Roman mitre, and their reign[137] may have suggested to the

Disorders

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[135] Firmiter jurantes, nunquam se papam electuros aut ordinaturos, præter consensum et electionem Othonis et filii sui (Liutprand, l. vi. c. 6, p. 472 [Hist. Ottonis, c. 21]). This important concession may either supply or confirm the decree of the clergy and people of Rome, so fiercely rejected by Baronius, Pagi, and Muratori (A.D. 964), and so well defended and explained by St. Marc (Abrégé, tom. ii. p. 808-816, tom. iv. p. 1167-1185). Consult that historical critic, and the Annals of Muratori, for the election and confirmation of each pope.

[136] The oppression and vices of the Roman church in the xth century are strongly painted in the history and legation of Liutprand (see p. 440, 450, 471-476, 479, &c.), and it is whimsical enough to observe Muratori tempering the invectives of Baronius against the popes. But these popes had been chosen, not by the cardinals, but by lay-patrons.

[137] The time of pope Joan (*papissa Joanna*) is placed somewhat earlier than Theodora or Marozia; and the two years of her imaginary reign are forcibly inserted between Leo IV. and Benedict III. But the contemporary Anastasius indissolubly links the death of Leo and the elevation of Benedict (illico, mox, p. 247), and the accurate chronology of Pagi, Muratori, and Leibnitz fixes both events to the year 857.

darker ages[138] the fable[139] of a female pope.[140] The bastard son, the grandson, and the great-grandson[140a] of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the chair of St. Peter, and it was at [John XI.] the age of nineteen years that the second of these became the head of the Latin church. His youth and manhood were of a suitable complexion; and the nations of pilgrims could bear testimony to the charges that were urged against him in a Roman synod, and in the presence of Otho the Great. As John XII. had renounced the dress and decencies of his profession, the *soldier* may not perhaps be dishonoured by the wine which he drank, the blood that he spilt, the flames that he kindled, or the licentious pursuits of gaming and hunting. His open simony might be the consequence of distress; and his blasphemous invocation of Jupiter and Venus, if it be true could not possibly be serious. But we read with some surprise that the worthy grandson of Marozia lived in public adultery with the matrons of Rome; that the Lateran palace was turned into a school for prostitution; and that his rapes of virgins and widows had deterred the female pilgrims from visiting the tomb of St. Peter, lest, in the devout act, they should be violated by his successor.[141] The Protestants have dwelt with malicious

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[138] The advocates for pope Joan produce one hundred and fifty witnesses, or rather echoes, of the xivth, xvth, and xvith centuries. They bear testimony against themselves and the legend, by multiplying the proof that so curious a story *must* have been repeated by writers of every description to whom it was known. On those of the ixth and xth centuries the recent event would have flashed with a double force. Would Photius have spared such a reproach? Could Liutprand have missed such scandal? It is scarcely worth while to discuss the various readings of Martinus Polonus, Sigebert of Gemblours, or even Marianus Scotus; but a most palpable forgery is the passage of pope Joan, which has been foisted into some Mss. and editions of the Roman Anastasius. [The legend of Pope Joan has been finally dealt with by Döllinger in his *Pabstfabeln des Mittelalters*, p. 1 *sqq.* She has been made the heroine of a clever Greek novel by E. Rhoides, ἡ πάπισσα Ἰωάννα.]

[139] As *false*, it deserves that name; but I would not pronounce it incredible. Suppose a famous French chevalier of our own times to have been born in Italy and educated in the church, instead of the army; *her* merit or fortune *might* have raised her to St. Peter's chair; her amours would have been natural; her delivery in the streets unlucky, but not improbable.

[140] Till the Reformation, the tale was repeated and believed without offence and Joan's female statue long occupied her place among the popes in the cathedral of Sienna (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 624-626). She has been annihilated by two learned Protestants, Blondel and Bayle (Dictionnaire Critique, PAPESSE, POLONUS BLONDEL); but their brethren were scandalized by this equitable and generous criticism. Spanheim and Lenfant attempt to save this poor engine of controversy and even Mosheim condescends to cherish some doubt and suspicion (p. 289).

[140a] [John XI. was the legitimate, not the bastard, son of Marozia; and it is not true that her great-grandson was Pope.]

[141] Lateranense palatium . . . prostibulum meretricum. . . . Testis omnium gentium, præterquam [*leg.* praeter] Romanorum, absentia mulierum, quæ sancto

Reformation and claims of the church. A.D. 1073, &c.

pleasure on these characters of antichrist; but to a philosophic eye the vices of the clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues. After a long series of scandal, the apostolic see was reformed and exalted by the austerity and zeal of Gregory VII. That ambitious monk devoted his life to the execution of two projects. I. To fix in the college of cardinals the freedom and independence of election, and for ever to abolish the right or usurpation of the emperors and the Roman people. II. To bestow and resume the Western empire as a fief or benefice[142] of the church, and to extend his temporal dominion over the kings and kingdoms of the earth. After a contest of fifty years, the first of these designs was accomplished by the firm support of the ecclesiastical order, whose liberty was connected with that of their chief. But the second attempt, though it was crowned with some partial and apparent success, has been vigorously resisted by the secular power, and finally extinguished by the improvement of human reason.

Authority of the emperor in Rome

In the revival of the empire of Rome, neither the bishop nor the people could bestow on Charlemagne or Otho the provinces which were lost, as they had been won, by the chance of arms. But the Romans were free to choose a master for themselves; and the powers which had been delegated to the patrician were irrevocably granted to the French and Saxon emperors of the West. The broken records of the times[143] preserve some remembrance of their palace, their mint, their tribunal, their edicts, and the sword of justice, which, as late as the thirteenth century, was derived from Cæsar to the præfect of the city.[144] Between the arts of the popes and the violence of the people, this supremacy was crushed and annihilated. Content with the titles of emperor and Augustus, the successors of Charlemagne neglected to assert this local jurisdiction. In the hour of pros-

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rum apostolorum limina orandi gratiâ timent visere, cum nonnullas ante dies paucos hunc audierint conjugatas viduas, virgines vi oppressisse (Liutprand, Hist. l. vi. c. 6, p. 471 [Hist. Ott. c. 4]. See the whole affair of John XII. p. 471-476).

[142] A new example of the mischief of equivocation is the *beneficium* (Ducange, tom. i. p. 617, &c.), which the pope conferred on the emperor Frederic I., since the Latin word may signify either a legal fief, or a simple favour, an obligation (we want the word *bienfait*). See Schmidt, Hist. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 393-408. Pfeffel, Abrégé Chronologique, tom. i. p. 229, 296, 317, 324, 420, 430, 500, 505, 509, &c.

[143] For the history of the emperors in Rome and Italy, see Sigonius, de Regno Italiæ, Opp. tom. ii., with the Notes of Saxius, and the Annals of Muratori, who might refer more distinctly to the authors of his great collection.

[144] See the Dissertation of Le Blanc at the end of his treatise des Monnoyes de France, in which he produces some Roman coins of the French emperors.

perity, their ambition was diverted by more alluring objects
and in the decay and division of the empire they were oppresse
by the defence of their hereditary provinces. Amidst the ruin
of Italy, the famous Marozia invited one of the usurpers t
assume the character of her third husband; and Hugh, kin
of Burgundy, was introduced by her faction into the mole o
Hadrian or castle of St. Angelo, which commands the principa
bridge and entrance of Rome. Her son by the first marriage
Alberic, was compelled to attend at the nuptial banquet; bu
his reluctant and ungrateful service was chastised with a blo
by his new father. The blow was productive of a revolution
"Romans," exclaimed the youth, "once you were the master
of the world, and these Burgundians the most abject of you
slaves. They now reign, these voracious and brutal savages
and my injury is the commencement of your servitude." 14
The alarum-bell rung to arms in every quarter of the city; th
Burgundians retreated with haste and shame; Marozia wa
imprisoned by her victorious son; and his brother, pope Joh
XI., was reduced to the exercise of his spiritual functions. Wit
the title of prince, Alberic possessed above twenty years th
government of Rome, and he is said to have gratified th
popular prejudice by restoring the office, or at least the title
of consuls and tribunes. His son and heir Octavian assumed
with the pontificate, the name of John XII.; like his pre
decessor, he was provoked by the Lombard princes to seek
deliverer for the church and republic; and the services of Oth
were rewarded with the Imperial dignity. But the Saxon wa
imperious, the Romans were impatient, the festival of the coro
nation was disturbed by the secret conflict of prerogative an
freedom, and Otho commanded his sword-bearer not to sti
from his person, lest he should be assaulted and murdered a
the foot of the altar.[146] Before he repassed the Alps, th
emperor chastised the revolt of the people and the ingratitud
of John XII. The pope was degraded in a synod; the præfec
was mounted on an ass, whipped through the city, and cast int
a dungeon; thirteen of the most guilty were hanged, other
were mutilated or banished; and this severe process was justi

Revolt of Alberic. A.D. [illegible]

Of pope John XII. A.D. 967

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[145] Romanorum aliquando servi, scilicet Burgundiones, Romanis imperent? . .
Romanæ urbis dignitas ad tantam est stultitiam ducta, ut meretricum etiam imperi
pareat? (Liutprand [Antap.], l. iii. c. 12 [c. 45], p. 450). Sigonius (l. vi. p. 40
positively affirms the renovation of the consulship; but in the old writers Albericu
is more frequently styled princeps Romanorum.

[146] Ditmar, p. 354, apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 439.

Of the consul Crescentius. A.D. 998

fied by the ancient laws of Theodosius and Justinian. The voice of fame has accused the second Otho of a perfidious and bloody act, the massacre of the senators, whom he had invited to his table under the fair semblance of hospitality and friendship.[147] In the minority of his son Otho the Third, Rome made a bold attempt to shake off the Saxon yoke, and the consul Crescentius was the Brutus of the republic. From the condition of a subject and an exile, he twice rose to the command of the city, oppressed, expelled, and created the popes, and formed a conspiracy for restoring the authority of the Greek emperors. In the fortress of St. Angelo he maintained an obstinate siege, till the unfortunate consul was betrayed by a promise of safety; his body was suspended on a gibbet, and his head was exposed on the battlements of the castle. By a reverse of fortune, Otho, after separating his troops, was besieged three days, without food, in his palace; and a disgraceful escape saved him from the justice or fury of the Romans. The senator Ptolemy was the leader of the people, and the widow of Crescentius enjoyed the pleasure or the fame of revenging her husband, by a poison which she administered to her Imperial lover. It was the design of Otho the Third to abandon the ruder countries of the north, to erect his throne in Italy, and to revive the institutions of the Roman monarchy. But his successors only once in their lives appeared on the banks of the Tiber, to receive their crown in the Vatican.[148] Their absence was contemptible, their presence odious and formidable. They descended from the Alps, at the head of their barbarians, who were strangers and enemies to the country; and their transient visit was a scene of tumult and bloodshed.[149] A faint remembrance of their ancestors still tormented the Romans; and they beheld with pious indignation the succession of Saxons, Franks, Swabians, and Bohemians, who usurped the purple and prerogatives of the Cæsars.

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[147] This bloody feast is described in Leonine verse, in the Pantheon of Godfrey of Viterbo (Script. Ital. tom. vii. p. 436, 437 [ed. Waitz, in Pertz's Mon., xxii., p. 107 *sqq.*]), who flourished towards the end of the xiith century (Fabricius, Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimi Ævi, tom. iii. p. 69. edit. Mansi); but his evidence, which imposed on Sigonius, is reasonably suspected by Muratori (Annali, tom. viii. p. 177).

[148] The coronation of the emperor, and some original ceremonies of the xth century, are preserved in the Panegyric on Berengarius [composed 915-922] (Script. Ital. tom. ii. pars i. 405-414), illustrated by the Notes of Hadrian Valesius, and Leibnitz. [Gesta Berengarii imp., ed. E. Dümmler, 1871. Also in Pertz's Monum. vol. iv.] Sigonius has related the whole process of the Roman expedition, in good Latin, but with some errors of time and fact (l. vii. p. 441-446).

[149] In a quarrel at the coronation of Conrad II. Muratori takes leave to observe —doveano ben essere allora, indisciplinati, Barbari, e *bestiali* i Tedeschi. Annal. tom. viii. p. 368.

The kingdom of Italy. A.D. 774-1250

There is nothing perhaps more adverse to nature and reason than to hold in obedience remote countries and foreign nations in opposition to their inclination and interest. A torrent of barbarians may pass over the earth, but an extensive empire must be supported by a refined system of policy and oppression: in the centre, an absolute power, prompt in action and rich in resources; a swift and easy communication with the extreme parts; fortifications to check the first effort of rebellion; a regular administration to protect and punish; and a well-disciplined army to inspire fear, without provoking discontent and despair. Far different was the situation of the German Cæsars, who were ambitious to enslave the kingdom of Italy. Their patrimonial estates were stretched along the Rhine, or scattered in the provinces; but this ample domain was alienated by the imprudence or distress of successive princes; and their revenue, from minute and vexatious prerogative, was scarcely sufficient for the maintenance of their household. Their troops were formed by the legal or voluntary service of their feudal vassals, who passed the Alps with reluctance, assumed the licence of rapine and disorder, and capriciously deserted before the end of the campaign. Whole armies were swept away by the pestilential influence of the climate; the survivors brought back the bones of their princes and nobles,[150] and the effects of their own intemperance were often imputed to the treachery and malice of the Italians, who rejoiced at least in the calamities of the barbarians. This irregular tyranny might contend on equal terms with the petty tyrants of Italy; nor can the people, or the reader, be much interested in the event of the quarrel. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Lombards rekindled the flame of industry and freedom; and the generous example was at length imitated by the republics of Tuscany. In the Italian cities a municipal government had never been totally abolished; and their first privileges were granted by the favour and policy of the emperors, who were desirous of erecting a plebeian barrier against the independence of the nobles. But their rapid progress, the daily extension of

[150] After boiling away the flesh. The caldrons for that purpose were a necessary piece of travelling furniture; and a German, who was using it for his brother, promised it to a friend, after it should have been employed for himself (Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 423, 424). The same author observes that the whole Saxon line was extinguished in Italy (tom. ii. p. 440).

their power and pretensions, were founded on the numbers and spirit of these rising communities.[151] Each city filled the measure of her diocese or district; the jurisdiction of the counts and bishops, of the marquises and counts, was banished from the land; and the proudest nobles were persuaded or compelled to desert their solitary castles, and to embrace the more honourable character of freemen and magistrates. The legislative authority was inherent in the general assembly; but the executive powers were entrusted to three consuls, annually chosen from the three orders of *captains, valvassors,*[152] and commons, into which the republic was divided. Under the protection of equal law, the labours of agriculture and commerce were gradually revived; but the martial spirit of the Lombards was nourished by the presence of danger; and, as often as the bell was rung or the standard[153] erected, the gates of the city poured forth a numerous and intrepid band, whose zeal in their own cause was soon guided by the use and discipline of arms. At the foot of these popular ramparts, the pride of the Cæsars was overthrown; and the invisible genius of liberty prevailed over the two Frederics, the greatest princes of the middle age: the first, superior perhaps in military prowess; the second, who undoubtedly excelled in the softer accomplishments of peace and learning.

Frederic the first. A.D. 1152-1190

Ambitious of restoring the splendour of the purple, Frederic the First invaded the republics of Lombardy, with the arts of a statesman, the valour of a soldier, and the cruelty of a tyrant. The recent discovery of the Pandects had renewed a science most favourable to despotism; and his venal advocates proclaimed the emperor the absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects. His royal prerogatives, in a less odious sense, were acknowledged in the diet of Roncaglia; and the revenue of Italy was fixed at thirty thousand pounds of silver,[154] which were multiplied to an indefinite demand by the rapine of the fiscal officers. The obstinate cities were reduced by the terror or the force of his arms; his captives were delivered to the executioner, or shot from his military engines; and, after the siege and surrender of Milan, the buildings of that stately capital were rased to the ground, three hundred hostages were sent into Germany, and the inhabitants were dispersed in four villages, under the yoke of the inflexible conqueror.[155] But Milan soon rose from her ashes; and the league of Lombardy was cemented by distress; their cause was espoused by Venice, pope Alexander the Third, and the Greek emperor; the fabric of oppression was overturned in a day; and in the treaty of Constance, Frederic subscribed, with some reservations, the freedom of four-and-twenty cities. His grandson contended with their vigour and maturity; but Frederic the Second[156] was endowed with some personal and peculiar advantages. His birth and education recommended him to the Italians; and, in the implacable discord of the two factions, the Ghibelins were attached to the emperor, while the Guelfs displayed the banner of liberty and the church. The court of Rome had slumbered, when his father Henry the Sixth was permitted to unite with the empire the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily; and from these hereditary realms the son derived an ample and ready supply of troops and treasure. Yet Frederic the Second was finally oppressed by the arms of the Lombards and the thunders of the Vatican; his kingdom was given to a stranger, and the last of his family was beheaded at Naples on a public scaffold. During sixty years no emperor appeared in Italy, and the name was remembered only by the ignominious sale of the last relics of sovereignty.

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[151] Otho bishop of Frisingen has left an important passage on the Italian cities (l. ii. c. 13, in Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 707-710); and the rise, progress, and government of these republics are perfectly illustrated by Muratori (Antiquitat. Ital. Medii Ævi, tom. iv. dissert. xlv.-l. ii. p. 1-675. Annal. tom. viii. ix. x.).

[152] For these titles, see Selden (Titles of Honour, vol. iii. part i. p. 488), Ducange (Gloss. Latin. tom. ii. p. 140, tom. vi. p. 776), and St. Marc (Abrégé Chronologique, tom. ii. p. 719).

[153] The Lombards invented and used the *carocium*, a standard planted on a car or waggon, drawn by a team of oxen (Ducange, tom. ii. p. 194, 195; Muratori, Antiquitat. tom. ii. Diss. xxxvi. p. 489-493).

[154] Gunther Ligurinus, l. viii. 584, et seq. apud Schmidt, tom. iii. p. 399.

Frederic the Second. A.D. 1198-1250

Independence of the princes of Germany. A.D. 814-1250, &c.

The barbarian conquerors of the West were pleased to decorate their chief with the title of emperor; but it was not their design to invest him with the despotism of Constantine and Justinian. The persons of the Germans were free, their conquests were their own, and their national character was animated by a spirit which scorned the servile jurisprudence of the new or the ancient Rome. It would have been a vain and dangerous attempt to impose a monarch on the armed freemen, who were impatient of a magistrate; on the bold, who refused to obey; on the powerful, who aspired to command. The empire of Charlemagne and Otho was distributed among the dukes of the nations or provinces, the counts of the smaller districts, and the margraves of the marches or frontiers, who all united the civil and military authority as it had been delegated to the lieutenants of the first Cæsars. The Roman governors, who, for the most part, were soldiers of fortune, seduced their mercenary legions, assumed the Imperial purple, and either failed or succeeded in their revolt, without wounding the power and unity of government. If the dukes, margraves, and counts of Germany were less audacious in their claims, the consequences of their success were more lasting and pernicious to the state. Instead of aiming at the supreme rank, they silently laboured to establish and appropriate their provincial independence. Their ambition was seconded by the weight of their estates and vassals, their mutual example and support, the common interest of the subordinate nobility, the change of princes and families, the minorities of Otho the Third and Henry the Fourth, the ambition of the popes, and the vain pursuits of the fugitive crowns of Italy and Rome. All the attributes of regal and territorial jurisdiction were gradually usurped by the commanders of the provinces; the right of peace and war, of life and death, of coinage and taxation, of foreign alliance and domestic economy. Whatever had been seized by violence was ratified by favour or distress, was granted as the price of a doubtful vote or a voluntary service; whatever had been granted to one could not, without injury, be denied to his successor or equal; and every act of local or temporary possession was insensibly moulded into the constitution of the Germanic kingdom. In every province, the visible presence of the duke or count was interposed between the throne and the nobles; the subjects of the law became the vassals of a private chief; and the standard, which *he* received from his sovereign, was often raised against him in the field. The temporal power of the clergy was cherished and exalted by the superstition or policy of the Carlovingian and Saxon dynasties, who blindly depended on their moderation and fidelity; and the bishoprics of Germany were made equal in extent and privilege, superior in wealth and population, to the most ample states of the military order. As long as the emperors retained the prerogative of bestowing on every vacancy these ecclesiastic and secular benefices, their cause was maintained by the gratitude or ambition of their friends and favourites. But in the quarrel of the investitures they were deprived of their influence over the episcopal chapters; the freedom of election was restored, and the sovereign was reduced, by a solemn mockery, to his *firs* *prayers*, the recommendation, once in his reign, to a single prebend in each church. The secular governors, instead of being recalled at the will of a superior, could be degraded only by the sentence of their peers. In the first age of the monarchy, the appointment of the son to the duchy or county of his father was solicited as a favour; it was gradually obtained as a custom and extorted as a right; the lineal succession was often extended to the collateral or female branches; the states of the empire (their popular, and at length their legal, appellation) were divided and alienated by testament and sale; and all idea of a public trust was lost in that of a private and perpetual inheritance. The emperor could not even be enriched by the casualties of forfeiture and extinction; within the term of a year he was obliged to dispose of the vacant fief; and in the choice of the candidate it was his duty to consult either the general or the provincial diet.

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[155] Solus imperator faciem suam firmavit ut petram (Burcard. de Excidio Mediolani, Script. Ital. tom. vi. p. 917). This volume of Muratori contains the originals of the history of Frederic the First, which must be compared with due regard to the circumstances and prejudices of each German or Lombard writer.

[156] For the history of Frederic II. and the house of Swabia at Naples, see Giannone, Istoria Civile, tom. ii. l. xiv.-xix.

The Germanic constitution. A.D. 1250

After the death of Frederic the Second, Germany was lef a monster with an hundred heads. A crowd of princes and prelates disputed the ruins of the empire; the lords of innumerable castles were less prone to obey than to imitate their superiors; and, according to the measure of their strength their incessant hostilities received the names of conquest or robbery. Such anarchy was the inevitable consequence of the laws and manners of Europe; and the kingdoms of France and Italy were shivered into fragments by the violence of the same tempest. But the Italian cities and French vassals were divided and destroyed, while the union of the Germans has produced under the name of an empire, a great system of a federative republic. In the frequent and at last the perpetual institution of diets, a national spirit was kept alive, and the powers of a common legislature are still exercised by the three branches or colleges of the electors, the princes, and the free and Imperial cities of Germany. I. Seven of the most powerful feudatories were permitted to assume, with a distinguished name and rank the exclusive privilege of choosing the Roman emperor; and these electors were the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony the margrave of Brandenburg, the count palatine of the Rhine, and the three archbishops of Mentz, of Treves, and of

Cologne.[157] II. The college of princes and prelates purged themselves of a promiscuous multitude: they reduced to four representative votes the long series of independent counts, and excluded the nobles or equestrian order, sixty thousand of whom, as in the Polish diets, had appeared on horseback in the field of election. III. The pride of birth and dominion, of the sword and the mitre, wisely adopted the commons as the third branch of the legislature, and, in the progress of society, they were introduced about the same æra into the national assemblies of France, England, and Germany. The Hanseatic league commanded the trade and navigation of the north; the confederates of the Rhine secured the peace and intercourse of the inland country; the influence of the cities has been adequate to their wealth and policy, and their negative still invalidates the acts of the two superior colleges of electors and princes.[158]

Weakness and poverty of the German emperor Charles IV. A.D. 1347-1378

It is in the fourteenth century that we may view, in the strongest light, the state and contrast of the Roman empire of Germany, which no longer held, except on the borders of the Rhine and Danube, a single province of Trajan or Constantine. Their unworthy successors were the counts of Hapsburg, of Nassau, of Luxemburg, and of Schwartzenburg; the emperor Henry the Seventh procured for his son the crown of Bohemia, and his grandson Charles the Fourth was born among a people strange and barbarous in the estimation of the Germans themselves.[159] After the excommunication of Lewis of Bavaria, he received the gift or promise of the vacant empire from the Roman pontiffs, who, in the exile and captivity of Avignon, affected the dominion of the earth. The death of his competitors united the electoral college, and Charles was unanimously saluted king of the Romans, and future emperor: a title which, in the same age, was prostituted to the Cæsars of Germany and Greece. The German emperor was no more than the elective and impotent magistrate of an aristocracy of princes, who had not left him a village that he might call his own. His best prerogative was the right of presiding and proposing in the national senate, which was convened at his summons; and his native kingdom of Bohemia, less opulent than the adjacent city of Nuremberg, was the firmest seat of his power and the richest source of his revenue. A.D. 1355 The army with which he passed the Alps consisted of three hundred horse. In the cathedral of St. Ambrose, Charles was crowned with the *iron* crown, which tradition ascribed to the Lombard monarchy; but he was admitted only with a peaceful train; the gates of the city were shut upon him; and the king of Italy was held a captive by the arms of the Visconti, whom he confirmed in the sovereignty of Milan. In the Vatican he was again crowned with the *golden* crown of the empire; but, in obedience to a secret treaty, the Roman emperor immediately withdrew, without reposing a single night within the walls of Rome. The eloquent Petrarch,[160] whose fancy revived the visionary glories of the Capitol, deplores and upbraids the ignominious flight of the Bohemian; and even his contemporaries could observe that the sole exercise of his authority was in the lucrative sale of privileges and titles. The gold of Italy secured the election of his son; but such was the shameful poverty of the Roman emperor that his person was arrested by a butcher in the streets of Worms, and was detained in the public inn, as a pledge or hostage for the payment of his expenses.

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[157] [The electoral college "is mentioned A.D. 1152, and in somewhat clearer terms in 1198, as a distinct body; but without anything to show who composed it. First in A.D. 1263 does a letter of Pope Urban IV. say that by immemorial custom the right of choosing the Roman king belonged to seven persons, the seven who had just divided their votes on Richard of Cornwall and Alphonso of Castile." The three archbishops represented the German church; the four lay electors should have been the four great dukes of Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia. But the duchies of Franconia (or East Francia) and Swabia were extinct, their place being taken by the Palatinate of the Rhine and the Margraviate of Brandenburg. A conflict for the seventh place between Bavaria and the king of Bohemia (who claimed it by virtue of his office of cup-bearer) was decided by the Emperor Rudolf in 1289 in favour of the king of Bohemia. (Bryce, Holy Roman Empire (ed. 7), p. 229-30.)]

[158] In the immense labyrinth of the *jus publicum* of Germany, I must either quote one writer or a thousand; and I had rather trust to one faithful guide than transcribe, on credit, a multitude of names and passages. That guide is M. Pfeffel, the author of the best legal and constitutional history that I know of any country (Nouvel Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire et du Droit Public d'Allemagne, Paris, 1776, 2 vols. in 4to). His learning and judgment have discerned the most interesting facts; his simple brevity comprises them in a narrow space; his chronological order distributes them under the proper dates; and an elaborate index collects them under their respective heads. To this work, in a less perfect state, Dr. Robertson was gratefully indebted for that masterly sketch which traces even the modern changes of the Germanic body. The Corpus Historiæ Germanicæ of Struvius has been likewise consulted, the more usefully, as that huge compilation is fortified, in every page, with the original texts.

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[159] Yet, *personally*, Charles IV. must not be considered as a barbarian. After his education at Paris, he recovered the use of the Bohemian, his native, idiom and the emperor conversed and wrote with equal facility in French, Latin, Italian and German (Struvius, p. 615, 616). Petrarch always represents him as a polite and learned prince. [He founded the University of Prague, which he modelled on the universities of Salerno and Naples (founded by Frederick II.). In encouraging the national language he went so far as to decree that all German parents should have their children taught Bohemian.]

[160] Besides the German and Italian historians, the expedition of Charles IV. is painted in lively and original colours in the curious Mémoires sur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 376-430, by the Abbé de Sade, whose prolixity has never been blamed by any reader of taste and curiosity.

His ostentation. A.D 1356

From this humiliating scene let us turn to the apparent majesty of the same Charles in the diets of the empire. The golden bull, which fixes the Germanic constitution, is promulgated in the style of a sovereign and legislator.[161] An hundred princes bowed before his throne, and exalted their own dignity by the voluntary honours which they yielded to their chief or minister. At the royal banquet, the hereditary great officers, the seven electors, who in rank and title were equal to kings, performed their solemn and domestic service of the palace. The seals of the triple kingdom were borne in state by the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves, the perpetual arch-chancellors of Germany, Italy, and Arles. The great marshal, on horseback, exercised his function with a silver measure of oats, which he emptied on the ground, and immediately dismounted to regulate the order of the guests. The great steward, the count palatine of the Rhine, placed the dishes on the table. The great chamberlain, the margrave of Brandenburg, presented, after the repast, the golden ewer and bason, to wash. The king of Bohemia, as great cup-bearer, was represented by the emperor's brother, the duke of Luxemburg and Brabant; and the procession was closed by the great huntsmen, who introduced a boar and a stag, with a loud chorus of horns and hounds.[162] Nor was the supremacy of the emperor confined to Germany alone; the hereditary monarchs of Europe confessed the pre-eminence of his rank and dignity; he was the first of the Christian princes, the temporal head of the great republic of the West;[163] to his person the title of majesty was long appropriated; and he disputed with the pope the sublime prerogative of creating kings and assembling councils. The oracle of the civil law, the learned Bartolus, was a pensioner of Charles the Fourth; and his school resounded with the doctrine that the Roman emperor was the rightful sovereign of the earth, from the rising to the setting sun. The contrary opinion was condemned, not as an error, but as an heresy, since even the gospel had pronounced, "And there went forth a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that *all the world* should be taxed".[164]

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[161] [Charles sacrificed the interests of Germany entirely to those of Bohemia, he interests of the Empire to those of his own house. The Golden Bull does not mention Germany or Italy. Mr. Bryce's epigram on Charles IV. is famous: "he egalized anarchy, and called it a constitution". Mr. Bryce observes: "He saw n his office a means of serving personal ends, and to them, while appearing to exalt by elaborate ceremonies its ideal dignity, he deliberately sacrificed what real strength was left"; and: "the sums expended in obtaining the ratification of the Golden Bull, in procuring the election of his son Wenzel, in aggrandizing Bohemia at the expense of Germany, had been amassed by keeping a market in which honours and exemptions, with what lands the crown retained, were put up openly o be bid for".]

[162] See the whole ceremony, in Struvius, p. 629.

[163] The republic of Europe, with the pope and emperor at its head, was never epresented with more dignity than in the council of Constance. See Lenfant's History of that assembly.

Contrast of the power and modesty of Augustus

If we annihilate the interval of time and space between Augustus and Charles, strong and striking will be the contrast between the two Cæsars: the Bohemian, who concealed his weakness under the mask of ostentation, and the Roman, who disguised his strength under the semblance of modesty. At the head of his victorious legions, in his reign over the sea and land, from the Nile and Euphrates to the Atlantic ocean, Augustus professed himself the servant of the state and the equal of his fellow-citizens. The conqueror of Rome and her provinces assumed the popular and legal form of a censor, a consul, and a tribune. His will was the law of mankind, but, in the declaration of his laws, he borrowed the voice of the senate and people; and, from their decrees, their master accepted and renewed his temporary commission to administer the republic. In his dress, his domestics,[165] his titles, in all the offices of social life, Augustus maintained the character of a private Roman; and his most artful flatterers respected the secret of his absolute and perpetual monarchy.

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[164] Gravina, Origines Juris Civilis, p. 108.

[165] Six thousand urns have been discovered of the slaves and freedmen of Augustus and Livia. So minute was the division of office that one slave was appointed to weigh the wool which was spun by the empress's maids, another for the care of her lap-dog, &c. (Camere Sepolchrale, &c. by Bianchini. Extract of his work, in the Bibliothèque Italique, tom. iv. p. 175. His Eloge, by Fontenelle, tom. vi. p. 356). But these servants were of the same rank, and possibly not more numerous than those of Pollio or Lentulus. They only prove the general riches of the city.

CHAPTER L

Description of Arabia and its Inhabitants—Birth, Character, and Doctrine of Mahomet—He preaches at Mecca—Flies to Medina—Propagates his Religion by the Sword—Voluntary or reluctant Submission of the Arabs—His Death and Successors—The Claims and Fortunes of Ali and his Descendants

AFTER pursuing, above six hundred years, the fleeting Cæsars of Constantinople and Germany, I now descend, in the reign of Heraclius, on the eastern borders of the Greek monarchy. While the state was exhausted by the Persian war, and the church was distracted by the Nestorian and Monophysite sects, Mahomet, with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, erected his throne on the ruins of Christianity and of Rome. The genius of the Arabian prophet, the manners of his nation, and the spirit of his religion involve the causes of the decline and fall of the Eastern empire; and our eyes are curiously intent on one of the most memorable revolutions which have impressed a new and lasting character on the nations of the globe.[1]

Description of Arabia

In the vacant space between Persia, Syria, Egypt, and Æthiopia, the Arabian peninsula[2] may be conceived as a triangle of spacious

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[1] As in this and the following chapter I shall display much Arabic learning, I must profess my total ignorance of the Oriental tongues, and my gratitude to the learned interpreters, who have transfused their science into the Latin, French, and English languages. Their collections, versions, and histories, I shall occasionally notice.

[2] The geographers of Arabia may be divided into three classes: 1. The *Greeks* and *Latins*, whose progressive knowledge may be traced in Agatharchides (de Mari Rubro, in Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. i.), Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 159-167 [c. 48 *sqq.*], l. iii. p. 211-216 [c. 14 *sqq.*], edit. Wesseling), Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1112-1114 [c. 4, 1-4], from Eratosthenes; p. 1122-1132 [c. 4, 5 *sqq.*], from Artemidorus), Dionysius (Periegesis, 927-969), Pliny (Hist. Natur. v. 12, vi. 32), and Ptolemy (Descript. et Tabulæ Urbium, in Hudson, tom. iii.). 2. The *Arabic writers*, who have treated the subject with the zeal of patriotism or devotion: the extracts of Pocock (Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 125-128), from the Geography of the Sherif al Edrissi, render us still more dissatisfied with the version or abridgment (p. 24-27, 44-56, 108, &c. 119, &c.) which the Maronites have published under the absurd title of Geographia Nubiensis (Paris, 1619); but the Latin and French translators, Greaves (in Hudson, tom. iii.) and Galland (Voyage de la Palestine par la Roque, p. 265-346), have

The soil and climate

but irregular dimensions. From the northern point of Beles[3] on the Euphrates, a line of fifteen hundred miles is terminated by the straits of Babelmandeb and the land of frankincense. About half this length[4] may be allowed for the middle breadth from east to west, from Bassora to Suez, from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea.[5] The sides of the triangle are gradually enlarged, and the southern basis presents a front of a thousand miles to the Indian ocean. The entire surface of the peninsula exceeds in a fourfold proportion that of Germany or France; but the far greater part has been justly stigmatized with the epithets of the *stony* and the *sandy*. Even the wilds of Tartary are decked by the hand of nature with lofty trees and luxuriant herbage; and the lonesome traveller derives a sort of comfort and society from the presence of vegetable life. But in the dreary waste of Arabia, a boundless level of sand is intersected by sharp and naked mountains, and the face of the desert, without shade or shelter, is scorched by the direct and intense rays of a tropical sun. Instead of refreshing breezes, the winds, particularly from the south-west, diffuse a noxious and even deadly vapour; the hillocks of sand which they alternately raise and scatter are compared to the billows of the ocean; and whole caravans, whole armies, have been lost and buried in the whirlwind. The common benefits of water are an object of desire and contest; and such is the scarcity of wood that some art is requisite to preserve and propagate the element of fire. Arabia

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opened to us the Arabia of Abulfeda, the most copious and correct account of the peninsula, which may be enriched, however, from the Bibliothèque Orientale of d'Herbelot, p. 120, et alibi passim. 3. The *European travellers;* among whom Shaw (p. 438-455) and Niebuhr (Description, 1773, Voyages, tom. i. 1776) deserve an honourable distinction; Busching (Géographie par Berenger, tom. viii. p. 416-510) has compiled with judgment; and d'Anville's Maps (Orbis Veteribus Notus, and 1re Partie de l'Asie) should lie before the reader, with his Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 208-231. [Of European travellers since Niebuhr, we have the accounts of J. L. Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia, 1829; J. R. Wellsted, Travels in Arabia, 1838; W. G. Palgrave, Narrative of a year's journey through central and eastern Arabia (ed. 2), 1868. For the Nejd: Lady Anne Blunt's Pilgrimage to Nejd (1881). See also below, n. 21. The historical geography of Arabia has been treated by C. Forster ("The Hist. Geography of Arabia," 1844).]

[3] Abulfed. Descript. Arabiæ, p. 1. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 19, 20. It was in this place [Bālis], the paradise or garden of a satrap [τὰ Βελέσυος βασίλεια], that Xenophon and the Greeks first passed the Euphrates (Anabasis, l. i. c. 10 [*leg.* c. 4, § 10], p. 29, edit. Wells).

[4] [This measurement is not accurate. The distance is 900 miles. The "southern basis" is 1200 miles from Bāb al-Mandeb to Ras al-Hadd.]

[5] Reland has proved, with much superfluous learning, 1. That our Red Sea (the Arabian Gulf) is no more than a part of the *Mare Rubrum*, the 'Ερυθρὰ θάλασσα of the ancients, which was extended to the indefinite space of the Indian ocean. 2. That the synonymous words ἐρυθρός, αἰθίοψ, allude to the colour of the blacks or negroes (Dissert. Miscell. tom. i. p. 59-117).

is destitute of navigable rivers, which fertilise the soil and convey its produce to the adjacent regions; the torrents that fall from the hills are imbibed by the thirsty earth; the rare and hardy plants, the tamarind or the acacia, that strike their roots into the clefts of the rocks, are nourished by the dews of the night; a scanty supply of rain is collected in cisterns and aqueducts; the wells and springs are the secret treasure of the desert; and the pilgrim of Mecca,[6] after many a dry and sultry march, is disgusted by the taste of the waters, which have rolled over a bed of sulphur or salt. Such is the general and genuine picture of the climate of Arabia. The experience of evil enhances the value of any local or partial enjoyments. A shady grove, a green pasture, a stream of fresh water, are sufficient to attract a colony of sedentary Arabs to the fortunate spots which can afford food and refreshment to themselves and their cattle, and which encourage their industry in the cultivation of the palm-tree and the vine. The high lands that border on the Indian ocean are distinguished by their superior plenty of wood and water; the air is more temperate, the fruits are more delicious, the animals and the human race more numerous; the fertility of the soil invites and rewards the toil of the husbandman; and the peculiar gifts of frankincense[7] and coffee have attracted, in different ages, the merchants of the world. If it be compared with the rest of the peninsula, this sequestrated region may truly deserve the appellation of the *happy;* and the splendid colouring of fancy and fiction has been suggested by contrast and countenanced by distance. It was for this earthly paradise that nature had reserved her choicest favours and her most curious workmanship; the incompatible blessings of luxury and innocence were ascribed to the natives; the soil was impregnated with gold[8] and gems, and both the land and sea were taught to exhale the odours of aromatic

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[6] In the thirty days, or stations, between Cairo and Mecca, there are fifteen destitute of good water. See the route of the Hadjees, in Shaw's Travels, p. 477. [Cp. Burton's work, cited below, n. 21.]

[7] The aromatics, especially the *thus* or frankincense, of Arabia occupy the xiith book of Pliny. Our great poet (Paradise Lost, l. iv.) introduces, in a simile, the spicy odours that are blown by the north-east wind from the Sabæan coast:

——Many a league,
Pleas'd with the grateful scent, old Ocean smiles.

(Plin. Hist. Natur. xii. 42.)

[8] Agatharchides affirms that lumps of pure gold were found, from the size of an olive to that of a nut; that iron was twice, and silver ten times, the value of gold (de Mari Rubro, p. 60). These real or imaginary treasures are vanished; and no gold mines are at present known in Arabia (Niebuhr, Description, p. 124). [But see Appendix 17.]

Division of the sandy, the stony, and the happy Arabia

[Nejd]

sweets. This division of the *sandy*, the *stony*, and the *happy*, so familiar to the Greeks and Latins, is unknown to the Arabians themselves; and it is singular enough that a country, whose language and inhabitants had ever been the same, should scarcely retain a vestige of its ancient geography. The maritime districts of *Bahrein* and *Oman* are opposite to the realm of Persia. The kingdom of *Yemen* displays the limits, or at least the situation, of Arabia Felix; the name *Neged* is extended over the inland space; and the birth of Mahomet has illustrated the province of *Hejaz* along the coast of the Red Sea.[9]

Manners of the Bedoweens, or pastoral Arabs

The measure of population is regulated by the means of subsistence; and the inhabitants of this vast peninsula might be out-numbered by the subjects of a fertile and industrious province. Along the shores of the Persian gulf, of the ocean, and even of the Red Sea, the *Ichthyophagi*,[10] or fish-eaters, continued to wander in quest of their precarious food. In this primitive and abject state, which ill deserves the name of society, the human brute, without arts or laws, almost without sense or language, is poorly distinguished from the rest of the animal creation. Generations and ages might roll away in silent oblivion, and the helpless savage was restrained from multiplying his race by the wants and pursuits which confined his existence to the narrow margin of the sea-coast. But in an early period of antiquity the great body of the Arabs had emerged from this scene of misery; and, as the naked wilderness could not maintain a people of hunters, they rose at once to the more secure and plentiful condition of the pastoral life. The same life is uniformly pursued by the roving tribes of the desert, and in the portrait of the modern *Bedoweens* we may trace the features of their ancestors,[11] who, in the age of Moses or Mahomet, dwelt under similar tents, and conducted their horses and camels and sheep to the same springs and the same pastures. Our toil is lessened, and our wealth is increased, by our dominion over the useful animals; and the Arabian shepherd had acquired the absolute possession of a faithful friend and a laborious slave.[12] Arabia, in the opinion of the naturalist, is the genuine and original country of the *horse;* the climate most propitious, not indeed to the size, but to the spirit and swiftness, of that generous animal. The merit of the Barb, the Spanish, and the English breed is derived from a mixture of Arabian blood;[13] the Bedoweens preserve, with superstitious care, the honours and the memory of the purest race; the males are sold at a high price, but the females are seldom alienated; and the birth of a noble foal was esteemed, among the tribes, as a subject of joy and mutual congratulation. These horses are educated in the tents, among the children of the Arabs,[14] with a tender familiarity, which trains them in the habits of gentleness and attachment. They are accustomed only to walk and to gallop; their sensations are not blunted by the incessant abuse of the spur and the whip; their powers are reserved for the moments of flight and pursuit; but no sooner do they feel the touch of the hand or the stirrup than they dart away with the swiftness of the wind; and, if their friend be dismounted in the rapid career, they instantly stop till he has recovered his seat. In the sands of Africa and Arabia the *camel* is a sacred and precious gift. That strong and patient beast of burthen can perform, without eating or drinking, a journey of several days;[15] and a reservoir of fresh water is preserved in a large bag, a fifth stomach of the animal, whose body is imprinted with the marks of servitude. The larger breed is capable of transporting a weight of a thousand pounds; and the dromedary, of a lighter and more active frame, outstrips the fleetest courser in the race. Alive or dead, almost every part of the camel is serviceable to man; her milk is plenti-

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[9] Consult, peruse, and study the Specimen Historiæ Arabum of Pocock! (Oxon. 1650, in 4to). The thirty pages of text and version are extracted from the Dynasties of Gregory Abulpharagius, which Pocock afterwards translated (Oxon. 1663, in 4to); the three hundred and fifty-eight notes from a classic and original work on the Arabian antiquities. [Hijāz = barrier.]

[10] Arrian remarks the Ichthyophagi of the coast of Hejaz (Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 12), and beyond Aden (p. 15). It seems probable that the shores of the Red Sea (in the largest sense) were occupied by these savages in the time, perhaps, of Cyrus; but I can hardly believe that any cannibals were left among the savages in the reign of Justinian (Procop. de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 19).

[11] See the Specimen Historiæ Arabum of Pocock, p. 2, 5, 86, &c. The journey of M. d'Arvieux, in 1664, to the camp of the emir of Mount Carmel (Voyage de la Palestine, Amsterdam, 1718), exhibits a pleasing and original picture of the life of the Bedoweens, which may be illustrated from Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 327-344), and Volney (tom. i. p. 343-385), the last and most judicious of our Syrian travellers. [Sachau (Reise in Syrien, 1883; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 491) is the most recent and trustworthy authority. Observe that "Bedoweens" is an incorrect form. *Bedawi* means an Arab of the desert, opposed to a villager, and

The horse

The camel

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the plural is Bedāwā, or Bidwān, never Bedawīn. The English plural would be Bedawis.]

[12] Read (it is no unpleasing task) the incomparable articles of the *Horse* and the *Camel*, in the Natural History of M. de Buffon.

[13] For the Arabian horses, see d'Arvieux (p. 159-173) and Niebuhr (p. 142-144). At the end of the thirteenth century, the horses of Neged were esteemed sure-footed, those of Yemen strong and serviceable, those of Hejaz most noble. The horses of Europe, the tenth and last class, were generally despised, as having too much body and too little spirit (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 339); their strength was requisite to bear the weight of the knight and his armour.

[14] [This is an exaggeration. Though treated with great consideration, it is not usual for the Arab horses to come into the tents.]

[15] [A dromedary can go without water six days in summer, ten in winter.]

ful and nutritious; the young and tender flesh has the taste of veal;[16] a valuable salt is extracted from the urine; the dung supplies the deficiency of fuel; and the long hair, which falls each year and is renewed, is coarsely manufactured into the garments, the furniture, and the tents, of the Bedoweens. In the rainy seasons they consume the rare and insufficient herbage of the desert; during the heats of summer and the scarcity of winter, they remove their encampments to the sea-coast, the hills of Yemen, or the neighbourhood of the Euphrates, and have often extorted the dangerous licence of visiting the banks of the Nile and the villages of Syria and Palestine. The life of a wandering Arab is a life of danger and distress; and, though sometimes, by rapine or exchange, he may appropriate the fruits of industry, a private citizen in Europe is in the possession of more solid and pleasing luxury than the proudest emir who marches in the field at the head of ten thousand horse.

Cities of Arabia

Yet an essential difference may be found between the hordes of Scythia and the Arabian tribes, since many of the latter were collected into towns and employed in the labours of trade and agriculture. A part of their time and industry was still devoted to the management of their cattle; they mingled, in peace and war, with their brethren of the desert; and the Bedoweens derived from their useful intercourse some supply of their wants and some rudiments of art and knowledge. Among the forty-two cities of Arabia,[17] enumerated by Abulfeda, the most ancient and populous were situate in the *happy* Yemen; the towers of Saana[18] and the marvellous reservoir of Merab[19] were constructed by the kings of the Homerites; but their profane lustre was eclipsed by the prophetic glories of MEDINA[20] and MECCA,[21] **Mecca** near the Red Sea, and at the distance from each other of two hundred and seventy miles. The last of these holy places was known to the Greeks under the name of Macoraba; and the termination of the word is expressive of its greatness, which has not indeed, in the most flourishing period, exceeded the size and populousness of Marseilles. Some latent motive, perhaps of superstition, must have impelled the founders, in the choice of a most unpromising situation. They erected their habitations of mud or stone in a plain about two miles long and one mile broad, at the foot of three barren mountains; the soil is a rock; the water even of the holy well of Zemzem is bitter or brackish; the pastures are remote from the city; and grapes are transported about seventy miles from the gardens of Tayef. The fame and spirit of the Koreishites, who reigned in Mecca, were conspicuous among the Arabian tribes; but their ungrateful soil refused the labours of agriculture, and their position was favourable to the enterprises of trade. By the sea-port of **her trade** Gedda, at the distance only of forty miles, they maintained an easy correspondence with Abyssinia; and that Christian kingdom afforded the first refuge to the disciples of Mahomet. The treasures of Africa were conveyed over the peninsula to Gerrha or Katif, in the province of Bahrein, a city built, as it is said, of rock-salt, by the Chaldaean exiles;[22] and from thence, with the native pearls of the Persian Gulf, they were floated on rafts to the mouth of the Euphrates. Mecca is placed almost at an equal distance, a month's journey, between Yemen on the right and Syria on the left, hand. The former was the winter, th latter the summer, station of her caravans; and their seasonabl arrival relieved the ships of India from the tedious and troublesome navigation of the Red Sea. In the markets of Saana an Merab, in the harbours of Oman and Aden, the camels of th Koreishites were laden with a precious cargo of aromatics; supply of corn and manufactures was purchased in the fairs o Bostra and Damascus; the lucrative exchange diffused plent and riches in the streets of Mecca; and the noblest of her son united the love of arms with the profession of merchandise.[2

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[16] Qui carnibus camelorum vesci solent odii tenaces sunt, was the opinion of an Arabian physician (Pocock, Specimen, p. 88). Mahomet himself, who was fond of milk, prefers the cow, and does not even mention the camel; but the diet of Mecca and Medina was already more luxurious (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 404). [Camel's flesh is said to be very insipid.]

[17] Yet Marcian of Heraclea (in Periplo, p. 16, in tom. i. Hudson, Minor. Geograph.) reckons one hundred and sixty-four towns in Arabia Felix. The size of the towns might be small—the faith of the writer might be large.

[18] It is compared by Abulfeda (in Hudson, tom. iii. p. 54) to Damascus, and is still the residence of the Imam of Yemen (Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. i. p. 331-342). Saana [San 'ā] is twenty-four parasangs from Dafar [Dhafār] (Abulfeda, p. 51), and sixty-eight from Aden (p. 53).

[19] Pocock, Specimen, p. 57; Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 52. Meriaba, or Merab, six miles in circumference, was destroyed by the legions of Augustus (Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 32), and had not revived in the fourteenth century (Abulfed. Descript. Arab. p. 58). [It was reached but not destroyed by the legions of Augustus. Its strong walls deterred Gallus from a siege. Their ruins still stand. See Arnaud, Journal Asiat. (7 sér.), 3, p. 3 *sqq*., 1874.]

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[20] The name of *city*, *Medina*, was appropriated, κατ' ἐξοχήν, to Yatreb [Yathrib] (the Iatrippa of the Greeks), the seat of the prophet [al-Medīna, or, in full, Medīnat en-Nebī, "the city of the prophet"]. The distances from Medina are reckoned by Abulfeda in stations, or days' journey of a caravan (p. 15), to Bahrein, xv.; to Bassora, xviii.; to Cufah, xx.; to Damascus or Palestine, xx.; to Cairo, xxv.; to Mecca, x.; from Mecca to Saana (p. 52), or Aden, xxx.; to Cairo, xxxi. days, or 412 hours (Shaw's Travels, p. 477); which, according to the estimate of d'Anville (Mesures Itinéraires, p. 99), allows about twenty-five English miles for a day's journey. From the land of frankincense (Hadramaut, in Yemen, between Aden and Cape Fartasch) to Gaza, in Syria, Pliny (Hist. Nat. xii. 32) computes lxv. mansions of camels. These measures may assist fancy and elucidate facts.

[21] Our notions of Mecca must be drawn from the Arabians (d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 368-371. Pocock, Specimen, p. 125-128. Abulfeda, p. 11-40). As no unbeliever is permitted to enter the city, our travellers are silent; and the short hints of Thévenot (Voyages du Levant, part i. p. 490) are taken from the suspicious mouth of an African renegado. Some Persians counted 6000 houses (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 167). [For a description of Mecca, see Burckhardt, *op. cit.*; and Sir. R. Burton's Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah, 1855-6; and, best of all, Snouck Hurgronje, Mekka, 1888. Gibbon was ignorant of the visit of Joseph Pitts, his captivity and his book, "Account of the religion and manners of the Mahometans" (3rd ed., 1731). For this, and other visits, see Burton, *op. cit.*, Appendix.]

[22] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1110 [3, § 3]. See one of these salt houses near Bassora, in d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 6,

National independence of the Arabs

The perpetual independence of the Arabs has been the them of praise among strangers and natives; and the arts of controversy transform this singular event into a prophecy and miracle, in favour of the posterity of Ismael.[24] Some exceptions that can neither be dissembled nor eluded, render this mode o reasoning as indiscreet as it is superfluous: the kingdom o Yemen has been successively subdued by the Abyssinians, th Persians, the sultans of Egypt,[25] and the Turks;[26] the hol cities of Mecca and Medina have repeatedly bowed under Scythian tyrant; and the Roman province of Arabia[27] embrace

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[23] Mirum dictu ex innumeris populis pars æqua in *commerciis* aut in latrocinii degit (Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 32). See Sale's Koran, Sura. cvi. p. 503. Pocock Specimen, p. 2. D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 361. Prideaux's Life of Mahome p. 5. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 72, 120, 126, &c.

[24] A nameless doctor (Universal Hist. vol. xx. octavo edition) has formall *demonstrated* the truth of Christianity by the independence of the Arabs. A critic besides the exceptions of fact, might dispute the meaning of the text (Gen. xvi. 12 the extent of the application, and the foundation of the pedigree.

[25] It was subdued, A.D. 1173, by a brother of the great Saladin, who founded dynasty of Curds or Ayoubites (Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 425. D'Herbelot, p. 477).

[26] By the lieutenant of Soliman I. (A.D. 1538), and Selim II. (1568). Se Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman empire, p. 201, 221. The Pasha, who resided a Saana, commanded twenty-one Beys, but no revenue was ever remitted to th Porte (Marsigli, Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno, p. 124), and the Turk were expelled about the year 1630 (Niebuhr, p. 167, 168).

[27] Of the Roman province, under the name of Arabia and the third Palestin the principal cities were Bostra and Petra, which dated their æra from the yea 105, when they were subdued by Palma, a lieutenant of Trajan (Dion. Cassius, lxviii [c. 14]). Petra was the capital of the Nabathæans; whose name is derived fror the eldest of the sons of Ismael (Gen. xxv. 12, &c. with the Commentaries o Jerom, Le Clerc, and Calmet). Justinian relinquished a palm country of ten day journey to the south of Ælah (Procop. de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 19), and the Roman maintained a centurion and a custom-house (Arrian in Periplo Maris Erythræi, p 11, in Hudson, tom. i.) at a place (λευκὴ κώμη, Pagus Albus Hawara) in the territory of Medina (d'Anville, Mémoire sur l'Egypte, p. 243). These real possession and some naval inroads of Trajan (Peripl. p. 14, 15), are magnified by history an medals into the Roman conquest of Arabia. [After Diocletian, Arabia was divide into two provinces; see above, vol. ii. p. 550, n. 6.]

ıe peculiar wilderness in which Ismael and his sons must have
itched their tents in the face of their brethren. Yet these
xceptions are temporary or local; the body of the nation has
scaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies; the arms of
esostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve
ıe conquest of Arabia; the present sovereign of the Turks[28]
ay exercise a shadow of jurisdiction; but his pride is reduced
solicit the friendship of a people whom it is dangerous to
rovoke and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their
eedom are inscribed on the character and country of the
rabs. Many ages before Mahomet,[29] their intrepid valour had
een severely felt by their neighbours in offensive and defensive
ar. The patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly
ursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The care
the sheep and camels is abandoned to the women of the
ibe; but the martial youth under the banner of the emir is
ver on horseback and in the field, to practise the exercise of
ıe bow, the javelin, and the scymetar. The long memory of
ıeir independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity, and
ıcceeding generations are animated to prove their descent and
maintain their inheritance. Their domestic feuds are suspended on the approach of a common enemy; and in their last
ostilities against the Turks the caravan of Mecca was attacked
ıd pillaged by fourscore thousand of the confederates. When
ıey advance to battle, the hope of victory is in the front; in
ıe rear, the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels,
ho in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five
undred miles, disappear before the conqueror; the secret waters
f the desert elude his search; and his victorious troops are
onsumed with thirst, hunger, and fatigue, in the pursuit of an
ıvisible foe, who scorns his efforts, and safely reposes in the
eart of the burning solitude. The arms and deserts of the
edoweens are not only the safeguards of their own freedom,
ut the barriers also of the happy Arabia, whose inhabitants,
emote from war, are enervated by the luxury of the soil and
limate. The legions of Augustus melted away in disease and
ssitude;[30] and it is only by a naval power that the reduction

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[28] Niebuhr (Description de l'Arabie, p. 302, 303, 329-331) affords the most
cent and authentic intelligence of the Turkish empire in Arabia. [Harris's Travels
nong the Yemen Rebels is the latest account (1894).]

[29] Diodorus Siculus (tom. ii. l. xix. p. 390-393, edit. Wesseling [c. 94, *sqq.*]) has
early exposed the freedom of the Nabathæan Arabs, who resisted the arms of
ntigonus and his son.

[30] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 1127-1129 [3, § 22 *sqq.*]; Plin. Hist. Natur. vi. 32. Ælius
allus landed near Medina, and marched near a thousand miles into the part of

of Yemen has been successfully attempted. When Mahomet erected his holy standard,[31] that kingdom was a province of the Persian empire; yet seven princes of the Homerites still reigned in the mountains; and the vicegerent of Chosroes was tempted to forget his distant country and his unfortunate master. The historians of the age of Justinian represent the state of the independent Arabs, who were divided by interest or affection in the long quarrel of the East: the tribe of *Gassan* was allowed to encamp on the Syrian territory; the princes of *Hira* were permitted to form a city about forty miles to the southward of the ruins of Babylon. Their service in the field was speedy and vigorous; but their friendship was venal, their faith inconstant, their enmity capricious: it was an easier task to excite than to disarm these roving barbarians; and, in the familiar intercourse of war, they learned to see, and to despise, the splendid weakness both of Rome and of Persia. From Mecca to the Euphrates, the Arabian tribes[32] were confounded by the Greeks and Latins under the general appellation of SARACENS,[33] a name which every Christian mouth has been taught to pronounce with terror and abhorrence.

Their domestic freedom and character

The slaves of domestic tyranny may vainly exult in their national independence; but the Arab is personally free; and he enjoys, in some degree, the benefits of society, without forfeiting the prerogatives of nature. In every tribe, superstition, or gratitude, or fortune has exalted a particular family above the heads

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Yemen between Mareb and the Ocean. The non ante devictis Sabaeae regibus (Od. i. 29), and the intacti Arabum thesauri (Od. iii. 24), of Horace attest the virgin purity of Arabia. [The mistake of Gallus lay in not sailing directly to Yemen.]

[31] See the imperfect history of Yemen in Pocock, Specimen, p. 55-66, of Hira, p. 66-74, of Gassan, p. 75-78, as far as it could be known or preserved in the time of ignorance. [The best authority is H. C. Kay, Hist. of the Yemen, 1892 (from Arabic sources, and chiefly Omāra, al-Khazraji, and al-Jannābi).]

[32] The Σαρακηνικὰ φῦλα, μυριάδες ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν ἐρημονόμοι καὶ ἀδέσποτοι, are described by Menander (Excerpt. Legation. p. 149 [fr. 15, p. 220, ed. Müller]), Procopius de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 17, 19, l. ii. c. 10), and, in the most lively colours, by Ammianus Marcellinus (l. xiv. c. 4), who had spoken of them as early as the reign of Marcus.

[33] The name which, used by Ptolemy and Pliny in a more confined, by Ammianus and Procopius in a larger, sense, has been derived, ridiculously from *Sarah*, the wife of Abraham, obscurely from the village of *Saraka* (μετὰ Ναβαταίους. Stephan. de Urbibus), more plausibly from the Arabic words which signify a *thievish* character, or *Oriental* situation (Holtinger, Hist. Oriental. l. i. c. i. p. 7, 8. Pocock, Specimen, p. 33, 35. Asseman. Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 567). Yet the last and most popular of these etymologies is refuted by Ptolemy (Arabia, p. 2, 18, in Hudson, tom. iv.), who expressly remarks the western and southern position of the Saracens, then an obscure tribe on the borders of Egypt. The appellation cannot therefore allude to any *national* character; and, since it was imposed by strangers, it must be found, not in the Arabic, but in a foreign language. [*Sharki* = Eastern: commonly used for *Levantine.*]

their equals. The dignities of sheikh and emir invariably de-
end in this chosen race; but the order of succession is loose
d precarious; and the most worthy or aged of the noble kins-
en are preferred to the simple, though important, office of com-
sing disputes by their advice and guiding valour by their
ample. Even a female of sense and spirit has been permitted to
mmand the countrymen of Zenobia.[34] The momentary junction
several tribes produces an army; their more lasting union
nstitutes a nation; and the supreme chief, the emir of emirs,
hose banner is displayed at their head, may deserve, in the
es of strangers, the honours of the kingly name. If the
rabian princes abuse their power, they are quickly punished
the desertion of their subjects, who had been accustomed to
mild and parental jurisdiction. Their spirit is free, their steps
e unconfined, the desert is open, and the tribes and families
e held together by a mutual and voluntary compact. The
fter natives of Yemen supported the pomp and majesty of a
onarch; but, if he could not leave his palace without endan-
ering his life,[35] the active powers of government must have
een devolved on his nobles and magistrates. The cities of
ecca and Medina present, in the heart of Asia, the form, or
ther the substance, of a commonwealth. The grandfather of
ahomet and his lineal ancestors appear in foreign and domestic
ansactions as the princes of their country; but they reigned,
ke Pericles at Athens, or the Medici at Florence, by the opinion
their wisdom and integrity; their influence was divided with
eir patrimony; and the sceptre was transferred from the uncles
the prophet to a younger branch of the tribe of Koreish. On
lemn occasions they convened the assembly of the people;
d, since mankind must be either compelled or persuaded to
ey, the use and reputation of oratory among the ancient Arabs
the clearest evidence of public freedom.[36] But their simple

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[34] Saraceni . . . mulieres aiunt in eos regnare (Expositio totius Mundi, p. 3, in
udson, tom. iii.). The reign of Mavia is famous in ecclesiastical story. Pocock,
ecimen, p. 69, 83.

[35] Μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων [οὐ δύναται πάλιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων ἐξελθεῖν], is the
port of Agatharchides (de Mari Rubro, p. 63, 64, in Hudson, tom. i.), Diodorus
culus (tom. i. l. iii. c. 47, p. 215), and Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1124 [3, § 19]). But I
uch suspect that this is one of the popular tales or extraordinary accidents which
e credulity of travellers so often transforms into a fact, a custom, and a law.

[36] Non gloriabantur antiquitus Arabes, nisi gladio, hospite, et *eloquentiâ* (Seph-
ius, apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 161, 162). This gift of speech they shared only
th the Persians; and the sententious Arabs would probably have disdained the
nple and sublime logic of Demosthenes.

freedom was of a very different cast from the nice and artificia machinery of the Greek and Roman republics, in which each member possessed an undivided share of the civil and politica rights of the community. In the more simple state of the Arab the nation is free, because each of her sons disdains a base submission to the will of a master. His breast is fortified with th austere virtues of courage, patience, and sobriety; the love o independence prompts him to exercise the habits of self-command; and the fear of dishonour guards him from the meane apprehension of pain, of danger, and of death. The gravity an firmness of the mind is conspicuous in his outward demeanour his speech is slow, weighty, and concise; he is seldom provoke to laughter; his only gesture is that of stroking his beard, th venerable symbol of manhood; and the sense of his own importance teaches him to accost his equals without levity and hi superiors without awe.[37] The liberty of the Saracens survive their conquests; the first caliphs indulged the bold and familia language of their subjects; they ascended the pulpit to persuad and edify the congregation; nor was it before the seat of empir was removed to the Tigris that the Abbassides adopted th proud and pompous ceremonial of the Persian and Byzantin courts.

Civil wars and private revenge

In the study of nations and men, we may observe the cause that render them hostile or friendly to each other, that tend t narrow or enlarge, to mollify or exasperate, the social character The separation of the Arabs from the rest of mankind has accustomed them to confound the ideas of stranger and enemy and the poverty of the land has introduced a maxim of jurisprudence which they believe and practise to the present hou They pretend that, in the division of the earth, the rich an fertile climates were assigned to the other branches of the huma family; and that the posterity of the outlaw Ismael might recover, by fraud or force, the portion of inheritance of which h had been unjustly deprived. According to the remark of Plin the Arabian tribes are equally addicted to theft and merchandise the caravans that traverse the desert are ransomed or pillaged and their neighbours, since the remote times of Job and Sesostris,

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[37] I must remind the reader that d'Arvieux, d'Herbelot, and Niebuhr represen in the most lively colours, the manners and government of the Arabs, which a illustrated by many incidental passages in the life of Mahomet.

[38] Observe the first chapter of Job, and the long wall of 1500 stadia whi Sesostris built from Pelusium to Heliopolis (Diodor. Sicul. tom. i. l. i. p. 6 Under the name of *Hycsos*, the shepherd kings, they had formerly subdued Egy

ave been the victims of their rapacious spirit. If a Bedoween
iscovers from afar a solitary traveller, he rides furiously against
im, crying, with a loud voice, "Undress thyself, thy aunt (*my
ife*) is without a garment". A ready submission entitles him
o mercy; resistance will provoke the aggressor, and his own
lood must expiate the blood which he presumes to shed in
egitimate defence. A single robber or a few associates are
randed with their genuine name; but the exploits of a numerous
and assume the character of a lawful and honourable war. The
emper of a people, thus armed against mankind, was doubly in-
amed by the domestic licence of rapine, murder, and revenge.
n the constitution of Europe, the right of peace and war is now
onfined to a small, and the actual exercise to a much smaller, list
f respectable potentates; but each Arab, with impunity and re-
own, might point his javelin against the life of his countryman.
he union of the nation consisted only in a vague resemblance
f language and manners; and in each community the jurisdic-
ion of the magistrate was mute and impotent. Of the time of
gnorance which preceded Mahomet, seventeen hundred battles[39]
re recorded by tradition; hostility was embittered with the
ancour of civil faction; and the recital, in prose or verse, of an
bsolete feud was sufficient to rekindle the same passions among
he descendants of the hostile tribes. In private life, every man,
t least every family, was the judge and avenger of its own cause.
he nice sensibility of honour, which weighs the insult rather
han the injury, sheds its deadly venom on the quarrels of the
rabs; the honour of their women, and of their *beards*, is most
asily wounded; an indecent action, a contemptuous word, can
e expiated only by the blood of the offender; and such is their
atient inveteracy that they expect whole months and years the
pportunity of revenge. A fine or compensation for murder is
amiliar to the barbarians of every age; but in Arabia the kins-
en of the dead are at liberty to accept the atonement, or to
xercise with their own hands the law of retaliation. The re-
ned malice of the Arabs refuses even the head of the murderer,

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Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 98-163, &c.). [*Hycsos* is supposed to mean "princes
f the Shasu," a name for the Bedouins of the Sinai peninsula. The name Hyksos
omes from Manetho, ap. Joseph. c. Apion., i. 14. Another name for them (in
gyptian documents) is Mentu. See Chabas, Les pasteurs en Egypte, 1868;
etrie, History of Egypt, c. x.]

[39] Or, according to another account, 1200 (d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale,
. 75). The two historians who wrote of the *Ayam al Arab*, the battles of the
rabs, lived in the ninth and tenth century. The famous war of Dahes and Gabrah
as occasioned by two horses, lasted forty years, and ended in a proverb (Pocock,
pecimen, p. 48).

substitutes an innocent to the guilty person, and transfers the penalty to the best and most considerable of the race by whom they have been injured. If he falls by their hands, they are exposed in their turn to the danger of reprisals; the interest and principal of the bloody debt are accumulated; the individuals of either family lead a life of malice and suspicion, and fifty years may sometimes elapse before the account of vengeance be finally settled.[40] This sanguinary spirit, ignorant of pity or forgiveness, has been moderated, however, by the maxims of honour, which require in every private encounter some decent equality of age and strength, of numbers and weapons. An annual festival of two, perhaps of four, months was observed by the Arabs before the time of Mahomet, during which their swords were religiously sheathed, both in foreign and domestic hostility; and this partial truce is more strongly expressive of the habits of anarchy and warfare.[41]

Annual truce

Their social qualifications and virtues

But the spirit of rapine and revenge was attempered by the milder influence of trade and literature. The solitary peninsula is encompassed by the most civilised nations of the ancient world; the merchant is the friend of mankind; and the annual caravans imported the first seeds of knowledge and politeness into the cities and even the camps of the desert. Whatever may be the pedigree of the Arabs, their language is derived from the same original stock with the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Chaldæan tongues; the independence of the tribes was marked by their peculiar dialects;[42] but each, after their own, allowed a just preference to the pure and perspicuous idiom of Mecca. In Arabia as well as in Greece, the perfection of language outstripped the refinement of manners; and her speech could diversify the fourscore names of honey, the two hundred of a serpent, the five hundred of a lion, the thousand of a sword, at a time when this copious dictionary was entrusted to the memory of an illiterate people. The monuments of the Homerites were inscribed with an obsolete and mysterious character; but the Cufic letters, the groundwork of the present alphabet, were invented on the banks of the Euphrates; and the recent invention was taught at Mecca by a stranger who settled in that city after the birth of Mahomet. The arts of grammar, of metre, and of rhetoric were unknown to the freeborn eloquence of the Arabians; but their penetration was sharp, their fancy luxuriant, their wit strong and sententious,[43] and their more elaborate compositions were addressed with energy and effect to the minds of their hearers. The genius and merit of a rising poet was celebrated by the applause of his own and the kindred tribes. A solemn banquet was prepared, and a chorus of women, striking their tymbals, and displaying the pomp of their nuptials, sung in the presence of their sons and husbands the felicity of their native tribe; that a champion had now appeared to vindicate their rights; that a herald had raised his voice to immortalise their renown. The distant or hostile tribes resorted to an annual fair, which was abolished by the fanaticism of the first Moslems: a national assembly that must have contributed to refine and harmonize the barbarians. Thirty days were employed in the exchange, not only of corn and wine, but of eloquence and poetry. The prize was disputed by the generous emulation of the bards; the victorious performance was deposited in the archives of princes and emirs; and we may read in our own language the seven original poems which were inscribed in letters of gold and suspended in the temple of Mecca.[44] The Arabian poets were the historians and moralists of the age; and, if they sympathized with the prejudices, they inspired and crowned the virtues, of their countrymen. The indissoluble

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[40] The modern theory and practice of the Arabs in the revenge of murder ar described by Niebuhr (Description, p. 26-31). The harsher features of antiquit may be traced in the Koran, c. 2, p. 20, c. 17, p. 230, with Sale's Observations.

[41] Procopius (de Bell. Persic. l. i. c. 16) places the *two* holy months about th summer solstice. The Arabians consecrate *four* months of the year—the first seventh, eleventh, and twelfth; and pretend that in a long series of ages the truc was infringed only four or six times. (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 147-15 and Notes on the ninth chapter of the Koran, p. 154, &c. Casiri, Bibliot. Hispan Arabica, tom. ii. p. 20, 21.)

[42] Arrian, in the second century, remarks (in Periplo Maris Erythræi, p. 12) th partial or total difference of the dialects of the Arabs. Their language and lette are copiously treated by Pocock (Specimen, p. 150-154), Casiri (Bibliot. Hispan Arabica, tom. i. p. 1, 83, 292, tom. ii. p. 25, &c.), and Niebuhr (Description l'Arabie, p. 72-86). I pass slightly; I am not fond of repeating words like parrot.

Love of poetry

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[43] A familiar tale in Voltaire's Zadig (le Chien et le Cheval) is related to prove the natural sagacity of the Arabs (d Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 120, 121; Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 37-46); but d'Arvieux, or rather La Roque (Voyage de Palestine, p. 92), denies the boasted superiority of the Bedoweens. The one hundred and sixty-nine sentences of Ali (translated by Ockley, London, 1718) afford a just and favourable specimen of Arabian wit. [Metre and rhetoric *were* familiar to the early Arab poets.]

[44] Pocock (Specimen, p. 158-161) and Casiri (Bibliot. Hispano-Arabica, tom. i. p. 48, 84, &c., 119, tom. ii. p. 17, &c.) speak of the Arabian poets before Mahomet; the seven poems of the |Caaba have been published in English by Sir William Jones; but his honourable mission to India has deprived us of his own notes, far more interesting than the obscure and obsolete text. [Th. Nöldeke, Poesie der alten Araber, 1864; Lyall, Ancient Arabic Poetry, 1885; Fresnel, Lettres sur l'histoire des Arabes, 1836; Caussin de Perceval, Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes. The legend of the seven poems hung in the Kaaba has no foundation.]

Examples of generosity

union of generosity and valour was the darling theme of their song; and, when they pointed their keenest satire against a despicable race, they affirmed, in the bitterness of reproach, that the men knew not how to give nor the women to deny.[45] The same hospitality which was practised by Abraham and celebrated by Homer is still renewed in the camps of the Arabs. The ferocious Bedoweens, the terror of the desert, embrace, without inquiry or hesitation, the stranger who dares to confide in their honour and to enter their tent. His treatment is kind and respectful; he shares the wealth or the poverty of his host; and, after a needful repose, he is dismissed on his way, with thanks, with blessings, and perhaps with gifts. The heart and hand are more largely expanded by the wants of a brother or a friend; but the heroic acts that could deserve the public applause must have surpassed the narrow measure of discretion and experience. A dispute had arisen, who, among citizens of Mecca, was entitled to the prize of generosity; and a successive application was made to the three who were deemed most worthy of the trial. Abdallah, the son of Abbas, had undertaken a distant journey, and his foot was in the stirrup when he heard the voice of a suppliant, "O son of the uncle of the apostle of God, I am a traveller, and in distress!" He instantly dismounted to present the pilgrim with his camel, her rich caparison, and a purse of four thousand pieces of gold, excepting only the sword, either for its intrinsic value or as the gift of an honoured kinsman. The servant of Kais informed the second suppliant that his master was asleep; but he immediately added, "Here is a purse of seven thousand pieces of gold (it is all we have in the house), and here is an order that will entitle you to a camel and a slave". The master, as soon as he awoke, praised and enfranchised his faithful steward, with a gentle reproof that by respecting his slumbers he had stinted his bounty. The third of these heroes, the blind Arabah, at the hour of prayer, was supporting his steps on the shoulders of two slaves. "Alas!" he replied, "my coffers are empty! but these you may sell; "if you refuse, I renounce them." At these words, pushing away the youths, he groped along the wall with his staff. The character of Hatem is the perfect model of Arabian virtue;[4 he was brave and liberal, an eloquent poet and a successful robber: forty camels were roasted at his hospitable feast; and at the prayer of a suppliant enemy he restored both the captives and the spoil. The freedom of his countrymen disdained the laws of justice; they proudly indulged the spontaneous impulse of pity and benevolence.

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[45] Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 29, 30.

[46] D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 458. Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p 118. Caab and Hesnus (Pocock, Specimen, p. 43, 46, 48) were likewise conspicuou for their liberality; and the latter is elegantly praised by an Arabian poet: "Videb eum cum accesseris exultantem, ac si dares illi quod ab illo petis".

Ancient idolatry

The religion of the Arabs,[47] as well as of the Indians, consisted in the worship of the sun, the moon, and the fixed stars; a primitive and specious mode of superstition. The bright luminaries of the sky display the visible image of a Deity: their number and distance convey to a philosophic, or even a vulgar, eye the idea of boundless space: the character of eternity is marked on these solid globes, that seem incapable of corruption or decay: the regularity of their motions may be ascribed to a principle of reason or instinct; and their real or imaginary influence encourages the vain belief that the earth and its inhabitants are the object of their peculiar care. The science of astronomy was cultivated at Babylon; but the school of the Arabs was a clear firmament and a naked plain. In their nocturnal marches, they steered by the guidance of the stars; their names, and order, and daily station were familiar to the curiosity and devotion of the Bedoween; and he was taught by experience to divide in wenty-eight parts the zodiac of the moon, and to bless the constellations who refreshed with salutary rains the thirst of the lesert. The reign of the heavenly orbs could not be extended eyond the visible sphere; and some metaphysical powers were ecessary to sustain the transmigration of souls and the resurrecion of bodies; a camel was left to perish on the grave, that he night serve his master in another life; and the invocation of leparted spirits implies that they were still endowed with onsciousness and power. I am ignorant, and I am careless, of he blind mythology of the barbarians; of the local deities, of he stars, the air, and the earth, of their sex or titles, their ttributes or subordination. Each tribe, each family, each indeendent warrior, created and changed the rites and the object f his fantastic worship; but the nation, in every age, has bowed

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[47] Whatever can now be known of the idolatry of the ancient Arabians may be ound in Pocock (Specimen, p. 89-136, 163, 164). His profound erudition is more early and concisely interpreted by Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 14-24); and ssemanni (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 580-590) has added some valuable remarks. n the state of Arabia and its religion before Islam, see Caussin de Perceval, ssai sur l'histoire des Arabes, vol. ii., and E. H. Palmer's Introduction to his anslation of the Koran (in the "Sacred Books of the East").]

The Caaba or temple of Mecca to the religion, as well as to the language, of Mecca. The genuine antiquity of the Caaba ascends beyond the Christia æra: in describing the coast of the Red Sea, the Greek historia Diodorus[48] has remarked, between the Thamudites and th Sabæans, a famous temple, whose superior sanctity was revere by *all* the Arabians; the linen or silken veil, which is annuall renewed by the Turkish emperor, was first offered by a piou king of the Homerites, who reigned seven hundred years befor the time of Mahomet.[49] A tent or a cavern might suffice for th worship of the savages, but an edifice of stone and clay has bee erected in its place; and the art and power of the monarchs o the East have been confined to the simplicity of the origina model.[50] A spacious portico encloses the quadrangle of th Caaba, a square chapel, twenty-four cubits long, twenty-thre broad, and twenty-seven high; a door and a window admit th light; the double roof is supported by three pillars of wood; spout (now of gold) discharges the rain-water, and the wel Zemzem is protected by a dome from accidental pollution. Th tribe of Koreish, by fraud or force, had acquired the custody o the Caaba: the sacerdotal office devolved through four linea descents to the grandfather of Mahomet; and the family of th [Banu Hashim] Hashemites, from whence he sprung, was the most respectabl and sacred in the eyes of their country.[51] The precincts o Mecca enjoyed the rights of sanctuary; and, in the last mont of each year, the city and the temple were crowded with a long train of pilgrims, who presented their vows and offerings in the house of God. The same rites, which are now accomplished by the faithful Musulman, were invented and practised by the superstition of the idolaters. At an awful distance they cast away their garments; seven times, with hasty steps, they encircled the Caaba, and kissed the black stone; seven times they visited and adored the adjacent mountains; seven times they threw stones into the valley of Mina; and the pilgrimage was achieved, as at the present hour, by a sacrifice of sheep and camels, and the burial of their hair and nails in the consecrated ground. Each tribe either found or introduced in the Caaba their domestic worship; the temple was adorned, or defiled, with three hundred and sixty idols of men, eagles, lions, and antelopes; and most conspicuous was the statue of Hebal, of red agate, holding in his hand seven arrows, without heads or feathers, the instruments and symbols of profane divination. But this statue was a monument of Syrian arts; the devotion of the ruder ages was content with a pillar or a tablet; and the rocks of the desert were hewn into gods or altars, in imitation of the black stone[52] of Mecca, which is deeply tainted with the reproach of an idolatrous origin. From Japan to Peru, the use of sacrifice has universally prevailed; and the votary has expressed his gratitude, or fear, by destroying or consuming, in honour of the gods, the dearest and most precious of their gifts. The life of a man[53] is the most precious oblation to deprecate a public calamity: the altars of Phœnicia and Egypt, of Rome and Carthage, have been polluted with human gore; the cruel practice was long preserved among the Arabs; in the third century, a boy was annually sacrificed by the tribe of the Dumatians;[54] and a royal captive was piously slaughtered by

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[48] Ἱερὸν ἁγιώτατον ἵδρυται τιμώμενον ὑπὸ πάντων Ἀράβων περιττότερον (Diodor Sicul. tom. i. l. iii. p. 211 [c. 44]). The character and position are so correctly apposite, that I am surprised how this curious passage should have been read withou notice or application. Yet this famous temple had been overlooked by Agatha chides (de Mari Rubro, p. 58, in Hudson, tom. i.), whom Diodorus copies in th rest of the description. Was the Sicilian more knowing than the Egyptian? C was the Caaba built between the years of Rome 650 [Agatharchides wrote h *Historica* in the 2nd cent. B.C. under Ptolemy VI.] and 746, the dates of their r spective histories? (Dodwell, in Dissert. ad tom. i. Hudson, p. 72. Fabriciu Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 770.) [It is improbable that Diodorus refers to the Kaaba

[49] Pocock, Specimen, p. 60, 61. From the death of Mahomet we ascend to 6 from his birth to 129, years before the Christian æra. The veil or curtain, whi is now of silk and gold, was no more than a piece of Egyptian linen (Abulfed in Vit. Mohammed. c. 6, p. 14). [The covering (Kiswa) of the Kaaba is made Cairo of a coarse brocade of silk and cotton. See Lane, Modern Egyptians, ch. xx

[50] The original plan of the Caaba (which is servilely copied in Sale, the Univers History, &c.) was a Turkish draught, which Reland (de Religione Mohammedic p. 113-123) has corrected and explained from the best authorities. For the scription and legend of the Caaba, consult Pocock (Specimen, p. 115-122), Bibliothèque Orientale of d'Herbelot (*Caaba*, *Hagiar*, *Zemzem*, &c.) and S (Preliminary Discourse, p. 114-122).

[51] Cosa, the fifth ancestor of Mahomet, must have usurped the Caaba, A.D. 4 but the story is differently told by Jannabi (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. 65-69) and by Abulfeda (in Vit. Moham. c. 6, p. 13).

Sacrifices and rites

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[52] In the second century, Maximus of Tyre attributes to the Arabs the worship of a stone—'Αράβιοι σέβουσι μὲν, ὅντινα δὲ οὐκ οἶδα, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα [ὃ] εἶδον λίθος ἦν τετράγωνος (dissert. viii. tom. i. p. 142, edit. Reiske); and the reproach is furiously re-echoed by the Christians (Clemens Alex. in Protreptico, p. 40; Arnobius contra Gentes, l. vi. p. 246). Yet these stones were no other than the βαίτυλα of Syria and Greece, so renowned in sacred and profane antiquity (Euseb. Præp. Evangel. l. i. p. 37, Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 54-56).

[53] The two horrid subjects of 'Ανδροθυσία and Παιδοθυσία are accurately discussed by the learned Sir John Marsham (Canon. Chron. p. 76-78, 301-304). Sanchoniatho derives the Phœnician sacrifices from the example of Chronus; but we are ignorant whether Chronus lived before or after Abraham, or indeed whether he lived at all.

[54] Κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον παῖδα ἔθυον, is the reproach of Porphyry; but he likewise imputes to the Romans the same barbarous custom, which, A.U.C. 657, had been

the prince of the Saracens, the ally and soldier of the emperor Justinian.[55] A parent who drags his son to the altar exhibits the most painful and sublime effort of fanaticism; the deed, or the intention, was sanctified by the example of saints and heroes; and the father of Mahomet himself was devoted by a rash vow, and hardly ransomed for the equivalent of an hundred camels. In the time of ignorance, the Arabs, like the Jews and Egyptians, abstained from the taste of swine's flesh;[56] they circumcised[57] their children at the age of puberty; the same customs, without the censure or the precept of the Koran, have been silently transmitted to their posterity and proselytes. It has been sagaciously conjectured that the artful legislator indulged the stubborn prejudices of his countrymen. It is more simple to believe that he adhered to the habits and opinions of his youth, without foreseeing that a practice congenial to the climate of Mecca might become useless or inconvenient on the banks of the Danube or the Volga.

Introduction of the Sabians

Arabia was free; the adjacent kingdoms were shaken by the storms of conquest and tyranny, and the persecuted sects fled to the happy land where they might profess what they thought and practise what they professed. The religions of the Sabians and Magians, of the Jews and Christians, were disseminated from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea. In a remote period o antiquity, Sabianism was diffused over Asia by the science o the Chaldeans[58] and the arms of the Assyrians. From th

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finally abolished. Dumætha, Daumat al Gendal, is noticed by Ptolemy (Tabu p. 37, Arabia, p. 9-29), and Abulfeda (p. 57); and may be found in d'Anville' maps, in the mid-desert between Chaibar and Tadmor.

[55] Procopius (de Bell. Persico, l. i. c. 28), Evagrius (l. vi. c. 21), and Pococ (Specimen, p. 72, 86) attest the human sacrifices of the Arabs in the vith centur The danger and escape of Abdallah is a tradition rather than a fact (Gagnie Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 82-84).

[56] Suillis carnibus abstinent, says Solinus (Polyhistor. c. 33), who copies Pliny (viii. c. 68) in the strange supposition that hogs cannot live in Arabia. Th Egyptians were actuated by a natural and superstitious horror for that unclea beast (Marsham, Canon. p. 205). The old Arabians likewise practised, *post coitu* the rite of ablution (Herodot. l. i. c. 80 [*leg.* 198]), which is sanctified by th Mahometan law (Reland, p. 75, &c.; Chardin, or rather the *Mollah* of Sha Abbas, tom. iv. p. 71, &c.).

[57] The Mahometan doctors are not fond of the subject; yet they hold circumcisi necessary to salvation, and even pretend that Mahomet was miraculously bo without a foreskin (Pocock, Specimen, p. 319, 320; Sale's Preliminary Discour p. 106, 107).

[58] Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. ii. p. 142-145 [c. 29 *sqq.*]) has cast on their religi the curious, but superficial, glance of a Greek. Their astronomy would be more valuable: they had looked through the telescope of reason, since they cou doubt whether the sun were in the number of the planets or of the fixed sta [For the Sabians and their religion see Appendix 18.]

observations of two thousand years the priests and astronomers of Babylon[59] deduced the eternal laws of nature and providence. They adored the seven gods or angels who directed the course of the seven planets and shed their irresistible influence on the earth. The attributes of the seven planets, with the twelve signs of the zodiac and the twenty-four constellations of the northern and southern hemisphere, were represented by images and talismans; the seven days of the week were dedicated to their respective deities; the Sabians prayed thrice each day; and the temple of the moon at Haran was the term of their pilgrimage.[60] But the flexible genius of their faith was always ready either to teach or to learn; in the tradition of the creation, the deluge, and the patriarchs, they held a singular agreement with their Jewish captives; they appealed to the secret books of Adam, Seth, and Enoch; and a slight infusion of the gospel has transformed the last remnant of the Polytheists into the Christians of St. John, in the territory of Bassora.[61] The altars of Babylon were overturned by the Magians; but the injuries of the Sabians were revenged by the sword of Alexander; Persia groaned above five hundred years under a foreign yoke; and the purest disciples of Zoroaster escaped from the contagion of idolatry, and breathed with their adversaries the freedom of the desert.[62] Seven hundred years before the death of Mahomet, the Jews were settled in Arabia; and a far greater multitude was expelled from the Holy Land in the wars of Titus and Hadrian. The industrious exiles aspired to liberty and power: they erected synagogues in the cities and castles in the wilderness, and their Gentile converts were confounded with the

The Magia

The Jews

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[59] Simplicius (who quotes Porphyry) de Cælo, l. ii. com. xlvi. p. 123, lin. 18, apud Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 474, who doubts the fact, because it is adverse to his systems. The earliest date of the Chaldean observations is the year 2234 before Christ. After the conquest of Babylon by Alexander, they were communicated, at the request of Aristotle, to the astronomer Hipparchus. What a moment in the annals of science!

[60] Pocock (Specimen, p. 138-146), Hottinger (Hist. Oriental. p. 162-203), Hyde (de Religione Vet. Persarum, p. 124, 128, &c.), d'Herbelot (*Sabi*, p. 725, 726), and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 14, 15), rather excite than gratify our curiosity; and the last of these writers confounds Sabianism with the primitive religion of the Arabs.

[61] D'Anville (l'Euphrates et le Tigre, p. 130-147) will fix the position of these ambiguous Christians; Assemannus (Bibliot. Oriental. tom. iv. p. 607-614) may explain their tenets. But it is a slippery task to ascertain the creed of an ignorant people, afraid and ashamed to disclose their secret traditions.

[62] The Magi were fixed in the province of Bahrein (Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 114) and mingled with the old Arabians (Pocock, Specimen, p. 146-150).

children of Israel, whom they resembled in the outward mark of circumcision. The Christian missionaries were still more active and successful: the Catholics asserted their universal reign; the sects whom they oppressed successively retired beyond the limits of the Roman empire; the Marcionites and the Manichæans dispersed their *phantastic* opinions and apocryphal gospels; the churches of Yemen, and the princes of Hira and Gassan, were instructed in a purer creed by the Jacobite and Nestorian bishops.[63] The liberty of choice was presented to the tribes: each Arab was free to elect or to compose his own private religion; and the rude superstition of his house was mingled with the sublime theology of saints and philosophers. A fundamental article of faith was inculcated by the consent of the learned strangers: the existence of one supreme God, who is exalted above the powers of heaven and earth, but who has often revealed himself to mankind by the ministry of his angels and prophets, and whose grace or justice has interrupted, by seasonable miracles, the order of nature. The most rational of the Arabs acknowledged his power, though they neglected his worship;[64] and it was habit rather than conviction that still attached them to the relics of idolatry. The Jews and Christians were the people of the *book;* the Bible was already translated into the Arabic language,[65] and the volume of the Old Testament was accepted by the concord of these implacable enemies. In the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, the Arabs were pleased to discover the fathers of their nation. They applauded the birth and promises of Ismael; revered the faith and virtue of Abraham; traced his pedigree and their own to the creation of the first man, and imbibed with equal credulity the prodigies of the holy text and the dreams and traditions of the Jewish rabbis.

The Christians

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[63] The state of the Jews and Christians in Arabia is described by Pocock from Sharestani, &c. (Specimen, p. 60, 134, &c.), Hottinger (Hist. Orient. p. 212-238), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 474-476), Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, tom. vii. p. 185, tom. viii. p. 280), and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 22, &c. 33, &c.). [Shahrastāni, Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schule; a translation by Th. Haarbrücker, 1850-1.]

[64] In their offerings, it was a maxim to defraud God for the profit of the idol, not a more potent, but a more irritable patron (Pocock, Specimen, p. 108, 109).

[65] Our versions now extant, whether Jewish or Christian, appear more recent than the Koran; but the existence of a prior translation may be fairly inferred: 1. From the perpetual practice of the synagogue, of expounding the Hebrew lesson by a paraphrase in the vulgar tongue of the country; 2. From the analogy of the Armenian, Persian, Æthiopic versions, expressly quoted by the fathers of the fifth century, who assert that the Scriptures were translated into *all* the Barbaric languages (Walton, Prolegomena ad Biblia Polyglot. p 34, 93-97; Simon, Hist. Critique du V. et du N. Testament, tom. i. p. 180, 181, 282-286, 293, 305, 306, tom. iv. p. 206).

Birth and education of Mahomet. A.D. 569-609

[Abd-al-Mottalib]

The base and plebeian origin of Mahomet is an unskilful calumny of the Christians,[66] who exalt instead of degrading the merit of their adversary. His descent from Ismael was a national privilege or fable; but, if the first steps of the pedigree[67] are dark and doubtful, he could produce many generations of pure and genuine nobility: he sprung from the tribe of Koreish and the family of Hashem, the most illustrious of the Arabs, the princes of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the Caaba. The grandfather of Mahomet was Abdol Motalleb, the son of Hashem, a wealthy and generous citizen, who relieved the distress of famine with the supplies of commerce. Mecca, which had been fed by the liberality of the father, was saved by the courage of the son. The kingdom of Yemen was subject to the Christian princes of Abyssinia; their vassal Abrahah was provoked by an insult to avenge the honour of the cross; and the holy city was invested by a train of elephants and an army of Africans. A treaty was proposed; and in the first audience the grandfather of Mahomet demanded the restitution of his cattle. "And why," said Abrahah, "do you not rather implore my clemency in favour of your temple, which I have threatened to destroy?" "Because," replied the intrepid chief, "the cattle is my own; the Caaba belongs to the gods, and *they* will defend their house from injury and sacrilege." The want of provisions, or the valour of the Koreish, compelled the Abyssinians to a disgraceful retreat; their discomfiture had been adorned with a miraculous flight of birds, who showered down stones on the heads of the infidels; and the deliverance was long commemorated by the æra of the elephant.[68] The glory of Abdol Motal-

Deliverance of Mecca

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[66] In eo conveniunt omnes, ut plebeio vilique genere ortum, &c. (Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 136). Yet Theophanes, the most ancient of the Greeks, and the father of many a lie, confesses that Mahomet was of the race of Ismael, ἐκ μιᾶς γενικωτάτης φυλῆς (Chronograph. p. 277 [A.M. 6122]). [The name Mohammad (="the Praised") is found as early as A.D. 113; *cf.* C.I.G. no. 4500, Μοαμέδου.]

[67] Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. c. 1, 2) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, p. 25-97) describe the popular and approved genealogy of the prophet. At Mecca, I would not dispute its authenticity: at Lausanne, I will venture to observe, 1. *That* from Ismael to Mahomet, a period of 2500 years, they reckon thirty, instead of seventy-five, generations; 2. *That* the modern Bedoweens are ignorant of their history and careless of their pedigree (Voyage d'Arvieux, p. 100, 103).

[68] The seed of this history, or fable, is contained in the cvth chapter of the Koran [entitled the Elephant]; and Gagnier (in Præfat. ad. Vit. Moham. p. 18, &c.) has translated the historical narrative of Abulfeda, which may be illustrated from d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 12) and Pocock (Specimen, p. 64). Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 48) calls it a lie of the coinage of Mahomet; but Sale (Koran, p. 501-503), who is half a Musulman, attacks the inconsistent faith of the Doctor for believing the miracles of the Delphic Apollo. Maracci (Alcoran,

leb was crowned with domestic happiness, his life was prolonge to the age of one hundred and ten years, and he became th father of six daughters and thirteen sons. His best belove Abdallah was the most beautiful and modest of the Arabia youth; and in the first night, when he consummated his marriag with Amina, of the noble race of the Zahrites, two hundre virgins are said to have expired of jealousy and despair. Mahomet, or more properly Mohammed, the only son of Abdalla and Amina, was born at Mecca, four years after the death o Justinian, and two months after the defeat of the Abyssinians, whose victory would have introduced into the Caaba the religio of the Christians. In his early infancy, he was deprived of hi father, his mother, and his grandfather; his uncles were stron and numerous; and, in the division of the inheritance, th orphan's share was reduced to five camels and an Æthiopia maid-servant. At home and abroad, in peace and war, Ab Taleb, the most respectable of his uncles, was the guide an guardian of his youth; in his twenty-fifth year, he entered int [Khadija] the service of Cadijah, a rich and noble widow of Mecca, wh soon rewarded his fidelity with the gift of her hand an fortune. The marriage contract, in the simple style of antiquity recites the mutual love of Mahomet and Cadijah; describes hi as the most accomplished of the tribe of Koreish; and stipulate

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tom. i. part ii. p. 14, tom. ii. p. 823) ascribes the miracle to the devil, and extort from the Mahometans the confession that God would not have defended agains the Christians the idols of the Caaba. [The expedition of Abraha against Mecc is historical. Ibn Ishāk's account of it is preserved in Tabari (Nöldeke, p. 20 *sqq.*), but the earliest notice of it is in a Greek writer—Procopius, Pers. i. 20. Th Mohammadan authorities always place the expedition in A.D. 570; but Nöldeke by discovering the passage in Procopius, has rectified the chronology. Th expedition must have taken place before Procopius wrote his Persica, that i probably before A.D. 544. It has been questioned whether Abraha actually ap proached the neighbourhood of Mecca; but Nöldeke thinks that the sūra 10 (beginning "Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the men of the Ele phant?") proves that Mecca felt itself seriously menaced. Ibn Ishāk mentions tha Abraha had an elephant with him. As for Abraha, the accounts of his rise to powe vary; but he was probably an Abyssinian soldier of low birth who overthrew th vassal king of Yemen and usurped his place. The miracle which caused hi retreat from the Hijaz was an outbreak of smallpox.]

[69] The safest æras of Abulfeda (in Vit. c. i. p. 2), of Alexander, or the Greeks 882, of Bocht Naser, or Nabonasser, 1316, equally lead us to the year 56 The old Arabian calendar is too dark and uncertain to support the Benedictine (Art de vérifier les Dates, p. 15), who from the day of the month and wee deduce a new mode of calculation, and remove the birth of Mahomet to th year of Christ 570, the 10th of November. Yet this date would agree with th year 882 of the Greeks, which is assigned by Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 5) an Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 101, and Errata, Pocock's version). While we refin our chronology, it is possible that the illiterate prophet was ignorant of his own age. [Probably the date A.D. 570 is approximately correct.]

a dowry of twelve ounces of gold and twenty camels, which was supplied by the liberality of his uncle.[70] By this alliance, the son of Abdallah was restored to the station of his ancestors; and the judicious matron was content with his domestic virtues, till, in the fortieth year of his age,[71] he assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

Qualifications of the prophet

According to the tradition of his companions, Mahomet[72] was distinguished by the beauty of his person, an outward gift which is seldom despised, except by those to whom it has been refused. Before he spoke, the orator engaged on his side the affections of a public or private audience. They applauded his commanding presence, his majestic aspect, his piercing eye, his gracious smile, his flowing beard, his countenance that painted every sensation of the soul, and his gestures that enforced each expression of the tongue. In the familiar offices of life he scrupulously adhered to the grave and ceremonious politeness of his country; his respectful attention to the rich and powerful was dignified by his condescension and affability to the poorest citizens of Mecca; the frankness of his manner concealed the artifice of his views; and the habits of courtesy were imputed to personal friendship or universal benevolence. His memory was capacious and retentive, his wit easy and social, his imagination sublime, his judgment clear, rapid, and decisive. He possessed the courage both of thought and action; and, although his designs might gradually expand with his success, the first idea which he entertained of his divine mission bears the stamp of an original and superior genius. The son of Abdallah was educated in the bosom of the noblest race, in the use of the purest dialect of Arabia; and the fluency of his speech was corrected and enhanced by the practice of discreet and seasonable silence. With these powers of eloquence, Mahomet was an illiterate barbarian; his youth had never been instructed in the arts of reading and writing;[73] the common ignorance exempted him from shame or reproach, but he was reduced to a narrow circle of existence, and deprived of those faithful mirrors which reflect to our mind the minds of sages and heroes. Yet the book of nature and of man was open to his view; and some fancy has been indulged in the political and philosophical observations which are ascribed to the Arabian *traveller*.[74] He compares the nations and the religions of the earth; discovers the weakness of the Persian and Roman monarchies; beholds, with pity and indignation, the degeneracy of the times; and resolves to unite, under one God and one king, the invincible spirit and primitive virtues of the Arabs. Our more accurate inquiry will suggest that, instead of visiting the courts, the camps, the temples of the East, the two journeys of Mahomet into Syria were confined to the fairs of Bostra and Damascus; that he was only thirteen years of age when he accompanied the caravan of his uncle; and that his duty compelled him to return as soon as he had disposed of the merchandise of Cadijah. In these hasty and superficial excursions, the eye of genius might discern some objects invisible to his grosser companions; some seeds of knowledge might be cast upon a fruitful soil; but his ignorance of the Syriac language must have checked his curiosity;[75] and I cannot perceive, in the life or writings of Mahomet, that his prospect was far extended beyond the limits of the Arabian world. From every region of that solitary world, the pilgrims of Mecca were annually assembled by the calls of devotion and commerce: in the free concourse of multitudes, a simple citizen, in his native tongue, might study the political state and character of the tribes, the theory and practice of the Jews and Christians. Some useful strangers might be tempted, or forced, to implore the rights of hospitality; and the enemies of Mahomet have named the Jew, the Persian, and the Syrian monk, whom they accuse of lending their secret aid to the composition of the Koran.[76] Conversation enriches the understanding, but solitude is the school of genius; and the uniformity of a work denotes the hand of a single artist. From his earliest youth Mahomet was addicted to religious contemplation;[77] each year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew from the world and from the arms of Cadijah; in the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca,[78] he consulted the spirit of fraud or enthusiasm, whose abode is not in the heavens, but in the mind of the prophet. The faith which, under the name of *Islam*,[78a] he preached to his family and nation is compounded of an eternal truth, and a necessary fiction, THAT THERE IS ONLY ONE GOD, AND THAT MAHOMET IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD.

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[70] I copy the honourable testimony of Abu Taleb to his family and nephew. Laus Dei, qui nos a stirpe Abrahami et semine Ismaelis constituit, et nobis regionem sacram dedit, et nos judices hominibus statuit. Porro Mohammed filius Abdollahi nepotis mei (*nepos meus*) quocum [non] ex æquo librabitur e Koraishidis quispiam cui non præponderaturus est, bonitate et excellentiâ, et intellectu et gloriâ et acumine etsi opum inops fuerit (et certe opes umbra transiens sunt et depositum quod reddi debet), desiderio Chadijæ filiæ Chowailedi tenetur, et illa vicissim ipsius; quicquid autem dotis vice petieritis, ego in me suscipiam (Pocock, Specimen, e septimâ parte libri Ebn Hamduni [p. 171]).

[71] The private life of Mahomet, from his birth to his mission, is preserved by Abulfeda (in Vit. c. 3-7) and the Arabian writers of genuine or apocryphal note, who are alleged by Hottinger (Hist. Orient. p. 204-211), Maracci (tom. i. p. 10-14), and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 97-134).

[72] Abulfeda, in Vit. c. 65, 66; Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 272-289; the best traditions of the person and conversation of the prophet are derived from Ayesha, Ali, and Abu Horaira (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 267; Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 149), surnamed the father of a cat, who died in the year 59 of the Hegira. [Traditions reported by Abū-Horaira require corroboration.]

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[73] Those who believe that Mahomet could read or write are incapable of reading what is written, with another pen, in the Surats, or chapters of the Koran, vii. xxix. xcvi. These texts, and the tradition of the Sonna, are admitted without doubt by Abulfeda (in Vit. c. vii.), Gagnier (Not. ad Abulfed. p. 15), Pocock (Specimen, p. 151), Reland (de Religione Mohammedicâ, p. 236), and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 42). Mr. White, almost alone, denies the ignorance, to accuse the imposture, of the prophet. His arguments are far from satisfactory. Two short trading journeys to the fairs of Syria were surely not sufficient to infuse a science so rare among the citizens of Mecca; it was not in the cool deliberate act of a treaty that Mahomet would have dropped the mask; nor can any conclusion be drawn from the words of disease and delirium. The *lettered* youth, before he aspired to the prophetic character, must have often exercised, in private life, the arts of reading and writing; and his first converts, of his own family, would have been the first to detect and upbraid his scandalous hypocrisy. White's Sermons, p. 203, 204, Notes, p. xxxvi-xxxviii. [It seems probable that Mohammad had some knowledge of the arts of reading and writing, but that in practice he employed an amanuensis to whom he dictated his sūras. On the subject of the knowledge of writing in Arabia see D. H. Müller, Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien, in vol. 37 of the Denkschriften of the Vienna Acad. 1889.]

[74] The Count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahommed, p. 202-228) leads his Arabian pupil, like the Telemachus of Fénélon, or the Cyrus of Ramsay. His journey to the court of Persia is probably a fiction; nor can I trace the origin of his exclamation, "Les Grecs sont pourtant des hommes". The two Syrian journeys are expressed by almost all the Arabian writers, both Mahometans and Christians (Gagnier ad Abulfed. p. 10).

One God

It is the boast of the Jewish apologists that, while the learned nations of antiquity were deluded by the fables of polytheism, their simple ancestors of Palestine preserved the knowledge and worship of the true God. The moral attributes of Jehovah may not easily be reconciled with the standard of *human* virtue; his metaphysical qualities are darkly expressed; but each page of the Pentateuch and the Prophets is an evidence of his power; the unity of his name is inscribed on the first table of the law; and his sanctuary was never defiled by any visible image of the invisible essence. After the ruin of the temple, the faith of the Hebrew exiles was purified, fixed, and enlightened, by the spiritual devotion of the synagogue; and the authority of Mahomet will not justify his perpetual reproach that the Jews of Mecca or Medina adored Ezra as the son of God.[79] But the children of Israel had ceased to be a people; and the religions of the world were guilty, at least in the eyes of the prophet, of giving sons, or daughters, or companions, to the supreme God. In the rude idolatry of the Arabs, the crime is manifest and audacious; the Sabians are poorly excused by the pre-eminence of the first planet or intelligence in their celestial hierarchy; and in the Magian system the conflict of the two principles betrays the imperfection of the conqueror. The Christians of the seventh century had insensibly relapsed into a semblance of paganism; their public and private vows were addressed to the relics and images that disgraced the temples of the East; the throne of the Almighty was darkened by a cloud of martyrs, and saints, and angels, the objects of popular veneration; and the Collyridian heretics, who flourished in the fruitful soil of Arabia, invested the Virgin Mary with the name and honours of a goddess.[80] The mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation *appear* to contradict the principle of the divine unity. In their obvious sense they introduce three equal deities, and transform the man Jesus into the substance of the son of God;[81] an orthodox com-

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[75] [Mohammad occasionally borrows Aramaic words, where his native tongue failed him, but is apt to use these borrowed words in a wrong sense.]

[76] I am not at leisure to pursue the fables or conjectures which name the strangers accused or suspected by the infidels of Mecca (Koran, c. 16, p. 223, c. 35, p. 297, with Sale's Remarks. Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p. 22-27. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 11, 74. Maracci, tom. ii. p. 400). Even Prideaux has observed that the transaction must have been secret, and that the scene lay in the heart of Arabia.

[77] [Mohammad had come into contact with a religious movement which had recently begun in Arabia,—the movement of the *Hanīfs*, men who were seeking for a religion, stimulated perhaps (as Wellhausen holds) by primitive forms of Christianity surviving among hermits in the Syro-Babylonian desert.]

[78] Abulfeda in Vit. c. 7, p. 15. Gagnier, tom. i. p. 133, 135. The situation of Mount Hera is remarked by Abulfeda (Geograph. Arab. p. 4). Yet Mahomet had never read of the cave of Egeria ubi nocturnæ Numa constituebat amicæ, of the Idæan Mount where Minos conversed with Jove, &c. [A late tradition asserted that an interval of two or three years elapsed between the *first* and the *second* revelation at Hirā. This was called the doctrine of the *fatra*.]

[78a] [*Islām* and *Muslim* (= Moslem, Musulman) are the infinitive and participle

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of the causative form of the root *slm*, which connotes "peace". The idea was to make peace with the stronger—to surrender to Allah.]

[79] Koran, c. 9, p. 153. Al Beidawi and the other commentators quoted by Sale adhere to the charge; but I do not understand that it is coloured by the most obscure or absurd tradition of the Talmudists.

[80] Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 225-228. The Collyridian heresy was carried from Thrace to Arabia by some women, and the name was borrowed from the κολλυρίς, or cake, which they offered to the goddess. This example, that of Beryllus, bishop of Bostra (Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. vi. c. 33), and several others, may excuse the reproach, Arabia hæreseωn ferax.

[81] The three gods in the Koran (c. 4, p. 81, c. 5, p. 92) are obviously directed against our Catholic mystery; but the Arabic commentators understand them of the Father, the Son, and the Virgin Mary, an heretical Trinity, maintained, as it is said, by some barbarians at the council of Nice (Eutych. Annal. tom. i. p. 440). But the existence of the *Marianites* is denied by the candid Beausobre (Hist. de Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 532), and he derives the mistake from the word *Rouah*, the Holy Ghost, which, in some Oriental tongues, is of the feminine gender, and is figuratively styled the Mother of Christ in the gospel of the Nazarenes.

mentary will satisfy only a believing mind; intemperate curiosity and zeal had torn the veil of the sanctuary; and each of the Oriental sects was eager to confess that all, except themselves, deserved the reproach of idolatry and polytheism. The creed of Mahomet is free from suspicion or ambiguity; and the Koran is a glorious testimony to the unity of God. The prophet of Mecca rejected the worship of idols and men, of stars and planets, on the rational principle that whatever rises must set, that whatever is born must die, that whatever is corruptible must decay and perish.[82] In the author of the universe, his rational enthusiasm confessed and adored an infinite and eternal being, without form or place, without issue or similitude, present to our most secret thoughts, existing by the necessity of his own nature, and deriving from himself all moral and intellectual perfection. These sublime truths, thus announced in the language of the prophet,[83] are firmly held by his disciples, and defined with metaphysical precision by the interpreters of the Koran. A philosophic Atheist might subscribe the popular creed of the Mahometans:[84] a creed too sublime perhaps for our present faculties. What object remains for the fancy, or even the understanding, when we have abstracted from the unknown substance all ideas of time and space, of motion and matter, of sensation and reflection? The first principle of reason and revelation was confirmed by the voice of Mahomet; his proselytes, from India to Morocco, are distinguished by the name of *Unitarians*; and the danger of idolatry has been prevented by the interdiction of images. The doctrine of eternal decrees and absolute predestination is strictly embraced by the Mahometans; and they struggle with the common difficulties, *how* to reconcile the prescience of God with the freedom and responsibility of man; *how* to explain the permission of evil under the reign of infinite power and infinite goodness.

Mahomet the apostle of God, and the last of the prophets

The God of nature has written his existence on all his works, and his law in the heart of man. To restore the knowledge of

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[82] This train of thought is philosophically exemplified in the character of Abraham, who opposed in Chaldæa the first introduction of idolatry (Koran, c. 6, p. 106; d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 13).

[83] See the Koran, particularly the second (p. 30), the fifty-seventh (p. 437), the fifty-eighth (p. 441), chapters, which proclaim the omnipotence of the Creator.

[84] The most orthodox creeds are translated by Pocock (Specimen, p. 274, 284-292), Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. lxxxii.-xcv.), Reland (de Religion. Moham. l. i. p. 7-13), and Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. iv. p. 4-28). The great truth that God is without similitude, is foolishly criticized by Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. part iii. p. 87-94), because he made man after his own image.

Moses

the one, and the practice of the other, has been the real or pretended aim of the prophets of every age; the liberality of Mahomet allowed to his predecessors the same credit which he claimed for himself; and the chain of inspiration was prolonged from the fall of Adam to the promulgation of the Koran.[85] During that period, some rays of prophetic light had been imparted to one hundred and twenty-four thousand of the elect, discriminated by their respective measure of virtue and grace; three hundred and thirteen apostles were sent with a special commission to recal their country from idolatry and vice; one hundred and four volumes have been dictated by the Holy Spirit; and six legislators of transcendent brightness have announced to mankind the six successive revelations of various rights, but of one immutable religion. The authority and station of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet rise in just gradation above each other; but whosoever hates or rejects any one of the prophets is numbered with the infidels. The writings of the patriarchs were extant only in the apocryphal copies of the Greeks and Syrians;[86] the conduct of Adam had not entitled him to the gratitude or respect of his children; the seven precepts of Noah were observed by an inferior and imperfect class of the proselytes of the synagogues;[87] and the memory of Abraham was obscurely revered by the Sabians in his native land of Chaldæa; of the myriads of prophets, Moses and Christ alone lived and reigned; and the remnant of the inspired writings was comprised in the books of the Old and the New Testament. The miraculous story of Moses is consecrated and embellished in the Koran;[88] and the captive Jews enjoy the secret revenge of imposing their own belief on the nations whose recent creeds they deride. For the author of Christianity, the Mahometans are taught by the prophet to

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[85] Reland, de Relig. Moham. l. i. p. 17-47. Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 73-76. Voyage de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 28-37 and 37-47 for the Persian addition, "Ali is the vicar of God!" Yet the precise number of prophets is not an article of faith.

[86] For the Apocryphal books of Adam, see Fabricius, Codex Pseudepigraphus V. T. p. 27-29; of Seth, p. 154-157; of Enoch, p. 160-219. But the book of Enoch is consecrated, in some measure, by the quotation of the apostle St. Jude; and a long legendary fragment is alleged by Syncellus and Scaliger. [The book of Enoch survives in an Ethiopic version, edited by Archbishop Lawrence, with a translation, 1821.]

[87] The seven precepts of Noah are explained by Marsham (Canon. Chronicus p. 154-180), who adopts, on this occasion, the learning and credulity of Selden.

[88] The articles of *Adam*, *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, &c. in the Bibliothèque o d'Herbelot, are gaily bedecked with the fanciful legends of the Mahometans, wh have built on the groundwork of Scripture and the Talmud.

Jesus

ntertain a high and mysterious reverence.[89] "Verily, Christ esus, the son of Mary, is the apostle of God, and his word, vhich he conveyed unto Mary, and a Spirit proceeding from im : honourable in this world, and in the world to come ; and ne of those who approach near to the presence of God."[90] The vonders of the genuine and apocryphal gospels[91] are profusely eaped on his head ; and the Latin church has not disdained to orrow from the Koran the immaculate conception[92] of his irgin mother. Yet Jesus was a mere mortal ; and, at the day f judgment, his testimony will serve to condemn both the ews, who reject him as a prophet, and the Christians, who adore im as the Son of God. The malice of his enemies aspersed is reputation and conspired against his life ; but their intention nly was guilty, a phantom or a criminal was substituted on the ross, and the innocent saint was translated to the seventh eaven.[93] During six hundred years the gospel was the way of ruth and salvation ; but the Christians insensibly forgot both he laws and the example of their founder ; and Mahomet was structed by the Gnostics to accuse the Church, as well as the ynagogue, of corrupting the integrity of the sacred text.[94] The iety of Moses and of Christ rejoiced in the assurance of a uture prophet, more illustrious than themselves ; the evangelic promise of the *Paraclete,* or Holy Ghost, was prefigured in name, and accomplished in the person, of Mahomet,[95] greatest and the last of the apostles of God.

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[89] Koran, c. 7, p. 128, &c., c. 10, p. 173, &c. D'Herbelot, p. 647, &c.

[90] Koran, c. 3, p. 40, c. 4, p. 80. D'Herbelot, p. 399, &c.

[91] See the gospel of St. Thomas, or of the Infancy, in the Codex Apocryphus . T. of Fabricius, who collects the various testimonies concerning it (p. 128-158). was published in Greek by Cotelier, and in Arabic by Sike, who thinks our esent copy more recent than Mahomet. Yet his quotations agree with the ori- nal about the speech of Christ in his cradle, his living birds of clay, &c. (*Sike*, c. p. 168, 169, c. 36, p. 198, 199, c. 46, p. 206. *Cotelier*, c. 2, p. 160, 161). [Ed. ischendorf, Evang. apocrypha, 1876, and W. Wright, Contributions to the ocryphal literature of the N.T., 1865.]

[92] It is darkly hinted in the Koran (c. 3, p. 39), and more clearly explained by e tradition of the Sonnites (Sale's Note, and Maracci, tom. ii. p. 112). In the ith century, the immaculate conception was condemned by St. Bernard as a esumptuous novelty (Fra Paolo, Istoria del Concilio di Trento, l. ii.).

[93] See the Koran, c. 3, v. 53 and c. 4, v. 156 of Maracci's edition. Deus est æstantissimus dolose agentium (an odd praise) . . . nec crucifixerunt eum, sed jecta est eis similitudo : an expression that may suit with the system of the Do- tes ; but the commentators believe (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 113-115, 173 ; Sale, p. , 43, 79) that another man, a friend or an enemy, was crucified in the likeness Jesus : a fable which they had read in the gospel of St. Barnabas, and which d been started as early as the time of Irenæus, by some Ebionite heretics (Beausobre, Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. ii. p. 25. Mosheim de Reb. Christ. p. 353).

[94] This charge is obscurely urged in the Koran (c. 3, p. 45); but neither ahomet nor his followers are sufficiently versed in languages and criticism to give y weight or colour to their suspicions. Yet the Arians and Nestorians could ate some stories, and the illiterate prophet might listen to the bold assertions of e Manichæans. See Beausobre, tom. i. p. 291-305.

The Koran

The communication of ideas requires a similitude of thou and language; the discourse of a philosopher would vibr without effect, on the ear of a peasant; yet how minute is distance of *their* understandings, if it be compared with contact of an infinite and a finite mind, with the word of expressed by the tongue or the pen of a mortal? The insp tion of the Hebrew prophets, of the apostles and evangelist Christ, might not be incompatible with the exercise of th reason and memory; and the diversity of their genius is stron marked in the style and composition of the books of the Old New Testament. But Mahomet was contented with a chara more humble, yet more sublime, of a simple editor: the s stance of the Koran,[96] according to himself or his disciple uncreated and eternal, subsisting in the essence of the De and inscribed with a pen of light on the table of his everlast decrees. A paper copy in a volume of silk and gems was brou down to the lowest heaven by the angel Gabriel, who, un the Jewish œconomy, had indeed been dispatched on the m important errands; and this trusty messenger successively vealed the chapters and verses to the Arabian prophet. Inst of a perpetual and perfect measure of the divine will, fragments of the Koran were produced at the discretion Mahomet; each revelation is suited to the emergencies of policy or passion; and all contradiction is removed by saving maxim that any text of scripture is abrogated or modi by any subsequent passage. The word of God and of apostle was diligently recorded by his disciples on palm-lea and the shoulder-bones of mutton; and the pages, with order or connexion, were cast into a domestic chest, in custody of one of his wives. Two years after the death

[First (uncanonical) edition of the Koran]

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[95] Among the prophecies of the Old and New Testament, which are perv by the fraud or ignorance of the Musulmans, they apply to the prophe promise of the *Paraclete,* or Comforter, which had been already usurped b Montanists and Manichæans (Beausobre, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, to p. 263, &c.); and the easy change of letters, περικλυτός for παράκλητος, afford etymology of the name of Mohammed (Maracci, tom. i. part i. p. 15-28). John xvi. 7.]

[96] For the Koran, see d'Herbelot, p. 85-88; Maracci, tom i. in Vit. Mo med. p. 32-45; Sale, Preliminary Discourse, p. 56-70. [Nöldeke, Geschicht Qorâns, 1860; Weil, Einleitung in dem Koran, 1878 (ed. 2); Palmer's transl in "Sacred Books of the East" (1880); Roddwell's translation, and artic Hughes' dictionary of Islām.]

Mahomet, the sacred volume was collected and published by his friend and successor Abubeker;[97] the work was revised by the caliph Othman, in the thirtieth year of the Hegira; and the various editions of the Koran assert the same miraculous privilege of an uniform and incorruptible text. In the spirit of enthusiasm or vanity, the prophet rests the truth of his mission on the merit of his book, audaciously challenges both men and angels to imitate the beauties of a single page, and presumes to assert that God alone could dictate this incomparable performance.[98] This argument is most powerfully addressed to a devout Arabian, whose mind is attuned to faith and rapture, whose ear is delighted by the music of sounds, and whose ignorance is incapable of comparing the productions of human genius.[99] The harmony and copiousness of style will not reach, in a version, the European infidel; he will peruse, with impatience, the endless incoherent rhapsody of fable, and precept, and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust and is sometimes lost in the clouds. The divine attributes exalt the fancy of the Arabian missionary; but his loftiest strains must yield to the sublime simplicity of the book of Job, composed in a remote age, in the same country, and in the same language.[100] If the composition of the Koran exceed the faculties of a man, to what superior intelligence should we ascribe the Iliad of Homer or the Philippics of Demosthenes? In all religions, the life of the founder supplies the silence of his written revelation: the sayings of Mahomet were so many lessons of truth; his actions so many examples of virtue; and the public and private memorials were preserved by his wives and companions. At the end of two hundred years, the *Sonna*, or oral law, was

[Second edition]

[Sunna =custom]

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[97] [Abū-Bekr's edition was made by Zaid, who had acted as secretary of the prophet. It was known as "the Leaves" (*al-suhuf*). Zaid also took part in the preparation of Othmān's edition, of which four official copies were made, for Medina, Kūfa, Basra and Damascus.]

[98] Koran, c. 17, v. 89. In Sale, p. 235, 236. In Maracci, p. 410.

[99] Yet a sect of Arabians was persuaded that it might be equalled or surpassed by an human pen (Pocock, Specimen, p. 221, &c.); and Maracci (the polemic is too hard for the translator) derides the rhyming affectation of the most applauded passage (tom. i. part ii. p. 69-75).

[100] Colloquia (whether real or fabulous) in mediâ Arabiâ atque ab Arabibus habita (Lowth, de Poesi Hebræorum Prælect. xxxii. xxxiii. xxxiv. with his German editor Michaelis, Epimetron iv.). Yet Michaelis (p. 671-673) has detected many Egyptian images, the elephantiasis, papyrus, Nile, crocodile, &c. The language is ambiguously styled *Arabico-Hebraea*. The resemblance of the sister dialects was much more visible in their childhood than in their mature age (Michaelis, p. 682. Schultens, in Præfat. Job).

fixed and consecrated by the labours of Al Bochari, who dis
criminated seven thousand two hundred and seventy-fiv
genuine traditions, from a mass of three hundred thousan
reports of a more doubtful or spurious character. Each da
the pious author prayed in the temple of Mecca, and performe
his ablutions with the water of Zemzem; the pages wer
successively deposited on the pulpit and the sepulchre of th
apostle; and the work has been approved by the four orthodo
sects of the Sonnites.[101]

Miracles

The mission of the ancient prophets, of Moses and of Jesus
had been confirmed by many splendid prodigies; and Mahome
was repeatedly urged, by the inhabitants of Mecca and Medina
to produce a similar evidence of his divine legation: to call dow
from heaven the angel or the volume of his revelation, to creat
a garden in the desert, or to kindle a conflagration in the unbe
lieving city. As often as he is pressed by the demands of th
Koreish, he involves himself in the obscure boast of vision an
prophecy, appeals to the internal proofs of his doctrine, an
shields himself behind the providence of God, who refuses thos
signs and wonders that would depreciate the merit of faith an
aggravate the guilt of infidelity. But the modest or angry ton
of his apologies betrays his weakness and vexation; and thes
passages of scandal establish, beyond suspicion, the integrity o
the Koran.[102] The votaries of Mahomet are more assured tha
himself of his miraculous gifts, and their confidence and credu
lity increase as they are farther removed from the time and plac
of his spiritual exploits. They believe or affirm that trees wen
forth to meet him; that he was saluted by stones; that wate
gushed from his fingers; that he fed the hungry, cured the sick
and raised the dead; that a beam groaned to him; that a came
complained to him; that a shoulder of mutton informed him o
its being poisoned; and that both animate and inanimate natur
were equally subject to the apostle of God.[103] His dream of

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[101] Al Bochari died A.H. 224. See D'Herbelot, p. 208, 416, 827. Gagnie
Not. ad Abulfed. c. 19, p. 33. [He discriminated 4000 out of 600,000 tradition
His book, the Sahih Bokhāri, is still of the highest authority in the world of Islām.

[102] See more remarkably, Koran, c. 2, 6, 12, 13, 17. Prideaux (Life of Ma
homet, p. 18, 19) has confounded the impostor. Maracci, with a more learne
apparatus, has shewn that the passages which deny his miracles are clear an
positive (Alcoran, tom. i. part ii. p. 7-12), and those which seem to assert them ar
ambiguous and insufficient (p. 12-22). [This contradiction between the Koran an
the Tradition on the matter of miracles is remarkable and instructive.]

[103] See the Specimen Hist. Arabum, the text of Abulpharagius, p. 17; the note
of Pocock, p. 187-190; D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 76, 77; Voyage

nocturnal journey is seriously described as a real and corporeal transaction. A mysterious animal, the Borak, conveyed him from the temple of Mecca to that of Jerusalem; with his companion Gabriel, he successively ascended the seven heavens, and received and repaid the salutations of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the angels, in their respective mansions. Beyond the seventh heaven, Mahomet alone was permitted to proceed; he passed the veil of unity, approached within two bow-shots of the throne, and felt a cold that pierced him to the heart, when his shoulder was touched by the hand of God. After this familiar though important conversation, he again descended to Jerusalem, remounted the Borak, returned to Mecca, and performed in the tenth part of a night the journey of many thousand years.[104] According to another legend, the apostle confounded in a national assembly the malicious challenge of the Koreish. His resistless word split asunder the orb of the moon: the obedient planet stooped from her station in the sky, accomplished the seven revolutions round the Caaba, saluted Mahomet in the Arabian tongue, and, suddenly contracting her dimensions, entered at the collar, and issued forth through the sleeve, of his shirt.[105] The vulgar are amused with these marvellous tales;

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de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 200-203. Maracci (Alcoran, tom. i. p. 22-64) has most laboriously collected and confuted the miracles and prophecies of Mahomet, which, according to some writers, amount to three thousand.

[104] The nocturnal journey is circumstantially related by Abulfeda (in Vit. Mohammed. c. 19, p. 33), who wishes to think it a vision; by Prideaux (p. 31-40), who aggravates the absurdities; and by Gagnier (tom. i. p. 252-343), who declares, from the zealous Al Jannabi, that to deny this journey is to disbelieve the Koran. Yet the Koran, without naming either heaven or Jerusalem or Mecca, has only dropped a mysterious hint: Laus illi qui transtulit servum suum ab oratorio Haram ad oratorium remotissimum (Koran, c. 17, v. 1, in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 407; for Sale's version is more licentious). A slender basis for the aërial structure of tradition. [The literal translation of the opening words of the 17th sūra (which clearly belongs to the later Meccan period) is "Praise be unto him who transported his servant by night from the sacred temple to the farther temple, the circuit (or environs) of which we have blessed". The simplest inference may seem to be that the prophet actually visited Jerusalem in the course of the last two years of the Meccan period; yet it is hard to believe that the visit would not have been known as a fact.]

[105] In the prophetic style, which uses the present or past for the future, Mahomet had said: Appropinquavit hora et scissa est luna (Koran, c. 54, v. 1; in Maracci, tom. ii. p. 688). This figure of rhetoric has been converted into a fact, which is said to be attested by the most respectable eye-witnesses (Maracci, tom. ii. p. 690). The festival is still celebrated by the Persians (Chardin, tom. iv. p. 201); and the legend is tediously spun out by Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 183-234), on the faith, as it should seem, of the credulous Al Jannabi. Yet a Mahometan doctor has arraigned the credit of the principal witness (apud Pocock, Specimen, p. 187); the best interpreters are content with the simple sense of the Koran (Al Beidawi, apud Hottinger, Hist. Orient. l. ii. p. 302); and the silence of Abulfeda is worthy of a prince and a philosopher.

but the gravest of the Musulman doctors imitate the modesty of their master, and indulge a latitude of faith or interpretation.[106] They might speciously allege that, in preaching the religion, it was needless to violate the harmony of nature; that a creed unclouded with mystery may be excused from miracles; and that the sword of Mahomet was not less potent than the rod of Moses.

Precepts of Mahomet - prayer, fasting, alms

The polytheist is oppressed and distracted by the variety of superstition: a thousand rites of Egyptian origin were interwoven with the essence of the Mosaic law; and the spirit of the Gospel had evaporated in the pageantry of the church. The prophet of Mecca was tempted by prejudice, or policy, or patriotism, to sanctify the rites of the Arabians and the custom of visiting the holy stone of the Caaba. But the precepts of Mahomet himself inculcate a more simple and rational piety: prayer, fasting, and alms are the religious duties of a Musulman;[107] and he is encouraged to hope that prayer will carry him half way to God, fasting will bring him to the door of his palace, and alms will gain him admittance.[108] I. According to the tradition of the nocturnal journey, the apostle, in his personal conference with the Deity, was commanded to impose on his disciples the daily obligation of fifty prayers. By the advice of Moses, he applied for an alleviation of this intolerable burthen; the number was gradually reduced to five; without any dispensation of business or pleasure, or time or place: the devotion of the faithful is repeated at daybreak, at noon, in the afternoon, in the evening, and at the first watch of the night; and, in the present decay of religious fervour, our travellers are edified by the profound humility and attention of the Turks and Persians. Cleanliness is the key of prayer: the frequent lustration of the hands, the face, and the body, which was practised of old by the Arabs, is solemnly enjoined by the Koran; and a permission is formally granted to supply with sand the scarcity of water. The words and attitudes of supplication, as it is performed either sitting, or standing, or prostrate on the ground, are prescribed by custom or authority, but the prayer is poured forth in short and fervent ejaculations; the measure of zeal is not exhausted by a tedious liturgy; and each Musulman, for his own person, is invested with the character of a priest. Among the Theists, who reject the use of images, it has been found necessary to restrain the wanderings of the fancy by directing the eye and the thought towards a *kebla,* or visible point of the horizon. The prophet was at first inclined to gratify the Jews [See Sura 2] by the choice of Jerusalem; but he soon returned to a more natural partiality; and five times every day the eyes of the nations at Astracan, at Fez, at Delhi, are devoutly turned to the holy temple of Mecca. Yet every spot for the service of God is equally pure; the Mahometans indifferently pray in their chamber or in the street. As a distinction from the Jews and Christians, the Friday in each week is set apart for the useful institution of public worship; the people is assembled in the mosch; and the imam, some respectable elder, ascends the pulpit, to begin the prayer and pronounce the sermon. But the Mahometan religion is destitute of priesthood or sacrifice;[108a] and the independent spirit of fanaticism looks down with contempt on the ministers and the slaves of superstition. II. The voluntary[109] penance of the ascetics, the torment and glory of their lives, was odious to a prophet who censured in his companions a rash vow of abstaining from flesh, and women, and sleep, and firmly declared that he would suffer no monks in his religion.[110] Yet he instituted, in each year, a fast of thirty days; and strenuously recommended the observance, as a discipline which purifies the soul and subdues the body, as a salutary exercise of obedience to the will of God and his apostle. During the month of Ramadan,[111] from the rising to the setting of the sun, the Musulman abstains from eating, and drinking, and women, and baths, and perfumes; from all nourishment that can restore his strength, from all pleasure that can gratify his senses. In the revolutio of the lunar year, the Ramadan coincides by turns with th winter cold and the summer heat ; and the patient marty without assuaging his thirst with a drop of water, must expec the close of a tedious and sultry day. The interdiction of win peculiar to some orders of priests or hermits, is converted b Mahomet alone into a positive and general law;[112] and a con siderable portion of the globe has abjured, at his command, th use of that salutary though dangerous liquor. These painful restraints are, doubtless, infringed by the libertine and eluded b the hypocrite ; but the legislator, by whom they are enacte cannot surely be accused of alluring his proselytes by the indu gence of their sensual appetites.[112a] III. The charity of th Mahometans descends to the animal creation ; and the Kora repeatedly inculcates, not as a merit, but as a strict and indi pensable duty, the relief of the indigent and unfortunate. Ma homet, perhaps, is the only lawgiver who has defined th precise measure of charity : the standard may vary with th degree and nature of property, as it consists either in money, i corn or cattle, in fruits or merchandise ; but the Musulman doe not accomplish the law, unless he bestows a *tenth* of his revenue and, if his conscience accuses him of fraud or extortion, the tent under the idea of restitution, is enlarged to a *fifth*.[113] Benev lence is the foundation of justice, since we are forbid to inju those whom we are bound to assist. A prophet may reveal th secrets of heaven and of futurity ; but in his moral precepts h can only repeat the lessons of our own hearts.

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[106] Abulpharagius, in Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 17; and his scepticism is justified in the notes of Pocock, p. 190-194, from the purest authorities.

[107] [Add the precept of pilgrimage to Mecca; cp. Sūra 2.]

[108] The most authentic account of these precepts, pilgrimage, prayer, fasting, alms, and ablutions, is extracted from the Persian and Arabian theologians by Maracci (Prodrom. part iv. p. 9-24); Reland (in his excellent treatise de Religione Mohammedicâ, Utrecht, 1717, p. 67-123); and Chardin (Voyages en Perse, tom. iv. p. 47-195). Maracci is a partial accuser; but the jeweller, Chardin, had the eyes of a philosopher; and Reland, a judicious student, had travelled over the East in his closet at Utrecht. The xivth letter of Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tom. ii. p. 325-360, in octavo) describes what he had seen of the religion of the Turks.

[108a] [There is an annual sacrifice at the Feast of Victims in the Valley of Minā near Mecca during the Pilgrimage.]

[109] Mahomet (Sale's Koran, c. 9, p. 153) reproaches the Christians with taking their priests and monks for their lords, besides God. Yet Maracci (Prodromus, part iii. p. 69, 70) excuses the worship, especially of the pope, and quotes, from the Koran itself, the case of Eblis, or Satan, who was cast from heaven for refusing to adore Adam.

[110] Koran, c. 5, p. 94, and Sale's note, which refers to the authority of Jallaloddin and Al Beidawi. D'Herbelot declares that Mahomet condemned *la vie religieuse;* and that the first swarms of fakirs, dervises, &c. did not appear till after the year 300 of the Hegira (Bibliot. Orient. p. 292, 718).

[111] [As being the month "in which the Koran was sent down" from heaven; see Sūra 2.]

Resurrection

The two articles of belief and the four practical duties of Isla are guarded by rewards and punishments ; and the faith of th Musulman is devoutly fixed on the event of the judgment an the last day. The prophet has not presumed to determine th moment of that awful catastrophe, though he darkly announce the signs, both in heaven and earth, which will precede the un versal dissolution, when life shall be destroyed and the order of creation shall be confounded in the primitive chaos. At the blast of the trumpet, new worlds will start into being; angels, genii, and men will arise from the dead, and the human soul will again be united to the body. The doctrine of the resurrection was first entertained by the Egyptians;[114] and their mummies were embalmed, their pyramids were constructed, to preserve the ancient mansion of the soul, during a period of three thousand years. But the attempt is partial and unavailing; and it is with a more philosophic spirit that Mahomet relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whose word can reanimate the breathless clay, and collect the innumerable atoms that no longer retain their form or substance.[115] The intermediate state of the soul it is hard to decide; and those who most firmly believe her immaterial nature are at a loss to understand how she can think or act without the agency of the organs of sense.

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[112] See the double prohibition (Koran, c. 2, p. 25, c. 5, p. 94), the one in t style of a legislator, the other in that of a fanatic. The public and private motiv of Mahomet are investigated by Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 62-64) and Sa (Preliminary Discourse, p. 124).

[112a] [It would seem that the Koran doctrine of "abrogation" must be he applied to Gibbon. It has been pointed out that this remark is inconsistent wi his subsequent statement that the Prophet incited the Arabs to "the indulgence their darling passions *in this world* and in the other". See below, p. 394.]

[113] The jealousy of Maracci (Prodromus, part iv. p. 33) prompts him to enum rate the more liberal alms of the Catholics of Rome. Fifteen great hospitals a open to many thousand patients and pilgrims, fifteen hundred maidens are ann ally portioned, fifty-six charity schools are founded for both sexes, one hundred a twenty confraternities relieve the wants of their brethren, &c. The benevolence

Hell and Paradise

The re-union of the soul and body will be followed by the final judgment of mankind; and, in his copy of the Magian picture, the prophet has too faithfully represented the forms of proceeding, and even the slow and successive operations, of an earthly tribunal. By his intolerate adversaries he is upbraided for extending, even to themselves, the hope of salvation, for asserting the blackest heresy that every man who believes in God, and accomplishes good works, may expect in the last day a favourable sentence. Such rational indifference is ill adapted to the character of a fanatic; nor is it probable that a messenger from heaven should depreciate the value and necessity of his own revelation. In the idiom of the Koran,[116] the belief of God is inseparable from that of Mahomet; the good works are those which he has enjoined; and the two qualifications imply the profession of Islam, to which all nations and all sects are equally invited. Their spiritual blindness, though excused by ignorance

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London is still more extensive; but I am afraid that much more is to be ascribed to the humanity than to the religion of the people.

[114] See Herodotus (l. ii. c. 123) and our learned countryman Sir John Marsham (Canon. Chronicus, p. 46). The Ἅδης of the same writer (p. 254-274) is an elaborate sketch of the infernal regions, as they were painted by the fancy of the Egyptians and Greeks, of the poets and philosophers of antiquity.

[115] The Koran (c. 2, p. 259, &c.; of Sale, p. 32; of Maracci, p. 97) relates an ingenious miracle, which satisfied the curiosity, and confirmed the faith, of Abraham.

[116] The candid Reland has demonstrated that Mahomet damns all unbelievers (de Religion. Moham. p. 128-142); that devils will not be finally saved (p. 196-199); that paradise will not (*solely* consist of corporeal delights (p. 199-205); and that women's souls are immortal (p. 205-209).

and crowned with virtue, will be scourged with everlasting torments; and the tears which Mahomet shed over the tomb of his mother, for whom he was forbidden to pray, display a striking contrast of humanity and enthusiasm.[117] The doom of the infidels is common: the measure of their guilt and punishment is determined by the degree of evidence which they have rejected, by the magnitude of the errors which they have entertained; the eternal mansions of the Christians, the Jews, the Sabians, the Magians, and the idolaters, are sunk below each other in the abyss; and the lowest hell is reserved for the faithless hypocrites who have assumed the mask of religion. After the greater part of mankind has been condemned for their opinions, the true believers only will be judged by their actions. The good and evil of each Musulman will be accurately weighed in a real or allegorical balance, and a singular mode of compensation will be allowed for the payment of injuries: the aggressor will refund an equivalent of his own good actions, for the benefit of the person whom he has wronged; and, if he should be destitute of any moral property, the weight of his sins will be loaded with an adequate share of the demerits of the sufferer. According as the shares of guilt or virtue shall preponderate, the sentence will be pronounced, and all, without distinction, will pass over the sharp and perilous bridge of the abyss; but the innocent, treading in the footsteps of Mahomet will gloriously enter the gates of paradise, while the guilty wil fall into the first and mildest of the seven hells. The term o expiation will vary from nine hundred to seven thousand years but the prophet has judiciously promised that *all* his disciples whatever may be their sins, shall be saved, by their own fait and his intercession, from eternal damnation. It is not surprising that superstition should act most powerfully on the fears o her votaries, since the human fancy can paint with more energ the misery than the bliss of a future life. With the two simpl elements of darkness and fire we create a sensation of pain, whic may be aggravated to an infinite degree by the idea of endles duration. But the same idea operates with an opposite effec on the continuity of pleasure; and too much of our present enjoyments is obtained from the relief, or the comparison, of evi

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[117] Al Beidawi, apud Sale, Koran, c. 9, p. 164. The refusal to pray for an u believing kindred is justified, according to Mahomet, by the duty of a prophet, an the example of Abraham, who reprobated his own father as an enemy of Go Yet Abraham (he adds, c. 9, v. 116; Maracci, tom. ii. p. 317) fuit sane piu mitis.

It is natural enough that an Arabian prophet should dwell with rapture on the groves, the fountains, and the rivers of paradise; but, instead of inspiring the blessed inhabitants with a liberal taste for harmony and science, conversation and friendship, he idly celebrates the pearls and diamonds, the robes of silk, palaces of marble, dishes of gold, rich wines, artificial dainties, numerous attendants, and the whole train of sensual and costly luxury, which becomes insipid to the owner, even in the short period of this mortal life. Seventy-two *Houris*, or black-eyed girls of resplendent beauty, blooming youth, virgin purity, and exquisite sensibility, will be created for the use of the meanest believer; a moment of pleasure will be prolonged to a thousand years, and his faculties will be increased an hundred-fold, to render him worthy of his felicity. Notwithstanding a vulgar prejudice, the gates of heaven will be open to both sexes; but Mahomet has not specified the male companions of the female elect, lest he should either alarm the jealousy of their former husbands or disturb their felicity by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage. This image of a carnal paradise has provoked the indignation, perhaps the envy, of the monks: they declaim against the impure religion of Mahomet; and his modest apologists are driven to the poor excuse of figures and allegories. But the sounder and more consistent party adhere, without shame, to the literal interpretation of the Koran; useless would be the resurrection of the body, unless it were restored to the possession and exercise of its worthiest faculties; and the union of sensual and intellectual enjoyment is requisite to complete the happiness of the double animal, the perfect man. Yet the joys of the Mahometan paradise will not be confined to the indulgence of luxury and appetite; and the prophet has expressly declared that all meaner happiness will be forgotten and despised by the saints and martyrs, who shall be admitted to the beatitude of the divine vision.[118]

Mahomet preaches at Mecca. A.D. 609 [or 610]

The first and most arduous conquests of Mahomet[119] were those of his wife, his servant, his pupil, and his friend ;[120] since he presented himself as a prophet to those who were most conversant with his infirmities as a man. Yet Cadijah believed the words, and cherished the glory, of her husband ; the obsequious and affectionate Zeid was tempted by the prospect of freedom the illustrious Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, embraced the sentiments of his cousin with the spirit of a youthful hero ; and the wealth, the moderation, the veracity of Abubeker confirmed the religion of the prophet whom he was destined to succeed By his persuasion, ten of the most respectable citizens of Mecca were introduced to the private lessons of Islam ; they yielded to the voice of reason and enthusiasm ; they repeated the fundamental creed : "there is but one God, and Mahomet is the apostle of God" ; and their faith, even in this life, was rewarded with riches and honours, with the command of armies and the government of kingdoms. Three years were silently employed in the conversion of fourteen proselytes, the first fruits of his mission ; but in the fourth year he assumed the prophetic office and, resolving to impart to his family the light of divine truth he prepared a banquet, a lamb, as it is said, and a bowl of milk for the entertainment of forty guests of the race of Hashem "Friends and kinsmen," said Mahomet to the assembly, "I offer

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[118] For the day of judgment, hell, paradise, &c. consult the Koran (c. 2, v. 25, . 56, 78, &c.), with Maracci's virulent, but learned, refutation (in his notes, and in he Prodromus, part iv. p. 78, 120, 122, &c.); d'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 368, 375); Reland (p. 47-61); and Sale (p. 76-173). The original ideas of the Magi are darkly and doubtfully explored by their apologist, Dr. Hyde (Hist. Reliionis Persarum, c. 33, p. 402-412, Oxon. 1760). In the article of Mahomet, Bayle as shewn how indifferently wit and philosophy supply the absence of genuine information.

[119] Before I enter on the history of the prophet, it is incumbent on me to prouce my evidence. The Latin, French, and English versions of the Koran are

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preceded by historical discourses, and the three translators, Maracci (tom i. p. 10 32), Savary (tom. i. p. 1-248), and Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 33-56), had accurately studied the language and character of their author. Two professed lives of Mahomet have been composed by Dr. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, seventh edition, London, 1718, in octavo) and the Count de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahomed, Londres, 1730, in octavo), but the adverse wish of finding an impostor or an hero has too often corrupted the learning of the Doctor and the ingenuity o the Count. The article in d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 598-603) is chiefly drawn from Novairi and Mircond ; but the best and most authentic of our guides is M Gagnier, a Frenchman by birth, and professor at Oxford of the Oriental tongues In two elaborate works (Ismael Abulfeda de Vitâ et Rebus gestis Mohammedis &c., Latine vertit, Præfatione et Notis illustravit Johannes Gagnier, Oxon. 1723 in folio. La Vie de Mahomet traduite et compilée de l'Alcoran, des Tradition authentiques de la Sonna et des meilleurs Auteurs Arabes ; Amsterdam, 1748 3 vols. in 12mo) he has interpreted, illustrated, and supplied the Arabic text o Abulfeda and Al Jannabi : the first, an enlightened prince, who reigned at Hama in Syria A.D. 1310-1332 (see Gagnier, Præfat. ad Abulfed.), the second, a credulou doctor, who visited Mecca A.D. 1556 (d'Herbelot, p. 397. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 20 210). These are my general vouchers, and the inquisitive reader may follow th order of time and the division of chapters. Yet I must observe that both Abulfed and Al Jannabi are modern historians, and that they cannot appeal to any write of the first century of the Hegira. [For sources and modern works see Appendix 1

[120] After the Greeks, Prideaux (p. 8) discloses the secret doubts of the wife Mahomet. As if he had been a privy counsellor of the prophet, Boulainvillie (p. 272, &c.) unfolds the sublime and patriotic views of Cadijah and the fir disciples.

ou, and I alone can offer, the most precious of gifts, the
easures of this world and of the world to come. God has
mmanded me to call you to his service. Who among you will
pport my burthen? Who among you will be my companion
d my vizir?" [121] No answer was returned, till the silence of
tonishment, and doubt, and contempt was at length broken
the impatient courage of Ali, a youth in the fourteenth
ear of his age. "O prophet, I am the man; whosoever
ses against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his
es, break his legs, rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be
y vizir over them." Mahomet accepted his offer with trans-
rt, and Abu Taleb was ironically exhorted to respect the
perior dignity of his son. In a more serious tone, the father
Ali advised his nephew to relinquish his impracticable design.
Spare your remonstrances," replied the intrepid fanatic to his
cle and benefactor; "if they should place the sun on my
ght hand and the moon on my left, they should not divert me
om my course." He persevered ten years in the exercise of
s mission; and the religion which has overspread the East and
e West advanced with a slow and painful progress within the
alls of Mecca. Yet Mahomet enjoyed the satisfaction of be-
lding the increase of his infant congregation of Unitarians,
ho revered him as a prophet, and to whom he seasonably
spensed the spiritual nourishment of the Koran. The number
proselytes may be esteemed by the absence of eighty-three
en and eighteen women, who retired to Æthiopia in the seventh
ear of his mission; and his party was fortified by the timely
nversion of his uncle Hamza, and of the fierce and inflexible [Omar ben al Khattab]
mar, who signalised in the cause of Islam the same zeal which
had exerted for its destruction. Nor was the charity of
ahomet confined to the tribe of Koreish or the precincts of
ecca: on solemn festivals, in the days of pilgrimage, he fre-
uented the Caaba, accosted the strangers of every tribe, and
ged, both in private converse and public discourse, the belief
d worship of a sole Deity. Conscious of his reason and of his
eakness, he asserted the liberty of conscience, and disclaimed
e use of religious violence; [122] but he called the Arabs to re-

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[121] *Vezirus, portitor, bajulus, onus ferens;* and this plebeian name was trans-
red by an apt metaphor to the pillars of the state (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p.
). I endeavour to preserve the Arabian idiom, as far as I can feel it myself in a
tin or French translation.

[122] The passages of the Koran in behalf of toleration are strong and numerous;
2, v. 257, c. 16, 129, c. 17, 54, c. 45, 15, c. 50, 39, c. 88, 21, &c., with the notes

pentance, and conjured them to remember the ancient idolate
of Ad and Thamud, whom the divine justice had swept awa
from the face of the earth.[123]

Is opposed by the Koreish, A.D. 613-622

The people of Mecca was hardened in their unbelief by supe
stition and envy. The elders of the city, the uncles of th
prophet, affected to despise the presumption of an orphan, th
reformer of his country; the pious orations of Mahomet in th
Caaba were answered by the clamours of Abu Taleb.[123a] "Citizen
and pilgrims, listen not to the tempter, hearken not to his in
pious novelties. Stand fast in the worship of Al Lâta and A
Uzzah."[124] Yet the son of Abdallah was ever dear to the age
chief; and he protected the fame and person of his nephe
against the assaults of the Koreishites, who had long been jealou
of the pre-eminence of the family of Hashem. Their malic
was coloured with the pretence of religion; in the age of Jo
the crime of impiety was punished by the Arabian magistrate;[1
and Mahomet was guilty of deserting and denying the nation
deities. But so loose was the policy of Mecca that the leade
of the Koreish, instead of accusing a criminal, were compelle
to employ the measures of persuasion or violence. They re
peatedly addressed Abu Taleb in the style of reproach an
menace. "Thy nephew reviles our religion; he accuses ou
wise forefathers of ignorance and folly; silence him quickl
lest he kindle tumult and discord in the city. If he persever
we shall draw our swords against him and his adherents, an
thou wilt be responsible for the blood of thy fellow-citizens
The weight and moderation of Abu Taleb eluded the violen

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of Maracci and Sale. This character alone may generally decide the doubts of t
learned, whether a chapter was revealed at Mecca or Medina.

[123] See the Koran (passim, and especially c. 7, p. 123, 124, &c.) and the traditi
of the Arabs (Pocock, Specimen, p. 35-37). The caverns of the tribe of Thamu
fit for men of the ordinary stature, were shewn in the midway between Medina a
Damascus (Abulfed. Arabiæ Descript. p. 43, 44), and may be probably ascrib
to the Troglodytes of the primitive world (Michaelis, ad Lowth de Poesi Hebræ
p. 131-134. Recherches sur les Egyptiens, tom. ii. p. 48, &c.).

[123a] [Abū Lahab, another uncle of Mohammad, is meant.]

[124] [Mohammad at one weak moment made a compromise with the Mecca
elders. They asked him, as a test question, "What think you of Al-Lāt and A
Uzzā, and of Manāt the third with them?" The prophet acknowledged them b
replying, "These are the sublime cranes whose intercession may be hoped"; a
the elders went away content. But Mohammad's weakness was speedily rebuk
in a vision; and his acknowledgment of the false idols was retracted. S
Sūra 53.]

[125] In the time of Job, the crime of impiety was punished by the Arabi
magistrate (c. 13, v. 26, 27, 28). I blush for a respectable prelate (de Po
Hebræorum, p. 650, 651, edict. Michaelis; and letter of a late professor in t
university of Oxford, p. 15-53) who justifies and applauds this patriarchal inquisiti

f religious faction; the most helpless or timid of the disciples
etired to Æthiopia; and the prophet withdrew himself to
arious places of strength in the town and country. As he was
till supported by his family, the rest of the tribe of Koreish
ngaged themselves to renounce all intercourse with the children
f Hashem, neither to buy nor sell, neither to marry nor to give
n marriage, but to pursue them with implacable enmity, till
hey should deliver the person of Mahomet to the justice of the
ods. The decree was suspended in the Caaba before the eyes
f the nation; the messengers of the Koreish pursued the
usulman exiles in the heart of Africa; they besieged the
rophet and his most faithful followers, intercepted their water,
nd inflamed their mutual animosity by the retaliation of injuries
nd insults. A doubtful truce restored the appearances of
oncord; till the death of Abu Taleb abandoned Mahomet to
he power of his enemies, at the moment when he was deprived
f his domestic comforts by the loss of his faithful and generous
adijah. Abu Sophian, the chief of the branch of Ommiyah,
ucceeded to the principality of the republic of Mecca. A
ealous votary of the idols, a mortal foe of the line of Hashem,
e convened an assembly of the Koreishites and their allies, to
ecide the fate of the apostle. His imprisonment might provoke
he despair of his enthusiasm; and the exile of an eloquent and
opular fanatic would diffuse the mischief through the provinces
f Arabia. His death was resolved; and they agreed that a
word from each tribe should be buried in his heart, to divide
he guilt of his blood and baffle the vengeance of the Hashem-
tes. An angel or a spy revealed their conspiracy; and flight
vas the only resource of Mahomet.[126] At the dead of night,
ccompanied by his friend Abubeker, he silently escaped from
is house; the assassins watched at the door; but they were
eceived by the figure of Ali, who reposed on the bed, and was
overed with the green vestment, of the apostle. The Koreish
espected the piety of the heroic youth; but some verses of Ali,
hich are still extant, exhibit an interesting picture of his
nxiety, his tenderness, and his religious confidence. Three
ays Mahomet and his companion were concealed in the cave
f Thor, at the distance of a league from Mecca; and in the
lose of each evening they received from the son and daughter
f Abubeker a secret supply of intelligence and food. The

[The interdict]

[A.D. 619-20]

[Abu Sofyan ibn Harb]

and driven from Mecca. A.D. 622

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[126] D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 445. He quotes a particular history of the
ight of Mahomet.

diligence of the Koreish explored every haunt in the neighbourhood of the city; they arrived at the entrance of the cavern but the providential deceit of a spider's web and a pigeon's nes is supposed to convince them that the place was solitary anc inviolate. "We are only two," said the trembling Abubeker "There is a third," replied the prophet; "it is God himself.' No sooner was the pursuit abated than the two fugitives issuec from the rock and mounted their camels; on the road to Medina they were overtaken by the emissaries of the Koreish; they redeemed themselves with prayers and promises from thei hands. In this eventful moment the lance of an Arab migh have changed the history of the world. The flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina has fixed the memorable æra o the *Hegira*,[127] which, at the end of twelve centuries, still discriminates the lunar years of the Mahometan nations.[128]

[Hijra]

Received as prince of Medina. A.D. 622

The religion of the Koran might have perished in its cradle had not Medina embraced with faith and reverence the holy outcasts of Mecca. Medina, or the *city*, known under the name o Yathreb before it was sanctified by the throne of the prophet was divided between the tribes of the Charegites[128a] and the Awsites, whose hereditary feud was rekindled by the slightes provocations: two colonies of Jews, who boasted a sacerdota race, were their humble allies, and without converting the Arabs, they introduced the taste of science and religion, which distinguished Medina as the city of the Book. Some of he noblest citizens, in a pilgrimage to the Caaba, were converte by the preaching of Mahomet; on their return, they diffuse the belief of God and his prophet, and the new alliance wa ratified by their deputies in two secret and nocturnal interview on a hill in the suburbs of Mecca. In the first, ten Charegite and two Awsites, united in faith and love, protested, in the nam of their wives, their children, and their absent brethren, tha

[Khazrajites]

[A.D. 620-1]

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[127] The *Hegira* was instituted by Omar, the second caliph, in imitation of th æra of the martyrs of the Christians (d'Herbelot, p. 444); and properly commence sixty-eight days before the flight of Mahomet, with the first of Moharren [Muharram or first day of that Arabian year, which coincides with Friday, July 16th, A.D. 6 (Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. c. 22, 23, p. 45-50, and Greaves's edition of Ullug Beig Epochæ Arabum, &c. c. 1, p. 8, 10, &c.). [Before Islām, early in the fifth centu A.D., the Lunar and Solar years had been reconciled by intercalated months. Th flight of Mohammad took place on Sept. 20; the era was dated from the new mo of the first month of the same year, corresponding to July 16. See al-Bīrū Chronol. of Ancient Nations, tr. Sachau (1879), p. 327.]

[128] Mahomet's life, from his mission to the Hegira, may be found in Abulfe (p. 14-45) and Gagnier (tom. i. p. 134-251, 342-383). The legend from p. 18 234 is vouched by Al Jannabi, and disdained by Abulfeda.

[128a] [This tribe of the Khazrajites must not be confused with the Khārijites rebels, who are noticed below, p. 385.]

[A.D. 622]

[al-Muhajirun and al-Ansar]

they would for ever profess the creed, and observe the precepts, of the Koran. The second was a political association, the first vital spark of the empire of the Saracens.[129] Seventy-three men and two women of Medina held a solemn conference with Mahomet, his kinsmen, and his disciples; and pledged themselves to each other by a mutual oath of fidelity. They promised in the name of the city that, if he should be banished, they would receive him as a confederate, obey him as a leader, and defend him to the last extremity, like their wives and children. "But, if you are recalled by your country," they asked with a flattering anxiety, "will you not abandon your new allies?" "All things," replied Mahomet with a smile, "are now common between us; your blood is as my blood, your ruin as my ruin. We are bound to each other by the ties of honour and interest. I am your friend, and the enemy of your foes." "But, if we are killed in your service, what," exclaimed the deputies of Medina, "will be our reward?" "PARADISE," replied the prophet. "Stretch forth thy hand." He stretched it forth, and they reiterated the oath of allegiance and fidelity. Their treaty was ratified by the people, who unanimously embraced the profession of Islam; they rejoiced in the exile of the apostle, but they trembled for his safety, and impatiently expected his arrival. After a perilous and rapid journey along the sea-coast, he halted at Koba, two miles from the city, and made his public entry nto Medina, sixteen days after his flight from Mecca. Five hundred of the citizens advanced to meet him; he was hailed with acclamations of loyalty and devotion; Mahomet was mounted on a she-camel, an umbrella shaded his head, and a turban was unfurled before him to supply the deficiency of a standard. His bravest disciples, who had been scattered by the storm, assembled round his person; and the equal, though various, merit of the Moslems was distinguished by the names of *Mohagerians* and *Ansars*, the fugitives of Mecca, and the auxiliaries of Medina. To eradicate the seeds of jealousy, Mahomet judiciously coupled his principal followers with the rights and obligations of brethren; nd, when Ali found himself without a peer, the prophet tenderly declared that *he* would be the companion and brother of he noble youth. The expedient was crowned with success; he holy fraternity was respected in peace and war, and the two arties vied with each other in a generous emulation of courage and fidelity. Once only the concord was slightly ruffled by an accidental quarrel: a patriot of Medina arraigned the insolence of the strangers, but the hint of their expulsion was heard with abhorrence, and his own son most eagerly offered to lav at the apostle's feet the head of his father.

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[129] The triple inauguration of Mahomet is described by Abulfeda (p. 30, 33, 40,), and Gagnier (tom. i. p. 342, &c., 349, &c., tom. ii. p. 223, &c.).

His regal dignity. A.D. 622-632

From his establishment at Medina, Mahomet assumed the exercise of the regal and sacerdotal office; and it was impious to appeal from a judge whose decrees were inspired by the divine wisdom. A small portion of ground, the patrimony of two orphans, was acquired by gift or purchase;[130] on that chosen spot he built an house and a mosch, more venerable in their rude simplicity than the palaces and temples of the Assyrian caliphs. His seal of gold, or silver, was inscribed with the apostolic title; when he prayed and preached in the weekly assembly, he leaned against the trunk of a palm-tree; and it was long before he indulged himself in the use of a chair or pulpit of rough timber.[131] After a reign of six years, fifteen hundred Moslems, in arms and in the field, renewed their oath of allegiance; and their chief repeated the assurance of protection, till the death of the last member or the final dissolution of the party. It was in the same camp that the deputy of Mecca was astonished by the attention of the faithful to the words and looks of the prophet, by the eagerness with which they collected his spittle, an hair that dropped on the ground, the refuse water of his lustrations, as if they participated in some degree of the prophetic virtue. "I have seen," said he, "the Chosroes of Persia and the Cæsar of Rome, but never did I behold a king among his subjects like Mahomet among his companions." The devout fervour of enthusiasm acts with more energy and truth than the cold and formal servility of courts.

He declares war against the infidels

In the state of nature every man has a right to defend, by force of arms, his person and his possessions; to repel, or eve to prevent, the violence of his enemies, and to extend his hostilities to a reasonable measure of satisfaction and retaliation. In the free society of the Arabs, the duties of subject and citizen imposed a feeble restraint; and Mahomet, in the exercise of a peaceful and benevolent mission, had been despoiled and banished by the injustice of his countrymen. The choice of an independent people had exalted the fugitive of Mecca to the rank of a sovereign; and he was invested with the just prerogative of forming alliances and of waging offensive or defensive war. The imperfection of human rights was supplied and armed by the plenitude of divine power; the prophet of Medina assumed, in his new revelations, a fiercer and more sanguinary tone, which proves that his former moderation was the effect of weakness:[132] the means of persuasion had been tried, the season of forbearance was elapsed, and he was now commanded to propagate his religion by the sword, to destroy the monuments of idolatry, and, without regarding the sanctity of days or months, to pursue the unbelieving nations of the earth. The same bloody precepts, so repeatedly inculcated in he Koran, are ascribed by the author to the Pentateuch and he Gospel. But the mild tenor of the evangelic style may explain an ambiguous text, that Jesus did not bring peace on he earth, but a sword: his patient and humble virtues should not be confounded with the intolerant zeal of princes and bishops, who have disgraced the name of his disciples. In the prosecution of religious war, Mahomet might appeal with more propriety to the example of Moses, of the judges, and the kings f Israel. The military laws of the Hebrews are still more rigid han those of the Arabian legislator.[133] The Lord of Hosts marched in person before the Jews; if a city resisted their ummons, the males, without distinction, were put to the sword; he seven nations of Canaan were devoted to destruction; and either repentance nor conversion could shield them from the nevitable doom that no creature within their precincts should e left alive. The fair option of friendship, or submission, or battle, was proposed to the enemies of Mahomet. If they professed the creed of Islam, they were admitted to all the temporal and spiritual benefits of his primitive disciples, and marched under the same banner to extend the religion which they had embraced. The clemency of the prophet was decided by his interest, yet he seldom trampled on a prostrate enemy; and he seems to promise that, on the payment of a tribute, the least guilty of his unbelieving subjects might be indulged in their worship, or at least in their imperfect faith. In the first months of his reign, he practised the lessons of holy warfare, and displayed his white banner before the gates of Medina; the martial apostle fought in person at nine battles or sieges;[134] and fifty enterprises of war were achieved in ten years by himself or his lieutenants. The Arab continued to unite the professions of a merchant and a robber; and his petty excursions, for the defence or the attack of a caravan, insensibly prepared his troops for the conquest of Arabia. The distribution of the spoil was regulated by a divine law;[135] the whole was faithfully collected in one common mass; a fifth of the gold and silver, the prisoners and cattle, the moveables and immoveables, was reserved by the prophet for pious and charitable uses; the remainder was shared in adequate portions by the soldiers who had obtained the victory or guarded the camp; the rewards of the slain devolved to their widows and orphans; and the increase of cavalry was encouraged by the allotment of a double share to the horse and to the man. From all sides the roving Arabs were allured to the standard of religion and plunder; the apostle sanctified the licence of embracing the female captives as their wives or concubines; and the enjoyment of wealth and beauty was a feeble type of the joys of paradise prepared for the valiant martyrs of the faith. "The sword," says Mahomet "is the key of heaven and of hell: a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting or prayer: whosoever falls in battle, his sin are forgiven; at the day of judgment his wounds shall be re olendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss f his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cheruim." The intrepid souls of the Arabs were fired with enthuasm; the picture of the invisible world was strongly painted n their imagination; and the death which they had always espised became an object of hope and desire. The Koran iculcates, in the most absolute sense, the tenets of fate and redestination, which would extinguish both industry and virtue, the actions of man were governed by his speculative belief. et their influence in every age has exalted the courage of the aracens and Turks. The first companions of Mahomet adanced to battle with a fearless confidence; there is no danger here there is no chance: they were ordained to perish in their eds; or they were safe and invulnerable amidst the darts of ie enemy.[136]

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[130] Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 44) reviles the wickedness of the imposto who despoiled two poor orphans, the sons of a carpenter: a reproach which h drew from the Disputatio contra Saracenos, composed in Arabic before the yea 1130; but the honest Gagnier (ad Abulfed. p. 53) has shewn that they we deceived by the word *Al Nagjar*, which signifies, in this place, not an obscu trade, but a noble tribe of Arabs. The desolate state of the ground is describ by Abulfeda; and his worthy interpreter has proved, from Al Bochari, the offer a price; from Al Jannabi, the fair purchase; and from Ahmed Ben Joseph, t payment of the money by the generous Abubeker. On these grounds the proph must be honourably acquitted.

[131] Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 246, 324) describes the seal and pul as two venerable relics of the apostle of God; and the portrait of his court is tak from Abulfeda (c. 44, p. 85).

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[132] The viiith and ixth chapters of the Koran are the loudest and most hement; and Maracci (Prodromus, part iv. p. 59-64) has inveighed with more stice than discretion against the double dealing of the impostor.

[133] The xth and xxth chapters of Deuteronomy, with the practical coments of Joshua, David, &c., are read with more awe than satisfaction by the pious hristians of the present age. But the bishops, as well as the rabbis of former mes, have beat the drum-ecclesiastic with pleasure and success (Sale's Prelimary Discourse, p. 142, 143).

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[134] Abulfeda, in Vit. Moham. p. 156. The private arsenal of the apostle con sisted of nine swords, three lances, seven pikes or half-pikes, a quiver and thre bows, seven cuirasses, three shields, and two helmets (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 328-334 with a large white standard, a black banner (p. 335), twenty horses (p. 322), & Two of his martial sayings are recorded by tradition (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 8 337).

[135] The whole subject de jure belli Mohammedanorum is exhausted in a separa dissertation by the learned Reland (Dissertationes Miscellaneæ, tom. iii. Disserta x. p. 3-53).

His defensive wars against the Koreish of Mecca

Perhaps the Koreish would have been content with the flight f Mahomet, had they not been provoked and alarmed by the engeance of an enemy who could intercept their Syrian ade as it passed and repassed through the territory of Medina. bu Sophian himself, with only thirty or forty followers, conucted a wealthy caravan of a thousand camels; the fortune or exterity of his march escaped the vigilance of Mahomet; but ie chief of the Koreish was informed that the holy robbers ere placed in ambush to await his return. He dispatched a iessenger to his brethren of Mecca and they were roused by ie fear of losing their merchandise and their provisions, unless iey hastened to his relief with the military force of the city. he sacred band of Mahomet was formed of three hundred and iirteen Moslems, of whom seventy-seven were fugitives, and ie rest auxiliaries; they mounted by turns a train of seventy imels (the camels of Yathreb were formidable in war); but ich was the poverty of his first disciples that only two could opear on horseback in the field.[137] In the fertile and famous

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[136] The doctrine of absolute predestination, on which few religions can reproach ch other, is sternly exposed in the Koran (c. 3, p. 52, 53, c. 4, p. 70, &c., with e notes of Sale, and c. 17, p. 413, with those of Maracci). Reland (de Relig. ohamm. p. 61-64) and Sale (Prelim. Discourse, p. 103) represent the opinions the doctors, and our modern travellers the confidence, the fading confidence, of e Turks.

[137] Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 9) allows him seventy or eighty horse; id on two other occasions, prior to the battle of Ohud, he enlists a body of thirty . 10), and of 500 (p. 66), troopers. Yet the Musulmans, in the field of Ohud, d no more than two horses, according to the better sense of Abulfeda (in Vit. ohamm. c. 31 p. 65). In the *Stony* province, the camels were numerous; t the horse appears to have been less common than in the *Happy* or the *Desert* abia.

Battle of Beder, A.D. [illegible]

vale of Beder,[138] three stations from Medina, he was informed by his scouts of the caravan that approached on one side; of the Koreish, one hundred horse, eight hundred and fifty foot, who advanced on the other. After a short debate, he sacrificed the prospect of wealth to the pursuit of glory and revenge; and a slight intrenchment was formed to cover his troops, and a stream of fresh water that glided through the valley. "O God," he exclaimed as the numbers of the Koreish descended from the hills, "O God, if these are destroyed, by whom wilt thou be worshipped on the earth?—Courage, my children; close your ranks; discharge your arrows, and the day is your own." At these words he placed himself, with Abubeker, on a throne or pulpit,[139] and instantly demanded the succour of Gabriel and three thousand angels. His eye was fixed on the field of battle; the Musulmans fainted and were pressed; in that decisive moment the prophet started from his throne, mounted his horse, and cast a handful of sand into the air: "Let their faces be covered with confusion". Both armies heard the thunder of his voice; their fancy beheld the angelic warriors;[140] the Koreish trembled and fled; seventy of the bravest were slain and seventy captives adorned the first victory of the faithful The dead bodies of the Koreish were despoiled and insulted two of the most obnoxious prisoners were punished with death and the ransom of the others, four thousand drachms of silver compensated in some degree the escape of the caravan. Bu it was in vain that the camels of Abu Sophian explored a new road through the desert and along the Euphrates; they were overtaken by the diligence of the Musulmans; and wealthy must have been the prize, if twenty thousand drachms could be set apart for the fifth of the apostle. The resentment of the public and private loss stimulated Abu Sophian to collect a body of three thousand men, seven hundred of whom were armed with cuirasses, and two hundred were mounted on horseback; three thousand camels attended his march; and his wife Henda, with fifteen matrons of Mecca, incessantly sounded their timbrels to animate the troops, and to magnify the greatness of Hobal, the most popular deity of the Caaba. The standard of God and Mahomet was upheld by nine hundred and fifty believers; the disproportion of numbers was not more alarming than in the field of Beder; and their presumption of victory prevailed against the divine and human sense of the apostle. The second battle was fought on mount Ohud, six miles to the north of Medina;[141] the Koreish advanced in the form of a crescent; and the right wing of cavalry was led by Caled, the fiercest and most successful of the Arabian warriors. The troops of Mahomet were skilfully posted on the declivity of the hill; and their rear was guarded by a detachment of fifty archers. The weight of their charge impelled and broke the centre of the idolaters; but in the pursuit they lost the advantage of their ground; the archers deserted their station; the Musulmans were tempted by the spoil, disobeyed their general, and disordered their ranks. The intrepid Caled, wheeling his cavalry on their flank and rear, exclaimed with a loud voice, that Mahomet was slain. He was indeed wounded in the face with a javelin; two of his teeth were shattered with a stone; yet, in the midst of tumult and dismay, he reproached the infidels with the murder of a prophet; and blessed the friendly hand that staunched his blood and conveyed him to a place of safety. Seventy martyrs died for the sins of the people; they fell, said the apostle, in pairs, each brother embracing his lifeless companion;[142] their bodies were mangled by the inhuman females of Mecca; and the wife of Abu Sophian tasted the entrails of Hamza, the uncle of Mahomet. They might applaud their superstition and satiate their fury; but the Musulmans

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[138] Beder Houneene, twenty miles from Medina and forty from Mecca, is o the high road of the caravan of Egypt; and the pilgrims annually commemorat the prophet's victory by illuminations, rockets, &c. Shaw's Travels, p. 477.

[139] The place to which Mahomet retired during the action is styled by Gagnie (in Abulfeda, c. 27, p. 58; Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 30, 33), *umbraculum*, *u loge de bois avec une porte.* The same Arabic word is rendered by Reiske (Annal Moslemici Abulfedæ, p. 23) by *solium*, *suggestus editior;* and the difference is the utmost moment for the honour both of the interpreter and of the hero. I a sorry to observe the pride and acrimony with which Reiske chastises his fello labourer. Sæpe sic vertit, ut integræ paginæ nequeant nisi unâ liturâ corrig Arabice non satis callebat et carebat judicio critico. J. J. Reiske, Prodidagma ad Hagji Chalisæ Tabulas, p. 228, ad calcem Abulfedæ Syriæ Tabulæ; Lipsi 1766, in 4to. [The place in question was a hut of palm branches, in whi Mohammad and Abū Bekr slept on the night before the battle. Mohammad pr bably took no part in the fighting, but directed and incited his men. He was n remarkable for physical courage, and never exposed himself needlessly to dange

[140] The loose expressions of the Koran (c. 3, p. 124, 125; c. 8, p. 9) allow t commentators to fluctuate between the numbers of 1000, 3000, or 9000 angels; a the smallest of these might suffice for the slaughter of seventy of the Kore (Maracci, Alcoran, tom. ii. p. 131). Yet the same scholiasts confess that t angelic band was not visible to any mortal eye (Maracci, p. 297). They refine the words (c. 8, 16), "not thou, but God," &c. (D'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orienta p. 600, 601).

of Ohud.
A.D. 623
[625, Jan.]

[Khalid]

[one tooth]

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[141] Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 47. [The disproportion of numbers at Ohud was rather greater than at Bedr. At Bedr it was 305 to 950; at Ohud 700 to 3000 (for 300 of the thousand followers with whom Mohammad started had turned back before the battle).]

[142] In the iiid chapter of the Koran (p. 50-53, with Sale's notes) the prophet alleges some poor excuses for the defeat of Ohud.

soon rallied in the field, and the Koreish wanted strength or courage to undertake the siege of Medina. It was attacked the ensuing year by an army of ten thousand enemies; and this third expedition is variously named from the *nations*, which marched under the banner of Abu Sophian, from the *ditch* which was drawn before the city, and a camp of three thousand Musulmans. The prudence of Mahomet declined a general engagement; the valour of Ali was signalised in single combat; and the war was protracted twenty days, till the final separation of the confederates. A tempest of wind, rain, and hail overturned their tents; their private quarrels were fomented by an insidious adversary; and the Koreish, deserted by their allies, no longer hoped to subvert the throne, or to check the conquests, of their invincible exile.[143]

The nations, or the ditch. A.D. 625 [627]

Mahomet subdues the Jews of Arabia. A.D. 623-627

The choice of Jerusalem for the first kebla of prayer discovers the early propensity of Mahomet in favour of the Jews; and happy would it have been for their temporal interest, had they recognised, in the Arabian prophet, the hope of Israel and the promised Messiah. Their obstinacy converted his friendship into implacable hatred, with which he pursued that unfortunate people to the last moment of his life; and, in the double character of an apostle and a conqueror, his persecution was extended to both worlds.[144] The Kainoka dwelt at Medina, under the protection of the city: he seized the occasion of an accidental tumult, and summoned them to embrace his religion or contend with him in battle. "Alas," replied the trembling Jews, "we are ignorant of the use of arms, but we persevere in the faith and worship of our fathers: why wilt thou reduce us to the necessity of a just defence?" The unequal conflict was terminated in fifteen days; and it was with extreme reluctance that Mahomet yielded to the importunity of his allies and consented to spare the lives of the captives. But their riches were confiscated; their arms became more effectual in the hands of the Musulmans; and a wretched colony of seven hundred exiles was driven with their wives and children to implore a refuge on the confines of Syria. The Nadhirites were more [Banu Nadir] guilty, since they conspired in a friendly interview to assassinate the prophet. He besieged their castle three miles from Medina, but their resolute defence obtained an honourable capitulation; [A.D. 625] and the garrison, sounding their trumpets and beating their drums, was permitted to depart with the honours of war. The Jews had excited and joined the war of the Koreish: no sooner had the *nations* retired from the *ditch*, than Mahomet, without laying aside his armour, marched on the same day to extirpate the hostile race of the children of Koraidha.[144a] After a resist- [A.D. 627] ance of twenty-five days, they surrendered at discretion. They trusted to the intercession of their old allies of Medina; they could not be ignorant that fanaticism obliterates the feelings of humanity. A venerable elder, to whose judgment they appealed, pronounced the sentence of their death: seven hundred Jews were dragged in chains to the market-place of the city; they descended alive into the grave prepared for their execution and burial; and the apostle beheld with an inflexible eye the slaughter of his helpless enemies. Their sheep and camels were inherited by the Musulmans; three hundred cuirasses, five hundred pikes, a thousand lances, composed the most useful portion of the spoil. Six days' journey to the north-east of Medina, the ancient and wealthy town of Chaibar was the seat of the Jewish power in Arabia; the territory, a fertile spot in the desert, was covered with plantations and cattle, and protected by eight castles, some of which were esteemed of impregnable strength. The forces of Mahomet consisted of two hundred [A.D 628, autumn] horse and fourteen hundred foot: in the succession of eight regular and painful sieges, they were exposed to danger, and fatigue, and hunger; and the most undaunted chiefs despaired of the event. The apostle revived their faith and courage by the example of Ali, on whom he bestowed the surname of the Lion of God: perhaps we may believe that an Hebrew champion of gigantic stature was cloven to the chest by his irresistible scymetar; but we cannot praise the modesty of romance, which represents him as tearing from its hinges the gate of a fortress and wielding the ponderous buckler in his left hand.[145] After the reduction of the castles, the town of

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[143] For the detail of the three Koreish wars, of Beder, of Ohud, and of the ditch, peruse Abulfeda (p. 56-61, 64-69, 73-77), Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 23-45, 70-96, 120-139), with the proper articles of d'Herbelot, and the abridgments of Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 6, 7) and Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 102). [And for Bedr, the 8th Sūra of the Koran is a most important source. Gibbon misdates the siege of Medina, which belongs to March, A.D. 627.]

[144] The wars of Mahomet against the Jewish tribes of Kainoka, the Nadhirites, Koraidha, and Chaibar, are related by Abulfeda (p. 61, 71, 77, 87, &c.) and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 61-65, 107-112, 139-148, 268-294).

[144a] [On the siege of Medina and the destruction of the Kuraidha see Sūra 33.]

[145] Abu Rafe, the servant of Mahomet, is said to affirm that he himself, and seven other men, afterwards tried, without success, to move the same gate from the ground (Abulfeda, p. 90). Abu Rafe was an eye-witness, but who will be witness for Abu Rafe?

Chaibar submitted to the yoke. The chief of the tribe was tortured in the presence of Mahomet, to force a confession of his hidden treasure; the industry of the shepherds and husbandmen was rewarded with a precarious toleration; they were permitted, so long as it should please the conqueror, to improve their patrimony, in equal shares, for *his* emolument and their own. Under the reign of Omar, the Jews of Chaibar were transplanted to Syria; and the caliph alleged the injunction of his dying master, that one and the true religion should be professed in his native land of Arabia.[146]

Submission of Mecca. A.D. [630]

Five times each day the eyes of Mahomet were turned towards Mecca,[147] and he was urged by the most sacred and powerful motives to revisit, as a conqueror, the city and the temple from whence he had been driven as an exile. The Caaba was present to his waking and sleeping fancy; an idle dream was translated into vision and prophecy; he unfurled the holy banner; and a rash promise of success too hastily dropped from the lips of the apostle. His march from Medina to Mecca displayed the peaceful and solemn pomp of a pilgrimage: seventy camels, chosen and bedecked for sacrifice, preceded the van; the sacred territory was respected, and the captives were dismissed without ransom to proclaim his clemency and devotion. But no sooner did Mahomet descend into the plain, within a day's journey of the city, than he exclaimed, "They have clothed themselves with the skins of tigers"; the numbers and resolution of the Koreish opposed his progress; and the roving Arabs of the desert might desert or betray a leader whom they had followed for the hopes of spoil. The intrepid fanatic sunk into a cool and cautious politician: he waived in the treaty his title of apostle of God, concluded with the Koreish and their allies a truce of ten years, engaged to restore the fugitives of Mecca who should embrace his religion, and stipulated only, for the ensuing year, the humble privilege of entering the city as a friend and of remaining three days to accomplish the rites of the pilgrimage.[148] A cloud o shame and sorrow hung on the retreat of the Musulmans, and

[Treaty of Hudaibiya A.D. 628, March]

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[146] The banishment of the Jews is attested by Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 9) an the great Al Tabari (Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 285). Yet Niebuhr (Description d l'Arabie, p. 324) believes that the Jewish religion, and Kareite sect, are still pro fessed by the tribe of Chaibar; and that in the plunder of the caravans th disciples of Moses are the confederates of those of Mahomet.

[147] The successive steps of the reduction of Mecca are related by Abulfeda (p 84-87, 97-100, 102-111), and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 209-245, 309-322, tom. iii. p. 1-58 Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 8, 9, 10), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 103).

[148] [For a translation of the treaty see Appendix 19.]

their disappointment might justly accuse the failure of a prophet who had so often appealed to the evidence of success. The faith and hope of the pilgrims were rekindled by the prospect of Mecca; their swords were sheathed; seven times in the footsteps of the apostle they encompassed the Caaba; the Koreish had retired to the hills, and Mahomet, after the customary sacrifice, evacuated the city on the fourth day. [A.D. 629] The people was edified by his devotion; the hostile chiefs were awed, or divided, or seduced; and both Caled and Amrou, the future conquerors of Syria and Egypt, most seasonably deserted the sinking cause of idolatry.[149] [Khalid; Amr] The power of Mahomet was increased by the submission of the Arabian tribes: ten thousand soldiers were assembled for the conquest of Mecca, and the idolaters, the weaker party, were easily [Jan., A.D. 630] convicted of violating the truce. Enthusiasm and discipline impelled the march and preserved the secret, till the blaze of ten thousand fires proclaimed to the astonished Koreish the design, the approach, and the irresistible force of the enemy. The haughty Abu Sophian presented the keys of the city; admired the variety of arms and ensigns that passed before him in review; observed that the son of Abdallah had acquired a mighty kingdom; and confessed, under the scymetar of Omar, that he was the apostle of the true God. The return of Marius and Sylla was stained with the blood of the Romans; the revenge of Mahomet was stimulated by religious zeal, and his injured followers were eager to execute or to prevent the order of a massacre. Instead of indulging their passions and his own,[150] the victorious exile forgave the guilt, and united the factions, of Mecca. His troops in three divisions marched into the city; eight and twenty of the inhabitants were slain by the sword of Caled; eleven men and six women were proscribed by the sentence of Mahomet; [four women but he blamed the cruelty of his lieutenant; and several of the most obnoxious victims were indebted for their lives to his clemency or contempt. The chiefs of the Koreish were prostrate at his feet. "What mercy can you expect from the man whom you have wronged?" "We confide in the generosity of our kinsman." "And you shall not confide in vain: Begone! you are safe, you are free." The people of Mecca deserved their pardon by the profession of Islam; and, after an exile of seven years, the fugitive missionary was enthroned as the prince and prophet of his native country.[151] But the three hundred and sixty idols of the Caaba were ignominiously broken;[152] the house of God was purified and adorned; as an example to future times, the apostle again fulfilled the duties of a pilgrim; and a perpetual law was enacted that no unbeliever should dare to set his foot on the territory of the holy city.[153]

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[149] [Othmān also joined Mohammad at this juncture. It seems probable that Abū Sofyān was in collusion with Mohammad. See Muir, Life of Mahomet, p. 392.]

[150] After the conquest of Mecca, the Mahomet of Voltaire imagines and perpetrates the most horrid crimes. The poet confesses that he is not supported by the truth of history, and can only allege que celui qui fait la guerre à sa patrie au nom de Dieu est capable de tout (Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xv. p. 282). The maxim is neither charitable or philosophic; and some reverence is surely due to the fame of heroes and the religion of nations. I am informed that a Turkish ambassador at Paris was much scandalized at the representation of this tragedy. [Of the proscribed persons, only four were put to death.]

Conquest of Arabia. A.D. 629-632

The conquest of Mecca determined the faith and obedience of the Arabian tribes;[154] who, according to the vicissitudes of fortune, had obeyed or disregarded the eloquence or the arms of the prophet. Indifference for rites and opinions still marks the character of the Bedoweens; and they might accept, as loosely as they hold, the doctrine of the Koran. Yet an obstinate remnant still adhered to the religion and liberty of their ancestors, and the war of Honain derived a proper appellation from the *idols*, whom Mahomet had vowed to destroy, and whom the confederates of Tayef had sworn to defend.[155] Four thousand Pagans advanced with secrecy and speed to surprise the conqueror; they pitied and despised the supine negligence of the Koreish, but they depended on the wishes, and perhaps the aid, of a people who had so lately renounced their gods and bowed beneath the yoke of their enemy. The banners of Medina and Mecca were displayed by the prophet; a crowd of Bedoweens increased the strength or numbers of the army, and twelve thousand Musulmans entertained a rash and sinful presumption of their invincible strength. They descended without precaution into the [A.D. 630 Feb. 1] valley of Honain; the heights had been occupied by the archers and slingers of the confederates; their numbers were oppressed, their discipline was confounded, their courage was appalled, and the Koreish smiled at their impending destruction. The prophet, on his white mule, was encompassed by the enemies; he attempted to rush against their spears in search of a glorious death; ten of his faithful companions interposed their weapons and their breasts; three of these fell dead at his feet. "O my brethren," he repeatedly cried with sorrow and indignation, "I am the son of Abdallah, I am the apostle of truth! O man, stand fast in the faith! O God, send down thy succour!" His uncle Abbas, who, like the heroes of Homer, excelled in the loudness of his voice, made the valley resound with the recital of the gifts and promises of God; the flying Moslems returned from all sides to the holy standard; and Mahomet observed with pleasure that the furnace was again rekindled; his conduct and example restored the battle, and he animated his victorious troops to inflict a merciless revenge on the authors of their shame. From the field of Honain he marched without delay to the siege of Tayef, [Taïf] sixty miles to the south-east of Mecca, a fortress of strength, whose fertile lands produce the fruits of Syria in the midst of the Arabian desert. A friendly tribe, instructed (I know not how) in the art of sieges, supplied him with a train of battering-rams and military engines, with a body of five hundred artificers. But it was in vain that he offered freedom to the slaves of Tayef; that he violated his own laws by the extirpation of the fruit-trees; that the ground was opened by the miners; that the breach was assaulted by the troops. After a siege of twenty days, the prophet sounded a retreat; but he retreated with a song of devout triumph, and affected to pray for the repentance and safety of the unbelieving city. The spoil of this fortunate expedition amounted

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[151] The Mahometan doctors still dispute whether Mecca was reduced by force or consent (Abulfeda, p. 107, et Gagnier ad locum); and this verbal controversy is of as much moment as our own about William the *Conqueror*.

[152] [The rites, however, of the old cult were retained.]

[153] In excluding the Christians from the peninsula of Arabia, the province of Hejaz, or the navigation of the Red Sea, Chardin (Voyages on Perses, tom. iv. p. 166) and Reland (Dissert. Miscell. tom. iii. p. 51) are more rigid than the Musulmans themselves. The Christians are received without scruple into the ports of Mocha, and even of Gedda, and it is only the city and precincts of Mecca that are inaccessible to the profane (Niebuhr, Description de l'Arabie, p. 308, 309. Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 205, 248, &c.).

[154] Abulfeda, p. 112-115. Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 67-88. D'Herbelot, MOHAMMED. [The results of the conquest of Mecca, and the policy of Mohammad towards the Koraish, have been excellently summed up by Wellhausen: "The fall of Mecca reacted powerfully on the future of Islam. Again the saying came true: *victa victores cepit*; the victory of the Moslems over the Koraish shaped itself into a domination of the Koraish over the Moslems. For this the Prophet himself was to blame. In making Mecca the Jerusalem of Islam, he was ostensibly moved by religious motives, but in reality Mohammed's religion had nothing to do with the heathenish usages at the Kaaba and the Great Feast. To represent Abraham as the founder of the ritual was merely a pious fraud. What Mohammed actually sought was to recommend Islam to Arabic prejudices by incorporating this fragment of heathenism, and at the same time he was influenced by local patriotism. Henceforth these local feelings became quite the mainspring of his conduct; his attitude to the Koraish was determined entirely by the spirit of clannishness" (Encycl. Britann., art. Mohammedanism).]

[155] The siege of Tayef, division of the spoil, &c. are related by Abulfeda (p 117-123) and Gagnier (tom. iii. p. 88-111). It is Al Jannabi who mentions th

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engines and engineers of the tribe of Daws. The fertile spot of Tayef was supposed to be a piece of the land of Syria detached and dropped in the general deluge.

to six thousand captives, twenty-four thousand camels, forty thousand sheep, and four thousand ounces of silver; a tribe who had fought at Honain, redeemed their prisoners by the sacrifice of their idols; but Mahomet compensated the loss by resigning to the soldiers his fifth of the plunder, and wished for their sake that he possessed as many head of cattle as there were trees in the province of Tehama. Instead of chastising the disaffection of the Koreish, he endeavoured to cut out their tongues (his own expression) and to secure their attachment by a superior measure of liberality: Abu Sophian alone was presented with three hundred camels and twenty ounces of silver; and Mecca was sincerely converted to the profitable religion of the Koran.

The *fugitives* and *auxiliaries* complained that they who had borne the burthen were neglected in the season of victory.[155a] "Alas," replied their artful leader, "suffer me to conciliate these recent enemies, these doubtful proselytes, by the gift of some perishable goods. To your guard I entrust my life and fortunes. You are the companions of my exile, of my kingdom, of my paradise." He was followed by the deputies of Tayef, who dreaded the repetition of a siege. "Grant us, O apostle of God! a truce of three years, with the toleration of our ancient worship." "Not a month, not an hour." "Excuse us at least from the obligation of prayer." "Without prayer religion is of no avail." They submitted in silence; their temples were demolished, and the same sentence of destruction was executed on all the idols of Arabia. His lieutenants, on the shores of the Red Sea, the Ocean, and the Gulf of Persia, were saluted by the acclamations of a faithful people; and the ambassadors who knelt before the throne of Medina were as numerous (says the Arabian proverb) as the dates that fall from the maturity of a palm-tree. The nation submitted to the God and the sceptre of Mahomet; the opprobrious name of tribute was abolished; the spontaneous or reluctant oblations of alms and tithes were applied to the service of religion; and one hundred and fourteen thousand Moslems accompanied the last pilgrimage of the apostle.[156]

[December, A.D. 630]

First war of the Mahometans against the Roman empire

When Heraclius returned in triumph from the Persian war, he entertained, at Emesa, one of the ambassadors of Mahomet, who invited the princes and nations of the earth to the profession of Islam. On this foundation the zeal of the Arabians A.D. 629, 630 has supposed the secret conversion of the Christian emperor; the vanity of the Greeks has feigned a personal visit to the prince of Medina, who accepted from the royal bounty a rich domain and a secure retreat in the province of Syria.[157] But the friendship of Heraclius and Mahomet was of short continuance: the new religion had inflamed rather than assuaged the rapacious spirit of the Saracens; and the murder of an envoy afforded a decent pretence for invading, with three thousand soldiers, the territory of Palestine that extends to the eastward of the Jordan. The holy banner was entrusted to Zeid; and such was the discipline or enthusiasm of the rising sect that the noblest chiefs served without reluctance under the slave of the prophet. On the event of his decease, Jaafar and Abdallah were successively substituted to the command; and, if the three should perish in the war, the troops were authorised to elect their general. The three leaders were slain in the battle of [Autumn A.D. 629] Muta,[158] the first military action which tried the valour of the Moslems against a foreign enemy. Zeid fell, like a soldier, in the foremost ranks; the death of Jaafar was heroic and memorable: he lost his right hand; he shifted the standard to his left; the left was severed from his body; he embraced the standard with his bleeding stumps, till he was transfixed to the ground with fifty honourable wounds. "Advance," cried Abdallah, who stepped into the vacant place, "advance with confidence: either victory or paradise is our own." The lance of a Roman decided the alternative; but the falling standard was rescued by Caled, the proselyte of Mecca: nine swords were broken in his hand; and his valour withstood and repulsed the superior numbers of the Christians. In the nocturnal council of the camp he was chosen to command: his skilful evolutions of the ensuing day secured either the victory or the retreat of the Saracens; and Caled is renowned among his brethren and his enemies by the glorious appellation of the *Sword of God.* [Saif-Allah] In the pulpit, Mahomet described, with prophetic rapture, the crowns of the blessed martyrs; but in private he betrayed the feelings of human nature; he was surprised as he wept over the daughter of Zeid. "What do I see?" said the astonished votary. "You see," replied the apostle, "a friend who is deploring the loss of his most faithful friend." After the conquest of Mecca the sovereign of Arabia affected to prevent the hostile preparations of Heraclius; and solemnly proclaimed war against the Romans, without attempting to disguise the hardships and dangers of the enterprise.[159] The Moslems were discouraged: they alleged the want of money, or horses, or provisions; the season of harvest, and the intolerable heat of the summer: "Hell is much hotter," said the indignant prophet. He disdained to compel their service; but on his return he admonished the most guilty by an excommunication of fifty days. Their desertion enhanced the merit of Abubeker, Othman, and the faithful companions who devoted their lives and fortunes; and Mahomet displayed his banner at the head of ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. Painful indeed was the [Oct. A.D. 630] distress of the march; lassitude and thirst were aggravated by the scorching and pestilential winds of the desert; ten men rode by turns on the same camel; and they were reduced to the shameful necessity of drinking the water from the belly of that useful animal. In the midway, ten days' journey from Medina and Damascus, they reposed near the grove and fountain of Tabuc. Beyond that place, Mahomet declined the prosecution of the war; he declared himself satisfied with the peaceful intentions, he was more probably daunted by the martial array, of the emperor of the East. But the active and intrepid Caled spread around the terror of his name; and the prophet received the submission of the tribes and cities from the Euphrates to Ailah at the head of the Red Sea. To his Christian subjects Mahomet readily granted the security of their persons, the freedom of their trade, the property of their goods, and the toleration of their worship.[160] The weakness of their Arabian brethren had estrained them from opposing his ambition; the disciples of 'esus were endeared to the enemy of the Jews; and it was the nterest of a conqueror to propose a fair capitulation to the most owerful religion of the earth.

[155a] [For this incident see Sūra 9; and Muir, Life of Mahomet, ed. 3, p. 408-9.]

[156] The last conquests and pilgrimage of Mahomet are contained in Abulfeda (p. 121-133), Gagnier (tom. iii. p. 119-219), Elmacin (p. 10, 11), Abulpharagius (p. 103). The ixth of the Hegira was styled the Year of Embassies (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121).

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[157] Compare the bigoted Al Jannabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 232-255) with the no less bigoted Greeks, Theophanes (p. 276-278 [ad. A.M. 6122]), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 86 [c. 17]), and Cedrenus (p. 421 [i. p. 737, ed. Bonn]).

[158] For the battle of Muta and its consequences, see Abulfeda (p. 100-102), and Gagnier (tom. ii. p. 327-343). Χάλεδος (says Theophanes [ad. A.M. 6123]) ὃν λέγουσι [τὴν] μάχαιραν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

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[159] The expedition of Tabuc is recorded by our ordinary historians, Abulfeda (Vit. Moham. p. 123-127) and Gagnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 147-163); but we have the advantage of appealing to the original evidence of the Koran (c. 9, p. 154, 165), with Sale's learned and rational notes.

[160] The *Diploma securitatis Ailensibus* is attested by Ahmed Ben Joseph, and the author *Libri Splendorum* (Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfedam, p. 125); but Abulfeda himself, as well as Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 11), though he owns Mahomet's regard for the Christians (p. 13), only mentions peace and tribute. In the year 1630, Sionita published at Paris the text and version of Mahomet's patent in favour of the Christians; which was admitted and reprobated by the opposite taste of Salmasius and Grotius (Bayle, MAHOMET, Rem. AA). Hottinger doubts of its authenticity (Hist. Orient. p. 237); Renaudot urges the consent of the Mahometans

Death of Mahomet. A.D. 632, June 7 [8]

Till the age of sixty-three years, the strength of Mahomet vas equal to the temporal and spiritual fatigues of his mission. His epileptic fits, an absurd calumny of the Greeks, would e an object of pity rather than abhorrence;[161] but he seri- usly believed that he was poisoned at Chaibar by the revenge f a Jewish female.[162] During four years, the health of the rophet declined; his infirmities increased; but his mortal isease was a fever of fourteen days, which deprived him by in- ervals of the use of reason. As soon as he was conscious of his langer, he edified his brethren by the humility of his virtue or enitence. "If there be any man," said the apostle from the ulpit, "whom I have unjustly scourged, I submit my own back o the lash of retaliation. Have I aspersed the reputation of a Iusulman? let him proclaim *my* faults in the face of the con- regation. Has any one been despoiled of his goods? the little hat I possess shall compensate the principal and the interest of he debt." "Yes," replied a voice from the crowd, "I am en- itled to three drachms of silver." Mahomet heard the complaint, atisfied the demand, and thanked his creditor for accusing him n this world rather than at the day of judgment. He beheld vith temperate firmness the approach of death; enfranchised is slaves (seventeen men, as they are named, and eleven women);

Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 169); but Mosheim (Hist. Eccles. p. 244) shews the itility of their opinion, and inclines to believe it spurious. Yet Abulpharagius uotes the impostor's treaty with the Nestorian patriarch (Asseman. Bibliot.)rient. tom. ii. p. 418); but Abulpharagius was primate of the Jacobites. [For e treaty with the prince and people of Aila, which is doubtless genuine, see ppendix 19.]

[161] The epilepsy, or falling-sickness, of Mahomet, is asserted by Theophanes, onaras, and the rest of the Greeks; and is greedily swallowed by the gross bigotry f Hottinger (Hist. Orient. p. 10, 11), Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 12), and Iaracci (tom. ii. Alcoran, p. 762, 763). The titles (*the wrapped up, the covered*) of vo chapters of the Koran (73, 74) can hardly be strained to such an interpretation; e silence, the ignorance of the Mahometan commentators is more conclusive than e most peremptory denial; and the charitable side is espoused by Ockley (Hist. f the Saracens, tom. i. p. 301), Gagnier (ad Abulfedam, p. 9, Vie de Mahomet, tom. p. 118), and Sale (Koran, p. 469-474). [Mohammad seems to have suffered from ysteria (an affection which, as is now established, is not confined to women and is erefore miscalled), which when acute produced catalepsy. Sprenger has a long apter on the subject, Leben und Lehre des Mohammad. vol. i. c. 3, p. 207 *sqq.*]

[162] This poison (more ignominious since it was offered as a test of his prophetic nowledge) is frankly confessed by his zealous votaries, Abulfeda (p. 92) and Al nnabi (apud Gagnier, tom. ii. p. 286-288).

minutely directed the order of his funeral; and moderated the lamentations of his weeping friends, on whom he bestowed the benediction of peace. Till the third day before his death, he regularly performed the function of public prayer. The choice of Abubeker to supply his place appeared to mark that ancient and faithful friend as his successor in the sacerdotal and regal office; but he prudently declined the risk and envy of a more explicit nomination. At a moment when his faculties were visibly impaired, he called for pen and ink, to write, or more properly to dictate, a divine book, the sum and accomplishment of all his revelations: a dispute arose in the chamber whether he should be allowed to supersede the authority of the Koran; and the prophet was forced to reprove the indecent vehemence of his disciples. If the slightest credit may be afforded to the traditions of his wives and companions, he maintained in the bosom of his family, and to the last moments of his life, the dignity of an apostle and the faith of an enthusiast; described the visits of Gabriel, who bid an everlasting farewell to the earth, and expressed his lively confidence not only of the mercy, but of the favour, of the Supreme Being. In a familiar discourse he had mentioned his special prerogative, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the prophet. The request was granted; and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of his dissolution: his head was reclined on the lap of Ayesha, the best beloved of all his wives; he fainted with the violence of pain; recovering his spirits, he raised his eyes towards the roof of the house, and, with a steady look, though a faltering voice, uttered the last broken, though articulate, words: "O God! . . . pardon my sins . . . Yes, . . . I come, . . . among my fellow-citizens on high;" and thus peaceably expired on a carpet spread upon the floor. An expedition for the conquest of Syria was stopped by this mournful event; the army halted at the gates of Medina; the chiefs were assembled round their dying master. The city, more especially the house of the prophet, was a scene of clamorous sorrow, or silent despair: fanaticism alone could suggest a ray of hope and consolation. "How can he be dead, our witness, our intercessor, our mediator with God? By God, he is not dead; like Moses and Jesus, he is wrapt in a holy trance, and speedily will he return to his faithful people." The evidence of sense was disregarded; and Omar, unsheathing his scymetar, threatened to strike off the heads of the infidels who should dare to affirm that the prophet was no more. The tumult was ap-

[Monday, June 8]

peased by the weight and moderation of Abubeker. "Is it Mahomet," said he to Omar and the multitude, "or the God of Mahomet, whom you worship? The God of Mahomet liveth for ever, but the apostle was a mortal like ourselves, and, according to his own prediction, he has experienced the common fate of mortality." He was piously interred by the hands of his nearest kinsman, on the same spot on which he expired;[163] Medina has been sanctified by the death and burial of Mahomet; and the innumerable pilgrims of Mecca often turn aside from the way, to bow in voluntary devotion[164] before the simple tomb of the prophet.[165]

His charact

At the conclusion of the life of Mahomet, it may perhaps be expected that I should balance his faults and virtues, that I should decide whether the title of enthusiast or impostor more properly belongs to that extraordinary man. Had I been intimately conversant with the son of Abdallah, the task would still be difficult, and the success uncertain: at the distance of twelve centuries, I darkly contemplate his shade through a cloud of religious incense; and, could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, the fleeting resemblance would not equally apply to the solitary of mount Hera, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia. The author of a mighty revolution appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative disposition: so soon as marriage had raised him above the pressure of want, he avoided the paths of ambition and avarice; and, till the age of forty, he lived with innocence, and would have died without a name. The unity of God is an idea most congenial to nature and reason; and a slight conversation with the Jews and Christians would teach him to despise and detest the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man and a citizen to impart the doctrine of salvation, to rescue his country from the dominion of sin and error. The energy of a mind incessantly bent on the same object would convert a general obligation into a particular call; the warm suggestings of the understanding or the fancy would be felt as the inspirations of heaven; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and vision; and the inward sensation, the invisible monitor, would be described with the form and attributes of an angel of God.[166] From enthusiasm to imposture the step is perilous and slippery; the dæmon of Socrates[167] affords a memorable instance, how a wise man may deceive himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state between self-illusion and voluntary fraud. Charity may believe that the original motives of Mahomet were those of pure and genuine benevolence; but a human missionary is incapable of cherishing the obstinate unbelievers who reject his claims, despise his arguments, and persecute his life; he might forgive his personal adversaries, he may lawfully hate the enemies of God; the stern passions of pride and revenge were kindled in the bosom of Mahomet, and he sighed, like the prophet of Nineveh, for the destruction of the rebels whom he had condemned. The injustice of Mecca and the choice of Medina transformed the citizen into a prince, the humble preacher into the leader of armies; but his sword was consecrated by the example of the saints; and the same God who afflicts a sinful world with pestilence and earthquakes might inspire for their conversion or chastisement the valour of his servants. In the exercise of political government, he was compelled to abate of the stern rigour of fanaticism, to comply in some measure with the prejudices and passions of his followers, and to employ even the vices of mankind as the instruments of their salvation. The use of fraud and perfidy, of cruelty and injustice, were often subservient to the propagation of the faith; and Mahomet commanded or approved the assassination of the Jews and idolaters who had escaped from the field of battle. By the repetition of such acts, the character of Mahomet must have been gradually stained; and the influence of such pernicious habits would be poorly compensated by the practice of the personal and social virtues which are necessary to maintain the reputation of a prophet among his sectaries and friends. Of his last years, ambition was the ruling passion; and a politician will suspect that he secretly smiled (the victorious impostor!) at the enthusiasm of his youth and the credulity of his proselytes.[168] A philosopher will observe that *their* cruelty and *his* success would tend more strongly to fortify the assurance of his divine mission, that his interest and religion were inseparably connected, and that his conscience would be soothed by the persuasion that he alone was absolved by the Deity from the obligation of positive and moral laws. If he retained any vestige of his native innocence, the sins of Mahomet may be allowed as an evidence of his sincerity. In the support of truth, the arts of fraud and fiction may be deemed less criminal; and he would have started at the foulness of the means, had he not been satisfied of the importance and justice of the end. Even in a conqueror or a priest, I can surprise a word or action of unaffected humanity; and the decree of Mahomet that, in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from their children may suspend or moderate the censure of the historian.[169]

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[163] The Greeks and Latins have invented and propagated the vulgar and ridiculous story that Mahomet's iron tomb is suspended in the air at *Mecca* (σῆμα μετεωριζόμενον, Laonicus Chalcocondyles de Rebus Turcicis, l. iii. p. 66), by the action of equal and potent loadstones (Dictionnaire de Bayle, MAHOMET, Rem. EE, FF). Without any philosophical inquiries, it may suffice that, 1. The prophet was not buried at Mecca; and, 2. That his tomb at Medina, which has been visited by millions, is placed on the ground (Reland de Relig. Moham. l. ii. c. 19, p. 209-211; Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 263-268).

[164] Al Jannabi enumerates (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 372-391) the multifarious duties of a pilgrim who visits the tombs of the prophet and his companions; and the learned casuist decides that this act of devotion is nearest in obligation and merit to a divine precept. The doctors are divided, which, of Mecca and Medina, be the most excellent (p. 391-394).

[165] The last sickness, death, and burial of Mahomet are described by Abulfeda and Gagnier (Vit. Moham. p. 133-142, Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 220-271). The most private and interesting circumstances were originally received from Ayesha, Ali, the sons of Abbas, &c.; and, as they dwelt at Medina and survived the prophet many years, they might repeat the pious tale to a second or third generation of pilgrims.

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[166] The Christians, rashly enough, have assigned to Mahomet a tame pigeon, that seemed to descend from heaven and whisper in his ear. As this pretended miracle is urged by Grotius (de Veritate Religionis Christianæ), his Arabic translator, the learned Pocock, inquired of him the names of his authors; and Grotius confessed that it is unknown to the Mahometans themselves. Lest it should provoke their indignation and laughter, the pious *lie* is suppressed in the Arabic version; but it has maintained an edifying place in the numerous editions of the Latin text (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 186, 187. Reland, de Religion. Moham. l. ii. c. 39, p. 259-262).

[167] Ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρξάμενον, φωνή τις γιγνομένη ἣ ὅταν γένηται ἀεὶ ἀποτρέπει με τούτου ὃ ἂν μέλλω πράττειν, προτρέπει δὲ οὔποτε (Plato, in Apolog. Socrat. c. 19, p. 121, 122, edit. Fischer). The familiar examples, which Socrates urges in his Dialogue with Theages (Platon. Opera, tom. i. p. 128, 129, edit. Hen. Stephan.), are beyond the reach of human foresight; and the divine inspiration (the Δαιμόνιον) of the philosopher is clearly taught in the Memorabilia of Xenophon. The ideas of the most rational Platonists are expressed by Cicero (de Divinat. i. 54), and in the fourteenth and fifteenth Dissertations of Maximus of Tyre (p. 153-172, edit. Davis).

Private life of Mahomet

The good sense of Mahomet[170] despised the pomp of royalty;

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[168] In some passage of his voluminous writings, Voltaire compares the prophet, in his old age, to a fakir: "qui détache la chaîne de son cou pour en donner sur les oreilles à ses confrères".

[169] Gagnier relates, with the same impartial pen, this humane law of the prophet, and the murders of Caab, and Sophian, which he prompted and approved (Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 69, 97, 208).

[170] For the domestic life of Mahomet, consult Gagnier, and the corresponding chapters of Abulfeda, for his diet (tom. iii. p. 285-288), his children (p. 189, 289), his wives (p. 290-303), his marriage with Zeineb (tom. ii. p. 152-160), his amour with Mary (p. 303-309), the false accusation of Ayesha (p. 186-199). The most original evidence of the three last transactions is contained in the xxivth, xxxiiird and

the apostle of God submitted to the menial offices of the family; he kindled the fire, swept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and his woollen garment. Disdaining the penance and merit of a hermit, he observed, without effort or vanity, the abstemious diet of an Arab and a soldier. On solemn occasions, he feasted his companions with rustic and hospitable plenty; but in his domestic life many weeks would elapse without a fire being kindled on the hearth of the prophet. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example; his hunger was appeased with a sparing allowance of barley bread; he delighted in the taste of milk and honey; but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water. Perfumes and women were the two sensual enjoyments which his nature required and his religion did not forbid; and Mahomet affirmed that the fervour of his devotion was increased by these innocent pleasures. The heat of the climate inflames the blood of the Arabs; and their libidinous complexion has been noticed by the writers of antiquity.[171] Their incontinence was regulated by the civil and religious laws of the Koran; their incestuous alliances were blamed; the boundless licence of polygamy was reduced to four legitimate wives or concubines; their rights both of bed and of dowry were equitably determined; the freedom of divorce was discouraged, adultery was condemned as a capital offence, and fornication, in either sex, was punished with an hundred stripes.[172] Such were the calm and rational precepts of the legislator; but in his private conduct Mahomet indulged the appetites of a man and abused the claims of a prophet. A special revelation dispensed him from the laws which he had imposed on his nation; the female sex, without reserve, was abandoned to his desires; and this singular prerogative excited the envy, rather than the scandal, the veneration, rather than the envy, of the devout Musulmans. If we remember the seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines of the wise Solomon, we shall applaud the modesty of the Arabian, who espoused no more than seventeen or fifteen wives; eleven are enumerated who occupied at Medina

His wives

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lxvith chapters of the Koran, with Sale's Commentary. Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 80-90) and Maracci (Prodrom. Alcoran, part iv. p. 49-59) have maliciously exaggerated the frailties of Mahomet.

[171] Incredibile est quo ardore apud eos in Venerem uterque solvitur sexus (Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 4).

[172] Sale (Preliminary Discourse, p. 133-137) has recapitulated the laws of marriage, divorce, &c., and the curious reader of Selden's Uxor Hebraica will recognise many Jewish ordinances. [The statement in the text "four legitimate wives or concubines" is incorrect. There was no restriction as to the number of concubines.]

their separate apartments round the house of the apostle, and enjoyed in their turns the favour of his conjugal society. What is singular enough, they were all widows, excepting only Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker. *She* was doubtless a virgin, since Mahomet consummated his nuptials (such is the premature ripeness of the climate) when she was only nine years of age. The youth, the beauty, the spirit of Ayesha gave her a superior ascendant; she was beloved and trusted by the prophet; and, after his death, the daughter of Abubeker was long revered as the mother of the faithful. Her behaviour had been ambiguous and indiscreet; in a nocturnal march, she was accidentally left behind; and in the morning Ayesha returned to the camp with a man. The temper of Mahomet was inclined to jealousy; but a divine revelation assured him of her innocence: he chastised her accusers, and published a law of domestic peace that no woman should be condemned unless four male witnesses had seen her in the act of adultery.[173] In his adventures with Zeineb, the wife of Zeid, and with Mary, an Egyptian captive,[174] the amorous prophet forgot the interest of his reputation. At the house of Zeid, his freedman and adopted son, he beheld, in a loose undress, the beauty of Zeineb, and burst forth into an ejaculation of devotion and desire. The servile or grateful freedman understood the hint, and yielded, without hesitation, to the love of his benefactor. But, as the filial relation had excited some doubt and scandal, the angel Gabriel descended from heaven to ratify the deed, to annul the adoption, and gently to reprove the apostle for distrusting the indulgence of his God. One of his wives, Hafsa,[174a] the daughter of Omar, surprised him on her own bed in the embraces of his Egyptian captive; she promised secrecy and forgiveness; he swore that he would renounce the possession of Mary. Both parties forgot their engagements; and Gabriel again descended with a chapter of the Koran, to absolve him from his oath, and to exhort him freely to enjoy his captives and concubines without listening to the clamours of his wives. In a solitary retreat of thirty days, he laboured, alone with Mary, to fulfil the commands of the angel. When his love and revenge were satiated, he summoned to his presence his eleven wives, reproached their disobedience and indiscretion, and threatened them with a sentence of divorce both in this world and in the next: a dreadful sentence, since those who had ascended the bed of the prophet were for ever excluded from the hope of a second marriage. Perhaps the incontinence of Mahomet may be palliated by the tradition of his natural or preternatural gifts:[175] he united the manly virtue of thirty of the children of Adam; and the apostle might rival the thirteenth labour[176] of the Grecian Hercules.[177] A more serious and decent excuse may be drawn from his fidelity to Cadijah. During the twenty-four years of their marriage, her youthful husband abstained from the right of polygamy, and the pride or tenderness of the venerable matron was never insulted by the society of a rival. After her death he placed her in the rank of the four perfect women, with the sister of Moses, the mother of Jesus, and Fatima, the best beloved of his daughters. "Was she not old?" said Ayesha, with the insolence of a blooming beauty; "has not God given you a better in her place?" "No, by God," said Mahomet, with an effusion of honest gratitude, "there never can be a better! she believed in me, when men despised me; she relieved my wants, when I was poor and persecuted by the world."[178]

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[173] In a memorable case, the Caliph Omar decided that all presumptive evidence was of no avail; and that all the four witnesses must have actually seen stylum in pyxide (Abulfedæ, Annales Moslemici, p. 71, vers. Reiske).

[174] [A gift of the Copt Mokaukas; for whom see below, p. 448, and Appendix 20.]

[174a] [The editions give *Hafna*, which must have been originally a misprint.]

and children In the largest indulgence of polygamy, the founder of a religion and empire might aspire to multiply the chances of a numerous posterity and a lineal succession. The hopes of Mahomet were fatally disappointed. The virgin Ayesha, and his ten widows of mature age and approved fertility, were barren in his potent embraces. The four sons of Cadijah died in their infancy. Mary, his Egyptian concubine, was endeared to him by the birth of Ibrahim. At the end of fifteen months the prophet wept over his grave; but he sustained with firmness the raillery of his enemies, and checked the adulation or credulity of the Moslems, by the assurance that an eclipse of the sun was *not* occasioned by the death of the infant. Cadijah had likewise given him four daughters, who were married to the most faithful of his disciples; the three eldest died before their father; but Fatima, who possessed his confidence and love, became the wife of her cousin Ali and the mother of an illustrious progeny. The merit and misfortunes of Ali and his descendants will lead me to anticipate, in this place, the series of the Saracen caliphs, a title which describes the commanders of the faithful as the vicars and successors of the apostle of God.[179]

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[175] Sibi robur ad generationem, quantum triginta viri habent, inesse jactaret; ita ut unicâ horâ posset undecim feminis *satisfacere*, ut ex Arabum libris refert Stus. Petrus Paschasius, c. 2 (Maracci, Prodromus Alcoran, p. iv. p. 55. See likewise Observations de Belon, l. iii. c. 10, fol. 179, recto). Al Jannabi (Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 487) records his own testimony that he surpassed all men in conjugal vigour; and Abulfeda mentions the exclamation of Ali, who washed his body after his death, "O propheta, certe penis tuus cælum versus erectus est" (in Vit. Mohammed. p. 140).

[176] I borrow the style of a father of the church, ἐναθλεύων Ἡρακλῆς τρισκαιδέκατον ἆθλον (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 108 [Or. iv. c. 122; ap. Migne, Patr. Gr. 35, p. 661]).

[177] The common and most glorious legend includes, in a single night, the fifty victories of Hercules over the virgin daughters of Thestius (Diodor. Sicul. tom i. l. iv. p. 274 [c. 29; Diodorus does not say "in a single night"]; Pausanias, l. ix. p. 763 [c. 27, 6]; Statius Sylv. l. i. eleg. iii. v. 42). But Athenæus allows seven nights (Deipnosophist. l. xiii. p. 556 [c. 4]) and Apollodorus fifty, for this arduous achievement of Hercules, who was then no more than eighteen years of age (Bibliot. l. ii. c. 4, p. 111, cum notis Heyne, part i. p. 332).

[178] Abulfeda in Vit. Moham. p. 12, 13, 16, 17, cum notis Gagnier,

Character of Ali

The birth, the alliance, the character of Ali, which exalted him above the rest of his countrymen, might justify his claim to the vacant throne of Arabia. The son of Abu Taleb was, in his own right, the chief of the family of Hashem, and the hereditary prince or guardian of the city and temple of Mecca. The light of prophecy was extinct; but the husband of Fatima might expect the inheritance and blessing of her father; the Arabs had sometimes been patient of a female reign; and the two grandsons of the prophet had often been fondled in his lap and shown in his pulpit, as the hope of his age and the chief of the youth of paradise. The first of the true believers might aspire to march before them in this world and in the next; and, if some were of a graver and more rigid cast, the zeal and virtue of Ali were never outstripped by any recent proselyte. He united the qualifications of a poet, a soldier, and a saint; his wisdom still breathes in a collection of moral and religious sayings;[180] and every antagonist, in the combats of the tongue or of the sword, was subdued by his eloquence and valour.

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[179] This outline of the Arabian history is drawn from the Bibliothèque Orientale of d'Herbelot (under the names of *Aboubecre*, *Omar*, *Othman*, *Ali*, &c.), from the Annals of Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, and Elmacin (under the proper years of the *Hegira*), and especially from Ockley's History of the Saracens (vol. i. p. 1-10, 115-122, 229, 249, 363-372, 378-391, and almost the whole of the second volume). Yet we should weigh with caution the traditions of the hostile sects; a stream which becomes still more muddy as it flows farther from the source. Sir John Chardin has too faithfully copied the fables and errors of the modern Persians (Voyages, tom. ii. p. 235-250, &c.).

[180] Ockley (at the end of his second volume) has given an English version of 169 sentences, which he ascribes, with some hesitation, to Ali, the son of Abu Taleb. His preface is coloured by the enthusiasm of a translator; yet these sentences delineate a characteristic, though dark, picture of human life,

From the first hour of his mission to the last rites of his funeral, the apostle was never forsaken by a generous friend, whom he delighted to name his brother, his vicegerent, and the faithful Aaron of a second Moses. The son of Abu Taleb was afterwards reproached for neglecting to secure his interest by a solemn declaration of his right, which would have silenced all competition and sealed his succession by the decrees of heaven. But the unsuspecting hero confided in himself; the jealousy of empire, and perhaps the fear of opposition, might suspend the resolutions of Mahomet; and the bed of sickness was besieged by the artful Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker and the enemy of Ali.

Reign of Abubeker, A.D. 632, June 7 [8]

The silence and death of the prophet restored the liberty of the people; and his companions convened an assembly to deliberate on the choice of his successor. The hereditary claim and lofty spirit of Ali were offensive to an aristocracy of elders, desirous of bestowing and resuming the sceptre by a free and frequent election; the Koreish could never be reconciled to the proud pre-eminence of the line of Hashem; the ancient discord of the tribes was rekindled; the *fugitives* of Mecca and the *auxiliaries* of Medina asserted their respective merits; and the rash proposal of choosing two independent caliphs would have crushed, in their infancy, the religion and empire of the Saracens. The tumult was appeased by the disinterested resolution of Omar, who, suddenly renouncing his own pretensions, stretched forth his hand, and declared himself the first subject of the mild and venerable Abubeker. The urgency of the moment and the acquiescence of the people might excuse this illegal and precipitate measure; but Omar himself confessed from the pulpit that, if any Musulman should hereafter presume to anticipate the suffrage of his brethren, both the elector and the elected would be worthy of death.[181] After the simple inauguration of Abubeker, he was obeyed in Medina, Mecca, and the provinces of Arabia; the Hashemites alone declined the oath of fidelity; and their chief, in his own house, maintained, above six months, a sullen and independent reserve, without listening to the threats of Omar, who attempted to consume with fire the habitation of the daughter of the apostle. The death of Fatima and the decline of his party subdued the indignant spirit of Ali: he condescended to salute the commander of the faithful, accepted his excuse of the necessity of preventing their common enemies, and wisely rejected his courteous offer of abdicating the government of the Arabians. After a reign of two years, the aged caliph was summoned by [Aug. 22, A.D. 634] the angel of death. In his testament, with the tacit approbation of the companions, he bequeathed the sceptre to the firm and intrepid virtue of Omar. "I have no occasion," said the modest candidate, "for the place." "But the place has occasion for you," replied Abubeker; who expired with a fervent prayer that the God of Mahomet would ratify his choice and direct the of Omar, A.D. 634, July 24 [Aug. 23] Musulmans in the way of concord and obedience. The prayer was not ineffectual, since Ali himself, in a life of privacy and prayer, professed to revere the superior worth and dignity of his rival; who comforted him for the loss of empire by the most flattering marks of confidence and esteem. In the twelfth year [eleventh] of his reign, Omar received a mortal wound from the hand of an assassin; he rejected with equal impartiality the names of his son and of Ali, refused to load his conscience with the sins of his successor, and devolved on six of the most respectable companions the arduous task of electing a commander of the faithful. On this occasion Ali was again blamed by his friends[182] for submitting his right to the judgment of men, for recognising their jurisdiction by accepting a place among the six electors. He might have obtained their suffrage, had he deigned to promise a strict and servile conformity, not only to the Koran and tradition, but likewise to the determinations of two *seniors*.[183] With these limitations, Othman, the secretary of Mahomet, of Othman. A.D. 644, Nov. 6 [7] accepted the government; nor was it till after the third caliph, twenty-four years after the death of the prophet, that Ali was invested, by the popular choice, with the regal and sacerdotal office. The manners of the Arabians retained their primitive simplicity, and the son of Abu Taleb despised the pomp and vanity of this world. At the hour of prayer, he repaired to the mosch of Medina, clothed in a thin cotton gown, a coarse turban on his head, his slippers in one hand, and his bow in the other, instead of a walking staff. The companions of the prophet and the chiefs of the tribes saluted their new sovereign, and gave him their right hands as a sign of fealty and allegiance.

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[181] Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 5, 6), from an Arabian Ms., represents Ayesha as adverse to the substitution of her father in the place of the apostle. This fact, so improbable in itself, is unnoticed by Abulfeda, Al Jannabi, and Al Bochari; the last of whom quotes the tradition of Ayesha herself (Vit. Mohammed. p. 136. Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 236).

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[182] Particularly by his friend and cousin Abdallah, the son of Abbas, who died A.D. 687, with the title of grand doctor of the Moslems. In Abulfeda he recapitulated the important occasions in which Ali had neglected his salutary advice ([Ann. Mosl.] p. 76, vers. Reiske); and concludes (p. 85), O princeps fidelium, absque controversiâ tu quidem vere fortis es, at inops boni consilii et rerum gerendarum parum callens.

[183] I suspect that the two seniors (Abulpharagius, p. 115; Ockley, tom. i. p. 371) may signify not two actual counsellors, but his two predecessors, Abubeker and Omar. [Weil translates "the two Caliphs who preceded," Geschichte der Chalifen, i. 153.]

Discord of the Turks and Persians

The mischiefs that flow from the contests of ambition are usually confined to the times and countries in which they have been agitated. But the religious discord of the friends and enemies of Ali has been renewed in every age of the Hegira, and is still maintained in the immortal hatred of the Persians and Turks.[184] The former, who are branded with the appellation of *Shiites*, or sectaries, have enriched the Mahometan creed with a new article of faith; and, if Mahomet be the apostle, his companion Ali is the vicar, of God. In their private converse, in their public worship, they bitterly execrate the three usurpers who intercepted his indefeasible right to the dignity of Imam and Caliph; and the name of Omar expresses, in their tongue, the perfect accomplishment of wickedness and impiety.[185] The *Sonnites*, who are supported by the general consent and orthodox tradition of the Musulmans, entertain a more impartial, or at least a more decent, opinion. They respect the memory of Abubeker, Omar, Othman, and Ali, the holy and legitimate successors of the prophet. But they assign the last and most humble place to the husband of Fatima, in the persuasion that the order of succession was determined by the degrees of sanctity.[186] An historian who balances the four caliphs with a hand unshaken by superstition will calmly pronounce that their manners were alike pure and exemplary; that their zeal was fervent, and probably sincere; and that, in the midst of riches and power, their lives were devoted to the practice of moral and religious duties. But the public virtues of Abubeker and Omar, the prudence of the first, the severity of the second, maintained the peace and prosperity of their reigns. The feeble temper and declining age of Othmān were incapable of sustaining the weight of conquest and empire. He chose, and he was deceived; he trusted, and he was betrayed: the most deserving of the faithful became useless or hostile to his government, and his lavish bounty was productive only of ingratitude and discontent. The spirit of discord went forth in the provinces, their deputies assembled at Medina, and the Charegites,[187] the desperate fanatics who disclaimed the yoke of subordination and reason, were confounded among the free-born Arabs, who demanded the redress of their wrongs and the punishment of their oppressors. From Cufa, from Bassora, from Egypt,[188] from the tribes of the desert, they rose in arms, encamped about a league from Medina, and dispatched a haughty mandate to their sovereign, requiring him to execute justice or to descend from the throne. His repentance began to disarm and disperse the insurgents; but their fury was rekindled by the arts of his enemies; and the forgery of a perfidious secretary was contrived to blast his reputation and precipitate his fall.[189] The caliph had lost the only guard of his predecessors, the esteem and confidence of the Moslems: during a siege of six weeks his water and provisions were intercepted, and the feeble gates of the palace were protected only by the scruples of the more timorous rebels. Forsaken by those who had abused his simplicity, the helpless and venerable caliph expected the approach of death; the brother of Ayesha marched at the head

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[184] The schism of the Persians is explained by all our travellers of the last century, especially in the iid and ivth volumes of their master, Chardin. Niebuhr, though of inferior merit, has the advantage of writing so late as the year 1764 (Voyages en Arabie, &c. tom. ii. p. 208-233), since the ineffectual attempt of Nadir Shah to change the religion of the nation (see his Persian History, translated into French by Sir William Jones, tom. ii. p. 5, 6, 47, 48, 144-155).

[185] Omar is the name of the devil; his murderer is a saint. When the Persians shoot with the bow, they frequently cry, "May this arrow go to the heart of Omar!" (Voyage de Chardin, tom. ii. p. 239, 240, 259, &c.).

[186] This gradation of merit is distinctly marked in a creed illustrated by Reland (de Relig. Mohamm. l. i. p. 37), and a Sonnite argument inserted by Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, tom. ii. p. 230). The practice of cursing the memory of Ali was abolished, after forty years, by the Ommiades themselves (d'Herbelot, p. 690); and there are few among the Turks who presume to revile him as an infidel (Voyages de Chardin, tom. iv. p. 46).

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[187] [Khārijite means a "goer forth," seceder.]

[188] [The three bands of insurgents had different views as to the Succession. Those of Kūfa wished for Zobeir, Basra was for Talha, Egypt for Ali.]

[189] [There is a curious mystery about this forged document, which seems to deserve mention, at least in a note. When the insurgents failed to win over the people of Medina, and the candidates received their overtures coldly, they professed themselves content with Othmān's promises, and the three bands set forth for their respective homes. But they suddenly returned to Medina and presented a document with the caliph's seal, taken (they said) from one of his servants on the road to Egypt. The contents were an order that the rebels should be seized and punished. Othmān denied all knowledge of the document; but some of the rebels were admitted into the city to confront him, and this gave them the means of assassinating him. Now there is no doubt that the document bore the caliph's seal. But the objection (which was at once raised by Ali): If the messenger was caught on the road to Egypt, how was the news conveyed to the other bands so that they reappeared simultaneously? has not been answered; and the suspicion of collusion is very strong.]

Death of Othman. A.D. 655 [656], June 18 [17]

of the assassins ; and Othman, with the Koran in his lap, wa pierced with a multitude of wounds. A tumultuous anarchy c five days was appeased by the inauguration of Ali ; his refusa would have provoked a general massacre. In this painful situation he supported the becoming pride of the chief of th Hashemites ; declared that he had rather serve than reign ; rebuked the presumption of the strangers ; and required th formal, if not the voluntary, assent of the chiefs of the natio He has never been accused of prompting the assassin of Omar though Persia indiscreetly celebrates the festival of that hol martyr. The quarrel between Othman and his subjects wa assuaged by the early mediation of Ali ; and Hassan, the elde of his sons, was insulted and wounded in the defence of th caliph. Yet it is doubtful whether the father of Hassan wa strenuous and sincere in his opposition to the rebels ; and it certain that he enjoyed the benefit of their crime. The temptation was indeed of such magnitude as might stagger and corru the most obdurate virtue. The ambitious candidate no longe aspired to the barren sceptre of Arabia : the Saracens had bee victorious in the East and West ; and the wealthy kingdoms c Persia, Syria, and Egypt were the patrimony of the command of the faithful.

Reign of Ali. A.D. 655-660 [656-661]

A life of prayer and contemplation had not chilled th martial activity of Ali ; but in a mature age, after a long exper ence of mankind, he still betrayed in his conduct the rashne and indiscretion of youth. In the first days of his reign, h neglected to secure, either by gifts or fetters, the doubtful all giance of Telha and Zobeir, two of the most powerful of th Arabian chiefs. They escaped from Medina to Mecca, and fro thence to Bassora ; erected the standard of revolt ; and usurpe the government of Irak, or Assyria, which they had vainly sol cited as the reward of their services. The mask of patriotis is allowed to cover the most glaring inconsistencies ; and th enemies, perhaps the assassins, of Othman now demanded ve geance for his blood. They were accompanied in their flight b Ayesha, the widow of the prophet, who cherished, to the la hour of her life, an implacable hatred against the husband a the posterity of Fatima. The most reasonable Moslems we scandalized that the mother of the faithful should expose in camp her person and character ; but the superstitious crowd w confident that her presence would sanctify the justice, and assu the success, of their cause. At the head of twenty thousand his loyal Arabs and nine thousand valiant auxiliaries of Cufa, t caliph encountered and defeated the superior numbers of the rebels under the walls of Bassora. Their leaders, Telha and Zobeir, were slain in the first battle that stained with civil blood the arms of the Moslems. After passing through the ranks to animate the troops, Ayesha had chosen her post amidst the dangers of the field. In the heat of the action, seventy men who held the bridle of her camel were successively killed or wounded; and the cage or litter in which she sat was stuck with javelins and darts like the quills of a porcupine. The venerable captive sustained with firmness the reproaches of the conqueror, and was speedily dismissed to her proper station, at the tomb of Mahomet, with the respect and tenderness that was still due to the widow of the apostle. After this victory, which was styled the Day of the Camel, Ali marched against a more formidable adversary: against Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian, who had assumed the title of caliph, and whose claim was supported by the forces of Syria and the interest of the house of the Ommiyah. From the passage of Thapsacus, the plain of Siffin[190] extends along the western bank of the Euphrates. On this spacious and level theatre, the two competitors waged a desultory war of one hundred and ten days. In the course of ninety actions or skirmishes, the loss of Ali was estimated at twenty-five, that of Moawiyah at forty-five, thousand soldiers; and the list of the slain was dignified with the names of five and twenty veterans who had fought at Beder under the standard of Mahomet. In this sanguinary contest, the lawful caliph displayed a superior character of valour and humanity. His troops were strictly enjoined to await the first onset of the enemy, to spare their flying brethren, and to respect the bodies of the dead and the chastity of the female captives. He generously proposed to save the blood of the Moslems by a single combat; but his trembling rival declined the challenge as a sentence of inevitable death. The ranks of the Syrians were broken by the charge of a hero who was mounted on a piebald horse, and wielded with irresistible force his ponderous and two-edged sword. As often as he smote a rebel, he shouted the Allah Acbar, "God is victorious;" and in the tumult of a nocturnal battle he was heard to repeat four hundred times that tremendous exclamation. The prince of Damascus already meditated his flight, but the certain victory was snatched from the

[Omayya]

["God is most Great"]

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[190] The plain of Siffin is determined by d'Anville (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 29) to be the Campus Barbaricus of Procopius.

grasp of Ali by the disobedience and enthusiasm of his troops Their conscience was awed by the solemn appeal to the book of the Koran which Moawiyah exposed on the foremost lances and Ali was compelled to yield to a disgraceful truce and an insidious compromise. He retreated with sorrow and indignatio to Cufa; his party was discouraged; the distant provinces o Persia,[190a] of Yemen, and of Egypt were subdued or seduced b his crafty rival; and the stroke of fanaticism which was aime against the three chiefs of the nation was fatal only to th cousin of Mahomet. In the temple of Mecca, three Charegite or enthusiasts discoursed of the disorders of the church and state they soon agreed that the deaths of Ali, of Moawiyah, and o his friend Amrou, the viceroy of Egypt, would restore the peac and unity of religion. Each of the assassins chose his victim poisoned his dagger, devoted his life, and secretly repaired t the scene of action. Their resolution was equally desperate but the first mistook the person of Amrou and stabbed th deputy who occupied his seat; the prince of Damascus wa dangerously hurt by the second; the lawful caliph in the mosc of Cufa received a mortal wound from the hand of the third [Jan. 21, A.D. 661] He expired in the sixty-third year of his age, and mercifull recommended to his children that they would dispatch th murderer by a single stroke. The sepulchre of Ali[191] was concealed from the tyrants of the house of Ommiyah;[192] but, i the fourth age of the Hegira, a tomb, a temple, a city, aros near the ruins of Cufa.[193] Many thousands of the Shiites repos in holy ground at the feet of the vicar of God; and the desert i vivified by the numerous and annual visits of the Persians, wh esteem their devotion not less meritorious than the pilgrimag of Mecca.

Reign of Moawiyah. A.D. 655, or [illegible]

The persecutors of Mahomet usurped the inheritance of hi children; and the champions of idolatry became the suprem heads of his religion and empire. The opposition of Abu Sophian had been fierce and obstinate; his conversion was tardy and reluctant: his new faith was fortified by necessity and interest; he served, he fought, perhaps he believed; and the sins of the time of ignorance were expiated by the recent merits of the family of Ommiyah. Moawiyah, the son of Abu Sophian and of the cruel Henda, was dignified in his early youth with the office or title of secretary of the prophet; the judgment of Omar entrusted him with the government of Syria; and he administered that important province about forty years either in a subordinate or supreme rank. Without renouncing the fame of valour and liberality, he affected the reputation of humanity and moderation; a grateful people was attached to their benefactor; and the victorious Moslems were enriched with the spoils of Cyprus and Rhodes. The sacred duty of pursuing the assassins of Othman was the engine and pretence of his ambition. The bloody shirt of the martyr was exposed in the mosch of Damascus; the emir deplored the fate of his injured kinsman; and sixty thousand Syrians were engaged in his service by an oath of fidelity and revenge. Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt, himself an army, was the first who saluted the new monarch, and divulged the dangerous secret that the Arabian caliphs might be created elsewhere than in the city of the prophet.[184] The policy of Moawiyah eluded the valour of his rival; and, after the death of Ali, he negotiated the abdication of his son Hassan, whose mind was either above or below the government of the world, and who retired without a sigh from the palace of Cufa to an humble cell near the tomb of his grandfather. The aspiring wishes of the caliph were finally crowned by the important change of an elective to an hereditary kingdom. Some murmurs of freedom or fanaticism attested the reluctance of the Arabs, and four citizens of Medina refused the oath of fidelity; but the designs of Moawiyah were conducted with vigour and address; and his son Yezid, a feeble and dissolute youth, was proclaimed as the commander of the faithful and the successor of the apostle of God.

[190a] [Not Persia.]

[191] Abulfeda, a moderate Sonnite, relates the different opinions concerning th burial of Ali, but adopts the sepulchre of Cufa, hodie famâ numeroque religiose fr quentantium celebratum. This number is reckoned by Niebuhr to amount ann ally to 2000 of the dead, and 5000 of the living (tom. ii. p. 208, 209).

[192] All the tyrants of Persia, from Adhad el Dowlat (A.D. 977, d'Herbelot, p. 5 59, 95) to Nadir Shah (A.D. 1743, Hist. de Nadir Shah, tom. ii. p. 155), have e riched the tomb of Ali with the spoils of the people. The dome is copper, with bright and massy gilding, which glitters to the sun at the distance of many a mil

[193] The city of Meshed Ali, five or six miles from the ruins of Cufa, and one hu dred and twenty to the south of Bagdad, is of the size and form of the mode Jerusalem. Meshed Hosein, larger and more populous, is at the distance of thir miles,

Death of Hosein. A.D. 680, Oct. 10

A familiar story is related of the benevolence of one of the sons of Ali. In serving at table, a slave had inadvertently dropt a dish of scalding broth on his master; the heedless wretch fell prostrate, to deprecate his punishment, and repeated a verse of the Koran: "Paradise is for those who command their anger:"

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[184] I borrow, on this occasion, the strong sense and expression of Tacitus (Hist. i. 4): Evulgato imperii arcano posse imperatorem [principem] alibi quam Romae fieri.

—"I am not angry:"—"and for those who pardon offences:" —"I pardon your offence:"—"and for those who return good for evil:"—"I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver." With an equal measure of piety, Hosein, the younger brother of Hassan, inherited a remnant of his father's spirit, and served with honour against the Christians in the siege of Constantinople. The primogeniture of the line of Hashem and the holy character of grandson of the apostle had centred in his person, and he was at liberty to prosecute his claim against Yezid the tyrant of Damascus, whose vices he despised, and whose title he had never deigned to acknowledge. A list was secretly transmitted from Cufa to Medina of one hundred and forty thousand Moslems, who professed their attachment to his cause, and who were eager to draw their swords so soon as he should appear on the banks of the Euphrates. Against the advice of his wisest friends, he resolved to trust his person and family in the hands of a perfidious people. He traversed the desert of Arabia with a timorous retinue of women and children; but, as he approached the confines of Irak, he was alarmed by the solitary or hostile face of the country, and suspected either the defection or ruin of his party. His fears were just: Obeidollah, the governor of Cufa, had extinguished the first sparks of an insurrection; and Hosein, in the plain of Kerbela,[195] was encompassed by a body of five thousand horse, who intercepted his communication with the city and the river. He might still have escaped to a fortress in the desert that had defied the power of Cæsar and Chosroes, and confided in the fidelity of the tribe of Tai, which would have armed ten thousand warriors in his defence. In a conference with the chief of the enemy, he proposed the option of three honourable conditions: that he should be allowed to return to Medina, or be stationed in a frontier garrison against the Turks, or safely conducted to the presence of Yezid. But the commands of the caliph, or his lieutenant, were stern and absolute; and Hosein was informed that he must either submit as a captive and a criminal to the commander of the faithful or expect the consequences of his rebellion. "Do you think," replied he, "to terrify me with death?" And, during the short respite of a night, he prepared with calm and solemn resignation to encounter his fate. He checked the lamentations of his sister Fatima, who deplored the impending ruin of his house. "Our trust," said Hosein, "is in

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[195] [Kerbela is about twenty-five miles N.W. of Kūfa.]

God alone. All things, both in heaven and earth, must perish and return to their Creator. My brother, my father, my mother, were better than me; and every Musulman has an example in the prophet." He pressed his friends to consult their safety by a timely flight: they unanimously refused to desert or survive their beloved master; and their courage was fortified by a fervent prayer and the assurance of paradise. On the morning of the fatal day, he mounted on horseback, with his sword in one hand and the Koran in the other; his generous band of martyrs consisted only of thirty-two horse and forty foot; but their flanks and rear were secured by the tent-ropes, and by a deep trench which they had filled with lighted faggots, according to the practice of the Arabs. The enemy advanced with reluctance; and one of their chiefs deserted, with thirty followers, to claim the partnership of inevitable death. In every close onset or single combat, the despair of the Fatimites was invincible; but the surrounding multitudes galled them from a distance with a cloud of arrows, and the horses and men were successively slain: a truce was allowed on both sides for the hour of prayer; and the battle at length expired by the death of the last of the companions of Hosein. Alone, weary and wounded, he seated himself at the door of his tent. As he tasted a drop of water, he was pierced in the mouth with a dart; and his son and nephew, two beautiful youths, were killed in his arms. He lifted his hands to heaven, they were full of blood, and he uttered a funeral prayer for the living and the dead. In a transport of despair his sister issued from the tent, and adjured the general of the Cufians that he would not suffer Hosein to be murdered before his eyes: a tear trickled down his venerable beard; and the boldest of his soldiers fell back on every side as the dying hero threw himself among them. The remorseless Shamer, a name detested by the faithful, reproached their cowardice; and the grandson of Mahomet was slain with three and thirty strokes of lances and swords. After they had trampled on his body, they carried his head to the castle of Cufa, and the inhuman Obeidollah struck him on the mouth with a cane: "Alas!" exclaimed an aged Musulman, "on these lips have I seen the lips of the apostle of God!" In a distant age and climate the tragic scene of the death of Hosein will awaken the sympathy of the coldest reader.[196] On the annual festival of his martyrdom, in the devout pilgrimage to his sepulchre, his Persian votaries abandon their souls to the religious frenzy of sorrow and indignation.[197]

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[196] I have abridged the interesting narrative of Ockley (tom. ii. p. 170-231). It is long and minute; but the pathetic, almost always, consists in the detail of little circumstances.

Posterity of Mahomet and Ali

When the sisters and children of Ali were brought in chains to the throne of Damascus, the caliph was advised to extirpate the enmity of a popular and hostile race, whom he had injured beyond the hope of reconciliation. But Yezid preferred the counsels of mercy; and the mourning family was honourably dismissed to mingle their tears with their kindred at Medina. The glory of martyrdom superseded the right of primogeniture; and the twelve IMAMS,[198] or pontiffs, of the Persian creed are Ali, Hassan, Hosein, and the lineal descendants of Hosein to the ninth generation. Without arms or treasures or subjects, they successively enjoyed the veneration of the people and provoked the jealousy of the reigning caliphs; their tombs at Mecca or Medina, on the banks of the Euphrates or in the province of Chorasan, are still visited by the devotion of their sect. Their names were often the pretence of sedition and civil war; but these royal saints despised the pomp of the world, submitted to the will of God and the injustice of man, and devoted their innocent lives to the study and practice of religion. The twelfth and last of the Imams, conspicuous by the title of *Mahadi* or the Guide, surpassed the solitude and sanctity of his predecessors. He concealed himself in a cavern near Bagdad; the time and place of his death are unknown; and his votaries pretend that he still lives and will appear before the day of judgment to overthrow the tyranny of Dejal or the Antichrist.[199] In the lapse of two or three centuries the posterity of Abbas, the uncle of Mahomet, had multiplied to the number of thirty-three thousand;[200] the race of Ali might be equally prolific; the meanest individual was above the first and greatest of

[Al-Mahdi the well-guided]

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[197] Niebuhr the Dane (Voyages en Arabie, &c. tom. ii. p. 208, &c.) is perhaps the only European traveller who has dared to visit Meshed Ali and Meshed Hosein. The two sepulchres are in the hands of the Turks, who tolerate and tax the devotion of the Persian heretics. The festival of the death of Hosein is amply described by Sir John Chardin, a traveller whom I have often praised. [For the passion play which is represented yearly by the Shiites, see Sir Lewis Pelly, The Miracle Play of Hasan and Hosein, 1879; Matthew Arnold, Persian Passion-play, in Essays on Criticisms, 1st ser.; S. Lane-Poole, Studies in a Mosque, c. vii.]

[198] The general article of *Imam*, in d'Herbelot's Bibliothèque, will indicate the succession; and the lives of the *twelve* are given under their respective names.

[199] The name of *Antichrist* may seem ridiculous, but the Mahometans have liberally borrowed the fables of every religion (Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 80, 82). In the royal stable of Ispahan, two horses were always kept saddled, one for the Mahadi himself, the other for his lieutenant, Jesus the son of Mary.

[200] In the year of the Hegira 200 (A.D. 815). See d'Herbelot, p. 546.

princes; and the most eminent were supposed to excel the perfection of angels. But their adverse fortune and the wide extent of the Musulman empire allowed an ample scope for every bold and artful impostor who claimed affinity with the holy seed; the sceptre of the Almohades in Spain and Afric, of the Fatimites in Egypt and Syria,[201] of the Sultans of Yemen and of the Sophis of Persia,[202] has been consecrated by this vague and ambiguous title. Under their reigns it might be dangerous to dispute the legitimacy of their birth; and one of the Fatimite caliphs silenced an indiscreet question by drawing his scymetar: "This," said Moez, "is my pedigree; and these," casting an handful of gold to his soldiers, "and these are my kindred and my children". In the various conditions of princes, or doctors, or nobles, or merchants, or beggars, a swarm of the genuine or fictitious descendants of Mahomet and Ali is honoured with the appellation of sheiks, or sherifs, or emirs. In the Ottoman empire, they are distinguished by a green turban, receive a stipend from the treasury, are judged only by their chief, and, however debased by fortune or character, still assert the proud pre-eminence of their birth. A family of three hundred persons, the pure and orthodox branch of the caliph Hassan, is preserved without taint or suspicion in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, and still retains, after the revolutions of twelve centuries, the custody of the temple and the sovereignty of their native land. The fame and merit of Mahomet would ennoble a plebeian race, and the ancient blood of the Koreish transcends the recent majesty of the kings of the earth.[203]

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[201] D'Herbelot, p. 342. The enemies of the Fatimites disgraced them by a Jewish origin. Yet they accurately deduced their genealogy from Jaafar, the sixth Imam; and the impartial Abulfeda allows (Annal. Moslem. p. 230) that they were owned by many, qui absque controversiâ genuini sunt Alidarum, homines propaginum suæ gentis exacte callentes. He quotes some lines from the celebrated *Sherif* or *Radhi*, Egone humilitatem induam in terris hostium? (I suspect him to be an Edrissite of Sicily) cum in Ægypto sit Chalifa de gente Alii, quocum ego communem habeo patrem et vindicem.

[202] The kings of Persia of the last dynasty are descended from Sheik Sefi [Safī], a saint of the fourteenth century, and through him from Moussa Cassem [Mūsā al-Kazam], the son [not son, but son's great-grandson] of Hosein, the son of Ali Olearius, p. 957; Chardin, tom. iii. p. 288). But I cannot trace the intermediate degrees in any genuine or fabulous pedigree. If they were truly Fatimites, they might draw their origin from the princes of Mazanderan, who reigned in the ixth century (d'Herbelot, p. 96). [See Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 255.]

[203] The present state of the family of Mahomet and Ali is most accurately decribed by Demetrius Cantemir (Hist. of the Othman Empire, p. 94), and Niebuhr Description de l'Arabie, p. 9-16, 317, &c.). It is much to be lamented that the Danish traveller was unable to purchase the chronicles of Arabia.

Success of Mahomet

The talents of Mahomet are entitled to our applause, but h
success has perhaps too strongly attracted our admiration. Ar
we surprised that a multitude of proselytes should embrace th
doctrine and the passions of an eloquent fanatic? In th
heresies of the church, the same seduction has been tried an
repeated from the time of the apostles to that of the reformer
Does it seem incredible that a private citizen should grasp th
sword and the sceptre, subdue his native country, and erect
monarchy by his victorious arms? In the moving picture
the dynasties of the East, an hundred fortunate usurpers hav
arisen from a baser origin, surmounted more formidable obsta
cles, and filled a larger scope of empire and conquest. Mahome
was alike instructed to preach and to fight, and the union
these opposite qualities, while it enhanced his merit, contribute
to his success: the operation of force and persuasion, of enthu
siasm and fear, continually acted on each other, till every barrie
yielded to their irresistible power. His voice invited the Ara
to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgenc
of their darling passions in this world and the other; the r
straints which he imposed were requisite to establish the cred
of the prophet and to exercise the obedience of the people; an
the only objection to his success was his rational creed of th
unity and perfections of God. It is not the propagation but th
permanency of his religion that deserves our wonder: the sam
pure and perfect impression which he engraved at Mecca an
Medina is preserved, after the revolutions of twelve centurie
by the Indian, the African, and the Turkish proselytes of th
Koran. If the Christian apostles, St. Peter or St. Paul, coul
return to the Vatican, they might possibly inquire the name
the Deity who is worshipped with such mysterious rites in tha
magnificent temple: at Oxford or Geneva, they would experienc
less surprise; but it might still be incumbent on them to perus
the catechism of the church, and to study the orthodox con
mentators on their own writings and the words of their Maste
But the Turkish dome of St. Sophia, with an increase of splen
dour and size, represents the humble tabernacle erected at Medin
by the hands of Mahomet. The Mahometans have uniforml
withstood the temptation of reducing the object of their fait
and devotion to a level with the senses and imagination of man
"I believe in one God, and Mahomet the apostle of God,"
the simple and invariable profession of Islam. The intellectua
image of the Deity has never been degraded by any visible idol
the honours of the prophet have never transgressed the measur

Permanency of his religion

of human virtue; and his living precepts have restrained the gratitude of his disciples within the bounds of reason and religion. The votaries of Ali have indeed consecrated the memory of their hero, his wife, and his children; and some of the Persian doctors pretend that the divine essence was incarnate in the person of the Imams; but their superstition is universally condemned by the Sonnites; and their impiety has afforded a seasonable warning against the worship of saints and martyrs. The metaphysical questions on the attributes of God and the liberty of man have been agitated in the schools of the Mahometans as well as in those of the Christians; but among the former they have never engaged the passions of the people or disturbed the tranquillity of the state. The cause of this important difference may be found in the separation or union of the regal and sacerdotal characters. It was the interest of the caliphs, the successors of the prophet and commanders of the faithful, to repress and discourage all religious innovations: the order, the discipline, the temporal and spiritual ambition of the clergy are unknown to the Moslems; and the sages of the law are the guides of their conscience and the oracles of their faith. From the Atlantic to the Ganges, the Koran is acknowledged as the fundamental code, not only of theology but of civil and criminal jurisprudence; and the laws which regulate the actions and the property of mankind are guarded by the infallible and immutable sanction of the will of God. This religious servitude is attended with some practical disadvantage; the illiterate legislator had been often misled by his own prejudices and those of his country; and the institutions of the Arabian desert may be ill adapted to the wealth and numbers of Ispahan and Constantinople. On these occasions, the Cadhi respectfully places on his head the holy volume, and substitutes a dexterous interpretation, more apposite to the principles of equity and the manners and policy of the times.

His merit towards his country

His beneficial or pernicious influence on the public happiness is the last consideration in the character of Mahomet. The most bitter or most bigoted of his Christian or Jewish foes will surely allow that he assumed a false commission to inculcate a salutary doctrine, less perfect only than their own. He piously supposed, as the basis of his religion, the truth and sanctity of *their* prior revelations, the virtues and miracles of their founders. The idols of Arabia were broken before the throne of God; the blood of human victims was expiated by prayer and fasting and alms, the laudable or innocent arts of devotion; and his rewards and punishments of a future life were painted by the images most congenial to an ignorant and carnal generation. Mahomet was perhaps incapable of dictating a moral and political system for the use of his countrymen; but he breathed among the faithful a spirit of charity and friendship, recommended the practice of the social virtues, and checked, by his laws and precepts, the thirst of revenge and the oppression of widows and orphans. The hostile tribes were united in faith and obedience, and the valour which had been idly spent in domestic quarrels was vigorously directed against a foreign enemy. Had the impulse been less powerful, Arabia, free at home and formidable abroad, might have flourished under a succession of her native monarchs. Her sovereignty was lost by the extent and rapidity of conquest. The colonies of the nation were scattered over the East and West, and their blood was mingled with the blood of their converts and captives. After the reign of three caliphs the throne was transported from Medina to the valley of Damascus and the banks of the Tigris; the holy cities were violated by impious war; Arabia was ruled by the rod of a subject, perhaps of a stranger; and the Bedoweens of the desert, awakening from their dream of dominion, resumed their old and solitary independence.[204]

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[204] The writers of the Modern Universal History (vol. i. and ii.) have compiled, in 850 folio pages, the life of Mahomet and the annals of the caliphs. They enjoyed the advantage of reading, and sometimes correcting, the Arabic text; yet, notwithstanding their high-sounding boasts, I cannot find, after the conclusion of my work, that they have afforded me much (if any) additional information. The dull mass is not quickened by a spark of philosophy or taste; and the compilers indulge the criticism of acrimonious bigotry against Boulainvilliers, Sale, Gagnier, and all who have treated Mahomet with favour, or even justice.

CHAPTER LI

The Conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain, by the Arabs or Saracens—Empire of the Caliphs, or Successors of Mahomet—State of the Christians, &c. under their Government

Union of the Arabs. A.D. 632

THE revolution of Arabia had not changed the character of the Arabs: the death of Mahomet was the signal of independence; and the hasty structure of his power and religion tottered to its foundations. A small and faithful band of his primitive disciples had listened to his eloquence and shared his distress; had fled with the apostle from the persecution of Mecca or had received the fugitive in the walls of Medina. The increasing myriads, who acknowledged Mahomet as their king and prophet, had been compelled by his arms or allured by his prosperity. The polytheists were confounded by the simple idea of a solitary and invisible God; the pride of the Christians and Jews disdained the yoke of a mortal and contemporary legislator. Their habits of faith and obedience were not sufficiently confirmed; and many of the new converts regretted the venerable antiquity of the law of Moses, or the rites and mysteries of the Catholic church, or the idols, the sacrifices, the joyous festivals, of their pagan ancestors. The jarring interests and hereditary feuds of the Arabian tribes had not yet coalesced in a system of union and subordination; and the barbarians were impatient of the mildest and most salutary laws that curbed their passions or violated their customs. They submitted with reluctance to the religious precepts of the Koran, the abstinence from wine, the fast of the Ramadan, and the daily repetition of five prayers; and the alms and tithes, which were collected for the treasury of Medina, could be distinguished only by a name from the payment of a perpetual and ignominious tribute. The example of Mahomet had excited a spirit of fanaticism or imposture, and several of his rivals presumed to imitate the conduct and defy the authority of the living prophet. At the head of the *fugitives* and *auxiliaries*, the first caliph was reduced to the cities of Mecca, Medina, and Tayef; and perhaps the Koreish would have restored the idols of the Caaba, if their levity had not been checked by a seasonable reproof. "Ye men of Mecca, will ye be the last to embrace and the first to abandon the religion of Islam?" After exhorting the Moslems to confide in the aid of God and his apostle, Abubeker resolved, by a vigorous attack, to prevent the junction of the rebels. The women and children were safely lodged in the cavities of the mountains: the warriors, marching under eleven banners, diffused the terror of their arms; and the appearance of a military force revived and confirmed the loyalty of the faithful. The inconstant tribes accepted, with humble repentance, the duties of prayer and fasting and alms; and, after some examples of success and severity, the most daring apostates fell prostrate before the sword of the Lord and of Caled. [Yemama] [Musailima] In the fertile province of Yemannah,[1] between the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia, in a city not inferior to Medina itself, a powerful chief, his name was Moseilama, had assumed the character of a prophet, and the tribe of Hanifa listened to his voice. [Sejah] A female prophetess was attracted by his reputation: the decencies of words and actions were spurned by these favourites of heaven,[2] and they employed several days in mystic and amorous converse. An obscure sentence of his Koran, or book, is yet extant;[3] and, in the pride of his mission, Moseilama condescended to offer a partition of the earth. The proposal was answered by Mahomet with contempt; but the rapid progress of the impostor awakened the fears of his successor: forty thousand Moslems were assembled under the standard of Caled; and the existence of their faith was resigned to the event of a decisive battle. In the first action they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men; but the skill and perseverance of their general prevailed: their defeat was avenged by the slaughter of ten thousand infidels; and Moseilama himself was pierced by an Ethiopian slave with the same javelin which had mortally wounded the uncle of Mahomet. The various rebels of Arabia, without a chief or a cause, were speedily suppressed by the power and discipline of the rising monarchy; and the whole nation again professed, and more steadfastly held, the religion of the Koran. The ambition of the caliphs provided an immediate exercise for the restless spirit of the Saracens; their valour was united in the prosecution of an holy war; and their enthusiasm was equally confirmed by opposition and victory.

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[1] See the description of the city and country of Al Yamanah, in Abulfeda, Descript. Arabiæ, p. 60, 61. In the xiiith century, there were some ruins, and a few palms, but in the present century, the same ground is occupied by the visions and arms of a modern prophet, whose tenets are imperfectly known (Niebuhr, Déscription de l'Arabie, p. 296-302).

[2] Their first salutation may be transcribed, but cannot be translated. It was thus that Moseilama [Musailima is a mocking diminutive of Maslama] said or sung:

Surge tandem itaque strenue permolenda; nam stratus tibi thorus est.
Aut in propatulo tentorio si velis, aut in abditiore cubiculo si malis;
Aut supinam te humi exporrectam fustigabo, si velis, aut si malis manibus pedibusque nixam.
Aut si velis ejus (*Priapi*) gemino triente, aut si malis totus veniam.
Imo, totus venito, O Apostole Dei, clamabat fœmina. Id ipsum dicebat
Moseilama mihi quoque suggessit Deus.

The prophetess Segjah, after the fall of her lover, returned to idolatry; but, under the reign of Moawiyah, she became a Musulman, and died at Bassora (Abulfeda, Annal. vers. Reiske, p. 63). [The tradition that Musailima and Sejāh spent three days "in amorous converse" is found in Tabari (i. p. 135-7, ed. Kosegarten), but seems to be refuted by the circumstance that Musailima was then more than a hundred years old; Weil, i. p. 22.]

[3] See this text, which demonstrates a God from the works of generation, in Abulpharagius (Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 13, and Dynast. p. 103) and Abulfeda (Annal. p. 63).

Character of their caliph

From the rapid conquests of the Saracens, a presumption will naturally arise that the first caliphs commanded in person the armies of the faithful, and sought the crown of martyrdom in the foremost ranks of the battle. The courage of Abubeker,[4] Omar,[5] and Othman,[6] had indeed been tried in the persecution and wars of the prophet; and the personal assurance of paradise must have taught them to despise the pleasures and dangers of the present world. But they ascended the throne in a venerable or mature age, and esteemed the domestic cares of religion and justice the most important duties of a sovereign. Except the presence of Omar at the siege of Jerusalem, the longest expeditions were the frequent pilgrimages from Medina to Mecca; and they calmly received the tidings of victory as they prayed or preached before the sepulchre of the prophet. The austere and frugal measure of their lives was the effect of virtue or habit, and the pride of their simplicity insulted the vain magnificence of the kings of the earth. When Abubeker assumed the office of caliph, he enjoined his daughter Ayesha to take a strict account of his private patrimony, that it might be evident whether he were enriched or impoverished by the service of the state. He thought himself entitled to a stipend of three pieces of gold, with the sufficient maintenance of a single camel and a black slave; but on the Friday of each week he distributed the residue of his own and the public money, first to the most worthy, and then to the most indigent, of the Moslems. The remains of his wealth, a coarse garment and five pieces of gold, were delivered to his successor, who lamented with a modest sigh his own inability to equal such an admirable model. Yet the abstinence and humility of Omar were not inferior to the virtues of Abubeker: his food consisted of barley-bread or dates; his drink was water; he preached in a gown that was torn or tattered in twelve places; and a Persian satrap, who paid his homage to the conqueror, found him asleep among the beggars on the steps of the mosch of Medina. Economy is the source of liberality, and the increase of the revenue enabled Omar to establish a just and perpetual reward for the past and present services of the faithful. Careless of his own emolument, he assigned to Abbas, the uncle of the prophet, the first and most ample allowance of twenty-five thousand drachms or pieces of silver. Five thousand were allotted to each of the aged warriors, the relics of the field of Beder, and the last and meanest of the companions of Mahomet was distinguished by the annual reward of three thousand pieces. One thousand was the stipend of the veterans who had fought in the first battles against the Greeks and Persians, and the decreasing pay, as low as fifty pieces of silver, was adapted to the respective merit and seniority of the soldiers of Omar. Under his reign and that of his predecessor, the conquerors of the East were the trusty servants of God and the people; the mass of the public treasure was consecrated to the expenses of peace and war; a prudent mixture of justice and bounty maintained the discipline of the Saracens, and they united, by a rare felicity, the dispatch and execution of despotism with the equal and frugal maxims of a republican government. The heroic courage of Ali,[7] the consummate prudence of Moawiyah,[8] excited the emulation of their subjects; and the talents which had been exercised in the schools of civil discord were more usefully applied to propagate the faith and dominion of the prophet. In the sloth and vanity of the palace of Damascus, the succeeding princes of the house of Ommiyah were alike destitute of the qualifications of statesmen and of saints.[9] Yet the spoils of unknown nations were continually laid at the foot of their throne, and the uniform ascent of the Arabian greatness must be ascribed to the spirit of the nation rather than the abilities of their chiefs. A large deduction must be allowed for the weakness of their enemies. The birth of Mahomet was fortunately placed in the most degenerate and disorderly period of the Persians, the Romans, and the barbarians of Europe: the empires of Trajan, or even of Constantine or Charlemagne, would have repelled the assault of the naked Saracens, and the torrent of fanaticism might have been obscurely lost in the sands of Arabia.

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[4] His reign in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 251; Elmacin, p. 18; Abulpharagius, p. 108; Abulfeda, p. 60; D'Herbelot, p. 58.

[5] His reign in Eutychius, p. 264; Elmacin, p. 24; Abulpharagius, p. 110; Abulfeda, p. 66; D'Herbelot, p. 686.

[6] His reign in Eutychius, p. 323; Elmacin, p. 36; Abulpharagius, p. 115; Abulfeda, p. 75; D'Herbelot, p. 695.

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[7] His reign in Eutychius, p. 343; Elmacin, p. 51; Abulpharagius, p. 117; Abulfeda, p. 83; D'Herbelot, p. 89.

[8] His reign in Eutychius, p. 344; Elmacin, p. 54; Abulpharagius, p. 123; Abulfeda, p. 101; D'Herbelot, p. 586.

Their conquests

In the victorious days of the Roman republic, it had been the aim of the senate to confine their counsels and legions to a single war, and completely to suppress a first enemy before they provoked the hostilities of a second. These timid maxims of policy were disdained by the magnanimity or enthusiasm of the Arabian caliphs. With the same vigour and success they invaded the successors of Augustus and those of Artaxerxes; and the rival monarchies at the same instant became the prey of an enemy whom they had been so long accustomed to despise. In the ten years of the administration of Omar, the Saracens reduced to his obedience thirty-six thousand cities or castles, destroyed four thousand churches or temples of the unbelievers, and edified fourteen hundred moschs for the exercise of the religion of Mahomet. One hundred years after his flight from Mecca, the arms and the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, over the various and distant provinces, which may be comprised under the names of I. Persia; II. Syria; III. Egypt; IV. Africa; and V. Spain. Under this general division, I shall proceed to unfold these memorable transactions; dispatching, with brevity, the remote and less interesting conquests of the East, and reserving a fuller narrative for those domestic countries which had been included within the pale of the Roman Empire. Yet I must excuse my own defects by a just complaint of the blindness and insufficiency of my guides. The Greeks, so loquacious in controversy, have not been anxious to celebrate the triumphs of their enemies.[10] After a century of ignorance, the first annals of the Musulmans were collected in a great measure from the voice of tradition.[11] Among the numerous productions of Arabic and Persian literature,[12] our interpreters have selected the imperfect sketches of a more recent age.[13] The art and genius of history have ever been unknown to the Asiatics ;[14] they are ignorant of the laws of criticism ; and our monkish chronicles of the same period may be compared to their most popular works, which are never vivified by the spirit of philosophy and freedom. The *Oriental library* of a Frenchman [15] would instruct the most learned mufti of the East; and perhaps the Arabs might not find in a single historian so clear and comprehensive a narrative of their own exploits, as that which will be deduced in the ensuing sheets.

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[9] Their reigns in Eutychius, tom. ii. p. 360-395; Elmacin, p. 59-108; Abulpharagius, Dynast. ix. p. 124-139; Abulfeda, p. 111-141; D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 691, and the particular article of the Ommiades. [It must be remembered that the writers from whom our accounts of the Omayyads come wrote in the interest of their supplanters, the Abbāsids. Cp. Appendix 1.]

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[10] For the viith and viiith century, we have scarcely any original evidence of the Byzantine historians, except the Chronicles of Theophanes (Theophanis Confessoris Chronographia, Gr. et Lat. cum notis Jacobi Goar. Paris, 1655, in folio), and the Abridgment of Nicephorus (Nicephori Patriarchæ C. P. Breviarium Historicum, Gr. et Lat. Paris, 1648, in folio), who both lived in the beginning o the ixth century (see Hanckius de Scriptor. Byzant. p. 200-246). Their contemporary Photius does not seem to be more opulent. After praising the style o Nicephorus, he adds, Καὶ ὅλως πολλούς ἐστι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀποκρυπτόμενος τῇδε τῇ ἱστορίας τῇ συγγραφῇ, and only complains of his extreme brevity (Phot. Bibliot. cod lxvi. p. 100). Some additions may be gleaned from the more recent histories o Cedrenus and Zonaras of the xiith century. [An earlier source than any, eithe Greek or Arabic, is the chronicle of John of Nikiu in an Ethiopic version. Se Appendix 1.]

[11] Tabari, or Al Tabari, a native of Taborestan, a famous Imam of Bagdad and the Livy of the Arabians, finished his general history in the year of the Hegir 302 (A.D. 914). At the request of his friends, he reduced a work of 30,000 sheet to a more reasonable size. But his Arabic original is known only by the Persia and Turkish versions. The Saracenic history of Ebn Amid or Elmacin [Ibn al Amīd al-Mekīn] is said to be an abridgment of the great Tabari (Ockley's Hist of the Saracens, vol. ii, preface, p. xxxix. and list of authors ; d'Herbelot, p 866, 870, 1014). [See Appendix 1.]

[12] Besides the list of authors framed by Prideaux (Life of Mahomet, p. 179-189) Ockley (at the end of his second volume), and Petit de la Croix (Hist. de Gengiscar p. 525-550), we find, in the Bibliotheque Orientale *Tarikh*, a catalogue of two c three hundred histories or chronicles of the East, of which not more than three c four are older than Tabari. A lively sketch of Oriental literature is given b Reiske (in his Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ librum memorialem ad calcer Abulfedæ Tabulæ Syriæ, Lipsiæ, 1766) ; but his project and the French version c Petit de la Croix (Hist. de Timur Bec. tom. i. preface, p. xlv.) have fallen to th ground.

[13] The particular historians and geographers will be occasionally introduce The four following titles represent the annals which have guided me in this gener narrative, 1. *Annales Eutychii, Patriarchæ Alexandrini, ab Edwardo Pococki Oxon.* 1656, 2 vols. in 4to. A pompous edition of an indifferent author, translated b Pocock to gratify the Presbyterian prejudice of his friend Selden. 2. *Histor Saracenica Georgii Elmacini, operâ et studio Thomae Erpini*, in 4to, *Lugd. Bat vorum*, 1625. He is said to have hastily translated a corrupt Ms. and his versic is often deficient in style and sense. 3. *Historia compendiosa Dynastiarum Gregorio Abulpharagio, interprete Edwardo Pocockio*, in 4to, *Oxon.* 1663. Mo useful for the literary than the civil history of the East. 4. *Abulfedae Anna Moslemici ad Ann. Hegirae* ccccvi. *a Jo. Jac. Reiske*, in 4to, *Lipsiae*, 1754. T best of our chronicles, both for the original and version, yet how far below the nar of Abulfeda ! We know that he wrote at Hamah, in the xivth century. The thr former were Christians of the xth, xiith, and xiiith centuries ; the two first, nati of Egypt, a Melchite patriarch and a Jacobite scribe.

[14] M. du Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. pref. p. xix. xx.) has characterize with truth and knowledge, the two sorts of Arabian historians : the dry annalist a the tumid and flowery orator.

Invasion of Persia. A.D. 632 [633]

I. In the first year of the first caliph, his lieutenant Caled, the sword of God and the scourge of the infidels, advanced to the banks of the Euphrates, and reduced the cities of Anbar and Hira. Westward of the ruins of Babylon, a tribe of sedentary Arabs had fixed themselves on the verge of the desert; and Hira was the seat of a race of kings who had embraced the Christian religion and reigned above six hundred years under the shadow of the throne of Persia.[16] The last of the Mondars was defeated and slain by Caled; his son was sent a captive to Medina; his nobles bowed before the successor of the prophet; the people was tempted by the example and success of their countrymen; and the caliph accepted as the first fruits of foreign conquest an annual tribute of seventy thousand pieces of gold.[17] The conquerors, and even their historians, were astonished by the dawn of their future greatness: "In the same year," says Elmacin, "Caled fought many signal battles; an immense multitude of infidels was slaughtered; and spoils, infinite and innumerable, were acquired by the victorious Moslems".[18] But the invincible Caled was soon transferred to the Syrian war; the invasion of the Persian frontier was conducted by less active, or less prudent, commanders; the Saracens were repulsed with loss in the passage of the Euphrates; and, though they chastised the insolent pur-

[Battle of Allis]

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[15] Bibliothèque Orientale, par M. d'Herbelot, in folio, Paris, 1697. For the character of the respectable author, consult his friend Thévenot (Voyages du Levant, part i. chap. i.). His work is an agreeable miscellany, which must gratify every taste; but I never can digest the alphabetical order, and I find him more satisfactory in the Persian than the Arabic history. The recent supplement from the papers of MM. Visdelou and Galland (in folio, La Haye, 1779) is of a different cast, a medley of tales, proverbs, and Chinese antiquities.

[16] Pocock will explain the chronology (Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 66-74), and d'Anville the geography (l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 125), of the dynasty of the Almondars [al-Mundhir]. The English scholar understood more Arabic than the mufti of Aleppo (Ockley, vol. ii. p. 34); the French geographer is equally at home in every age and every climate of the world. [The vassal state of Hīra, which sprung from the *camp* of an Arab chief (as the name signifies), was perhaps founded about the middle of the third cent. A.D., in the reign of Sapor I. Cp. Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 25.]

[17] [Hīra was allowed to remain Christian.]

[18] Fecit et Chaled plurima in hoc anno prœlia, in quibus vicerunt Muslimi, et *infidelium* immensâ multitudine occisâ spolia infinita et innumera sunt nacti (Hist. Saracenica, p. 20). The Christian annalist slides into the national and compendious term of *infidels*, and I often adopt (I hope without scandal) this characteristic mode of expression.

suit of the Magians, their remaining forces still hovered in the desert of Babylon.

Battle of Cadesia. A.D. 636

The indignation and fears of the Persians suspended for a moment their intestine divisions. By the unanimous sentence of the priests and nobles, their queen Arzema was deposed: the sixth of the transient usurpers who had arisen and vanished in three or four years since the death of Chosroes and the retreat of Heraclius. Her tiara was placed on the head of Yezdegerd, the grandson of Chosroes; and the same æra, which coincides with an astronomical period,[19] has recorded the fall of the Sassanian dynasty and the religion of Zoroaster.[20] The youth and inexperience of the prince, he was only fifteen years of age, declined a perilous encounter; the royal standard was delivered into the hands of his general Rustam; and a remnant of thirty thousand regular troops was swelled in truth, or in opinion, to one hundred and twenty thousand subjects, or allies, of the Great King. The Moslems, whose numbers were reinforced from twelve to thirty thousand, had pitched their camp in the plains of Cadesia;[21] and their line, though it consisted of fewer *men*, could produce more *soldiers* than the unwieldy host of the infidels. I shall here observe what I must often repeat, that the charge of the Arabs was not like that of the Greeks and Romans, the effort of a firm and compact infantry: their military forc was chiefly formed of cavalry and archers; and the engagement, which was often interrupted and often renewed by single combats and flying skirmishes, might be protracted without any de

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[19] A cycle of 120 years, at the end of which an intercalary month of 30 days supplie the use of our Bissextile, and restored the integrity of the solar year. In a grea revolution of 1440 years, this intercalation was successively removed from the firs to the twelfth month; but Hyde and Fréret are involved in a profound controvers whether the twelve or only eight of these changes were accomplished before th æra of Yezdegerd, which is unanimously fixed to the 16th of June, A.D. 632. Ho laboriously does the curious spirit of Europe explore the darkest and most dista antiquities! (Hyde, de Religione Persarum, c. 14-18, p. 181-211. Fréret in th Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xvi. p. 233-267). [The queen's nam was Azarmīdocht (A.D. 631-2); and she is not to be confused with a previo female usurper, Bōrān (A.D. 630-1). Cp. Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 433-4.]

[20] Nine days after the death of Mahomet (7th [8th] June, A.D. 632), we find th æra of Yezdegerd (16th June, A.D. 632), and his accession cannot be postpon beyond the end of the first year. His predecessors could not therefore resist th arms of the caliph Omar, and these unquestionable dates overthrow the though less chronology of Abulpharagius. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. p. 130. [Eutychius states that Yezdegerd was aged fifteen at his accession; b Tabari (p. 399, ed. Nöldeke) states that he was only twenty-eight when he di (A.D. 651-2), so that he would have been only eight at his accession.]

[21] Cadesia, says the Nubian geographer (p. 121), is in margine solitudinis, leagues from Bagdad, and two stations from Cufa. Otter (Voyage, tom. i. p. 16 reckons 15 leagues, and observes that the place is supplied with dates and wate [For date of the battle of al-Kādisīya, cp. Appendix 21.]

ive event to the continuance of several days. The periods of
e battle of Cadesia were distinguished by their peculiar appel-
ions. The first, from the well-timed appearance of six thou-
id of the Syrian brethren, was denominated the day of *succour*.[22]
e day of *concussion* might express the disorder of one, or per-
ps of both, of the contending armies. The third, a nocturnal
nult, received the whimsical name of the night of *barking*,
m the discordant clamours which were compared to the in-
iculate sounds of the fiercest animals. The morning of the
ceeding day determined the fate of Persia; and a seasonable
irlwind drove a cloud of dust against the faces of the unbe-
vers. The clangour of arms was re-echoed to the tent of
stam, who, far unlike the ancient hero of his name, was gently
lining in a cool and tranquil shade, amidst the baggage of his
np and the train of mules that were laden with gold and
ver. On the sound of danger he started from his couch; but
flight was overtaken by a valiant Arab, who caught him by
e foot, struck off his head, hoisted it on a lance, and, instantly
urning to the field of battle, carried slaughter and dismay
ong the thickest ranks of the Persians.[23] The Saracens con-
s a loss of seven thousand five hundred men; and the battle
Cadesia is justly described by the epithets of obstinate and
ocious.[24] The standard of the monarchy was overthrown and
tured in the field—a leathern apron of a blacksmith, who, in
cient times, had arisen the deliverer of Persia; but this badge
heroic poverty was disguised and almost concealed by a pro-

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[2][The day of Aghwāth (crying for succour) was the second day of the battle
bon (following Abū-l-Fidā) omits the first day, called the day of Armāth.
e day of Ghimās (concussion) was the third, the night of Harīr (yelping) the
rth. Tabari gives a chapter to each period, iii. p. 21 *sqq.* tr. Kosegarten;
Goeje's Arabic text, i. 2285-2334; and calls the third day Imās (concealing).]

[3][The account of the death of Rustam given by Tabari is different and more
nentic (tr. Zotenberg, iii. p. 396). "An Arab named Hilāl, approaching the
sure-laden camels of Rustam, struck at them with his sword, at a hazard.
e stroke hit the camel on which Rustam was seated; for the darkness caused
the dart hindered him from seeing Rustam. The cord which tied the load of
sure to the camel was severed and the load fell on the head of Rustam, who
withstanding the pain he experienced leapt on his feet and threw himself into
canal to save himself by swimming. Now in leaping he broke his leg and
ld not move. Hilāl ran to the spot, seized him by the leg, drew him out of
water and cut off his head, which he fastened to the point of his spear.
en he got up on the seat, and cried, 'Moslems, I have slain Rustam'." I have
en this from the Persian version of Tabari, to illustrate how it differs from the
ginal Arabic, but I have shortened it somewhat. Tabari says there were two
kets on the camel (*mulo* Kosegarten), and that one fell on Rustam and injured
spine; but says nothing of the leg being broken by the leap. Kosegarten, iii.
6; de Goeje, i. 2336-7.]

[4] Atrox, contumax, plus semel renovatum, are the well-chosen expressions of
translator of Abulfeda (Reiske, p. 69 [*leg.* i. 231]).

fusion of precious gems.[25] After this victory, the wealthy province of Irak[26] or Assyria submitted to the caliph, and his conquests were firmly established by the speedy foundation o Bassora,[27] a place which ever commands the trade and navigation of the Persians. At the distance of fourscore miles from the Gulf, the Euphrates and Tigris unite in a broad and direct current, which is aptly styled the river of the Arabs. In the midway, between the junction and the mouth of these famous streams, the new settlement was planted on the western bank the first colony was composed of eight hundred Moslems; bu the influence of the situation soon reared a flourishing an populous capital. The air, though excessively hot, is pure an healthy; the meadows are filled with palm-trees and cattle and one of the adjacent valleys has been celebrated among th four paradises or gardens of Asia. Under the first caliphs, th jurisdiction of this Arabian colony extended over the souther provinces of Persia; the city has been sanctified by the tomb of the companions and martyrs; and the vessels of Europe stil frequent the port of Bassora, as a convenient station and passag of the Indian trade.

Foundation of Bassora. [A.D. 638]

Sack of Madayn. A.D. 637, March

After the defeat of Cadesia, a country intersected by rive and canals might have opposed an insuperable barrier to th victorious cavalry; and the walls of Ctesiphon or Madayn, whic had resisted the battering-rams of the Romans, would not hav yielded to the darts of the Saracens. But the flying Persiar were overcome by the belief that the last day of their religio and empire was at hand; the strongest posts were abandoned b treachery or cowardice; and the king, with a part of his famil and treasures, escaped to Holwan at the foot of the Median hill In the third month after the battle,[28] Said, the lieutenant mar, passed the Tigris without opposition; the capital was ken by assault; and the disorderly resistance of the people ave a keener edge to the sabres of the Moslems, who shouted ith religious transport, “This is the white palace of Chosroes, is is the promise of the apostle of God!” The naked robbers the desert were suddenly enriched beyond the measure of eir hope or knowledge. Each chamber revealed a new treas- e, secreted with art or ostentatiously displayed; the gold and lver, the various wardrobes and precious furniture, surpassed ays Abulfeda) the estimate of fancy or numbers; and another storian defines the untold and almost infinite mass by the bulous computation of three thousands of thousands of thou- nds of pieces of gold.[29] Some minute though curious facts present the contrast of riches and ignorance. From the remote lands of the Indian Ocean, a large provision of camphire[30] had een imported, which is employed with a mixture of wax to luminate the palaces of the East. Strangers to the name and operties of that odoriferous gum, the Saracens, mistaking it r salt, mingled the camphire in their bread and were astonished the bitterness of the taste. One of the apartments of the alace was decorated with a carpet of silk, sixty cubits in length d as many in breadth; a paradise or garden was depicted the ground; the flowers, fruits, and shrubs were imitated by e figures of the gold embroidery and the colours of the precious ones; and the ample square was encircled by a variegated and erdant border. The Arabian general persuaded his soldiers to linquish their claim in the reasonable hope that the eyes of e caliph would be delighted with the splendid workmanship nature and industry. Regardless of the merit of art and the omp of royalty, the rigid Omar divided the prize among his rethren of Medina; the picture was destroyed; but such was e intrinsic value of the materials that the share of Ali alone as sold for twenty thousand drachms. A mule that carried away e tiara and cuirass, the belt and bracelets of Chosroes, was

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[25] D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 297, [347 and] 348. [We read in Aral sources that the standard was made of panthers' skins. What is the author for the blacksmith's apron? See Rawlinson, Seventh Oriental Monarchy, p. 55

[26] [The whole province of conquered Persia (with Kūfa as capital) was call Irāk, and was afterwards divided into two parts—Arabian Irāk and Persian Irā At present, the name Irāk is confined to a very small district near Kom.]

[27] The reader may satisfy himself on the subject of Bassora, by consulting following writers: Geograph. Nubiens. p. 121; D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orienta p. 192; D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 130, 133, 145; Raynal, Hist. Phi sophique des deux Indes, tom. ii. p. 92-100; Voyages di Pietro della Valle, tc iv. p. 370-391; De Tavernier, tom. i. p. 240-247; De Thévenot, tom. ii. p. 5 584; D'Otter, tom. ii. p. 45-78; De Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 172-199. [The mod Basra is some miles to the north-east of the old site.]

[28] [Madāïn probably fell more than a year after the battle of Cadesia, acco ing to Tabari's chronology. Cp. Muir, *op. cit.* p. 178 *sqq.*]

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[29] Mente vix potest numerove comprehendi quanta spolia . . . nostris cesserint. bulfeda, p. 69. Yet I still suspect that the extravagant numbers of Elmacin may the error, not of the text, but of the version. The best translators from the reek, for instance, I find to be very poor arithmeticians. [The translation here ems to be correct.]

[30] The camphire tree grows in China and Japan; but many hundredweight of ose meaner sorts are exchanged for a single pound of the more precious gum of orneo and Sumatra (Raynal, Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 362-365. Dictionnaire Hist. Naturelle par Bomare. Miller's Gardener's Dictionary). These may be e islands of the first climate from whence the Arabians imported their camphire eograph. Nub. p. 34, 35; d'Herbelot, p. 232).

overtaken by the pursuers; the gorgeous trophy was presente
to the commander of the faithful; and the gravest of the con
panions condescended to smile when they beheld the whi
beard, hairy arms, and uncouth figure of the veteran, who w
invested with the spoils of the Great King.[31] The sack
Ctesiphon was followed by its desertion and gradual deca
The Saracens disliked the air and situation of the place; ar
Omar was advised by his general to remove the seat of gover
ment to the western side of the Euphrates. In every age, tl
foundation and ruin of the Assyrian cities has been easy ar
rapid; the country is destitute of stone and timber, and tl
most solid structures[32] are composed of bricks baked in the su
and joined by a cement of the native bitumen. The name
Cufa[33] describes an habitation of reeds and earth; but the in
portance of the new capital was supported by the number
wealth, and spirit of a colony of veterans; and their licentiou
ness was indulged by the wisest caliphs, who were apprehensi
of provoking the revolt of an hundred thousand swords: "Ye me
of Cufa," said Ali, who solicited their aid, "you have been alwa
conspicuous by your valour. You conquered the Persian kir
and scattered his forces, till you had taken possession of his i
heritance." This mighty conquest was achieved by the battl
of Jalula and Nehavend. After the loss of the former, Yezd
gerd fled from Holwan, and concealed his shame and despair
the mountains of Farsistan, from whence Cyrus had descende
with his equal and valiant companions. The courage of tl
nation survived that of the monarch; among the hills to tl
south of Ecbatana or Hamadan, one hundred and fifty thousar
Persians made a third and final stand for their religion ar
country; and the decisive battle of Nehavend was styled by tl
Arabs the victory of victories. If it be true that the flyir
general of the Persians was stopped and overtaken in a crow
of mules and camels laden with honey, the incident, howev

Foundation of Cufa. [A.D. 638]

[Battle of Jalūla A.D. 637]

[A.D. 642]

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[31] See Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. i. p. 376, 377. I may credit the fa
without believing the prophecy.

[32] The most considerable ruins of Assyria [rather Babylonia] are the tower
Belus, at Babylon, and the hall of Chosroes, at Ctesiphon: they have been visit
by that vain and curious traveller Pietro della Valle (tom. i. p. 713-718, 731-73
[On the tower of Belus see General Chesney's Expedition for the Survey of t
Euphrates and Tigris, vol. ii. p. 26. For an account of the ruins of Babylonia,
c. xix. p. 604 *sqq*.]

[33] Consult the article of *Coufah* in the Bibliothèque of d'Herbelot (p. 277, 27
and the second volume of Ockley's History, particularly p. 40 and 153.

ght or singular, will denote the luxurious impediments of an riental army.[34]

Conquest of Persia. A.D. 637-651

The geography of Persia is darkly delineated by the Greeks id Latins; but the most illustrious of her cities appear to be ore ancient than the invasion of the Arabs. By the reduction Hamadan and Ispahan, of Caswin, Tauris, and Rei, they gradu- ly approached the shores of the Caspian Sea; and the orators Mecca might applaud the success and spirit of the faithful, 10 had already lost sight of the northern bear, and had almost anscended the bounds of the habitable world.[35] Again turn- g towards the West and the Roman empire, they repassed the gris over the bridge of Mosul, and, in the captive provinces of rmenia and Mesopotamia, embraced their victorious brethren the Syrian army. From the palace of Madayn their Eastern ogress was not less rapid or extensive. They advanced along

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[34] See the article of *Nehavend* in d'Herbelot, p. 667, 668, and Voyages en irquie et en Perse, par Otter, tom. i. p. 191. [On the first danger of Madāïn, zdegerd fled to Holwān, a fortress in the hills, a hundred miles to the north-east that city. A new army formed there advanced (autumn 637) to Jalūla, half-way the road to Madāïn. Defeated there, Yezdegerd fled to Rayy (near the modern heran). The Moslems took Holwān and made it their outpost; there was to no further advance into Persia, and the Saracens occupied themselves with npleting their reduction of Mesopotamia. Omar laid down the principle that limits of Arabian Irāk were to be the limits of Saracen conquest. But circum- nces forced his hand. The governor of Bahrain, on the east coast of Arabia, ssed to Fārs and made an attack on Istakhr (Persepolis) without the iph's permission; and its failure encouraged the Persians in Khūzistān to renew stilities. The outcome was that the Moslems of Basra and Kūfa were drawn o subjugating Khūzistān (including the towns of Ahwāz, Tustar, Rāmhurmuz, s, Jundai-Sābūr). These events (A.D. 638) convinced Omar that the only wise licy was to stamp out the Persian realm, and pursue Yezdegerd beyond its rders. After the great defeat of Nehavend (see text), Yezdegerd fled from yy to Ispahān, thence across Kirmān into Khurāsān. He reached Nishāpur, n Merv, then Merv-er-Rūd which lies four days to the south of Merv, then lkh, from which place he sent appeals to Turkey and China. On their side, Moslems, after the victory of Nehavend, subdued Hamadhān, Ispahān and Rayy; d then their arms were carried in three directions: (1) into Adharbījān and rthward towards the Caucasus; (2) into Khurāsān; Merv, Merv-er-Rūd and lkh were taken and the borders of Islām advanced to the Oxus or Jeihūn; (3) ith-eastward (Fārs having been already (A.D. 643) subdued by several nerals and Istakhr taken) Kirmān was conquered (Tabari, p. 516; de Goeje's t, i. 2703) and then Sijistān and Mekrān (A.D. 644; Tabari, p. 518; de Goeje, 705-6). The conquest of Khurāsān was carried out by Ahnaf ibn Kais.]

[35] It is in such a style of ignorance and wonder that the Athenian orator de- ibes the Arctic conquests of Alexander, who never advanced beyond the shores the Caspian, Ἀλέξανδρος ἔξω τῆς ἄρκτου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης ιειστήκει. Æschines contra Ctesiphontem, tom. iii. p. 554, edit. Græc. Orator. iske. This memorable cause was pleaded at Athens, Olymp. cxii. 3 (before rist 330), in the autumn (Taylor, præfat. p. 370, &c.), about a year after the ttle of Arbela; and Alexander, in the pursuit of Darius, was marching towards yrcania and Bactriana.

the Tigris and the Gulf; penetrated through the passes of t
mountains into the valley of Estachar or Persepolis; and pr
faned the last sanctuary of the Magian empire. The grands
of Chosroes was nearly surprised among the falling columns a
mutilated figures,—a sad emblem of the past and present fortu
of Persia:[36] he fled with accelerated haste over the desert
Kirman, implored the aid of the war-like Segestans, and soug
an humble refuge on the verge of the Turkish and Chinese power
But a victorious army is insensible of fatigue; the Arabs divid
their forces in the pursuit of a timorous enemy; and the cali
Othman promised the government of Chorasan to the first gene
who should enter that large and populous country, the kingdo
of the ancient Bactrians. The condition was accepted; the pri
was deserved; the standard of Mahomet was planted on the wa
[A.D. 743] of Herat, Merou, and Balch; and the successful leader neith
halted nor reposed till his foaming cavalry had tasted the wat
of the Oxus. In the public anarchy, the independent govern
of the cities and castles obtained their separate capitulatior
the terms were granted or imposed by the esteem, the pruden
or the compassion of the victors; and a simple profession
faith established the distinction between a brother and a sla
[Hormuzan] After a noble defence, Harmozan, the prince or satrap of Ahw
[A.D. 639-40] and Susa, was compelled to surrender his person and his sta
to the discretion of the caliph; and their interview exhibit
portrait of the Arabian manners. In the presence, and by t
command, of Omar, the gay barbarian was despòiled of his silk
robes embroidered with gold, and of his tiara bedecked w
rubies and emeralds. "Are you now sensible," said the conque
to his naked captive; "are you now sensible of the judgment
God and of the different rewards of infidelity and obedience
"Alas!" replied Harmozan, "I feel them too deeply. In t
days of our common ignorance, we fought with the weapons
the flesh, and my nation was superior. God was then neute
since he has espoused your quarrel, you have subverted
kingdom and religion." Oppressed by this painful dialog
the Persian complained of intolerable thirst, but discovered so
apprehension lest he should be killed whilst he was drinki

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[36] We are indebted for this curious particular to the Dynasties of Abulpharag
p. 116; but it is needless to prove the identity of Estachar and Persep
(d'Herbelot, p. 327), and still more needless to copy the drawings and descripti
of Sir John Chardin or Corneille le Bruyn.

[37] [Cp. Tabari, iii. p. 503, tr. Zotenberg; de Goeje's text, i. 2691.
"Segestans" are meant the people of Sijistān (or Sīstān).]

cup of water. "Be of good courage," said the caliph, "your e is safe till you have drunk this water." The crafty satrap cepted the assurance, and instantly dashed the vase against e ground. Omar would have avenged the deceit, but his mpanions represented the sanctity of an oath; and the speedy nversion of Harmozan entitled him not only to a free pardon, but en to a stipend of two thousand pieces of gold. The adminis- tion of Persia was regulated by an actual survey of the people, e cattle, and the fruits of the earth;[38] and this monument, ich attests the vigilance of the caliphs, might have instructed e philosophers of every age.[39]

Death of the last king. A.D. 651

The flight of Yezdegerd had carried him beyond the Oxus l as far as the Jaxartes, two rivers[40] of ancient and modern nown, which descend from the mountains of India towards the spian Sea. He was hospitably entertained by Tarkhan,[41] prince Fargana,[42] a fertile province on the Jaxartes; the king of narcand, with the Turkish tribes of Sogdiana and Scythia, re moved by the lamentations and promises of the fallen narch; and he solicited by a suppliant embassy the more id and powerful friendship of the emperor of China.[43] The tuous Taitsong,[44] the first of the dynasty of the Tang, may be justly compared with the Antonines of Rome; his people enjoy the blessings of prosperity and peace; and his dominion w acknowledged by forty-four hordes of the barbarians of Tarta His last garrisons of Cashgar and Khoten maintained a freque intercourse with their neighbours of the Jaxartes and Oxus; recent colony of Persians had introduced into China the tronomy of the Magi; and Taitsong might be alarmed by t rapid progress and dangerous vicinity of the Arabs. The fluence, and perhaps the supplies, of China revived the hop of Yezdegerd and the zeal of the worshippers of fire; and returned with an army of Turks to conquer the inheritance his fathers. The fortunate Moslems, without unsheathing th swords, were the spectators of his ruin and death. The grands of Chosroes was betrayed by his servant, insulted by the seditio inhabitants of Merou, and oppressed, defeated, and pursued his barbarian allies. He reached the banks of a river, and offer his rings and bracelets for an instant passage in a miller's bo Ignorant or insensible of royal distress, the rustic replied th four drachms of silver were the daily profit of his mill, and that would not suspend his work unless the loss were repaid. In th moment of hesitation and delay, the last of the Sassanian kin was overtaken and slaughtered by the Turkish cavalry, in t nineteenth year of his unhappy reign.[45] His son Firuz, an humb client of the Chinese emperor, accepted the station of captain his guards; and the Magian worship was long preserved by colony of loyal exiles in the province of Bucharia. His grands inherited the regal name; but after a faint and fruitless ente prise he returned to China and ended his days in the palace Sigan. The male line of the Sassanides was extinct; but th female captives, the daughters of Persia, were given to the co querors in servitude or marriage; and the race of the caliphs an imams was ennobled by the blood of their royal mothers.[46]

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[38] After the conquest of Persia, Theophanes adds, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκέλευσεν αρος ἀναγραφῆναι πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν οἰκουμένην, ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἀναγραφὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπων κτηνῶν καὶ φυτῶν (Chronograph. p. 283 [*sub* A.M. 5131]).

[39] Amidst our meagre relations, I must regret that d'Herbelot has not found and l a Persian translation of Tabari, enriched, as he says, with many extracts n the native historians of the Ghebers or Magi (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 1014). s now accessible in Zotenberg's French translation, referred to in previous notes.]

[40] The most authentic accounts of the two rivers, the Sihon (Jaxartes) and the on (Oxus), may be found in Sherif al Edrisi (Geograph. Nubiens. p. 138), lfeda (Descript. Chorasan. in Hudson, tom. iii. p. 23), Abulghazi Khan, who ned on their banks (Hist. Généalogique des Tatars, p. 32, 57, 766), and the kish Geographer, a Ms. in the king of France's library (Examen Critique des toriens d'Alexandre, p. 194-360). [It should be remembered that the Oxus or u Darya (which now, like the Jaxartes or Syr Darya, flows into the Aral) then ed into the Caspian. The course changed about A.D. 1573. Recently there e been thoughts of diverting it into its old course.]

[41] [Tarkhan is not a proper name, but a Turkish title.]

[42] The territory of Fargana is described by Abulfeda, p. 76, 77. [There are two t gates between China and Western Asia,—north and south, respectively, of Celestial Mountains. Farghana lies in front of the southern gate, through h a difficult route leads into the country of Kāshghar.]

[43] Eo redegit angustiarum eundem regem exsulem, ut Turcici regis, et Sogdiani, inensis, auxilia missis literis imploraret (Abulfed. Annal. p. 74). The connexion e Persian and Chinese history is illustrated by Fréret (Mém. de l'Académie, . xvi. p. 245-255), and de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 54-59, and for Geography of the borders, tom. ii. p. 1-43).

[44] Hist. Sinica, p. 41-46, in the iiird part of the Relations Curieuses of Thévenot. e Tang dynasty, founded in 626, put an end to the long period of dis- gration and anarchy which had prevailed in China since the fall of the Han asty (A.D. 221).]

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[45] I have endeavoured to harmonize the various narratives of Elmacin (Hi Saracen. p. 37), Abulpharagius (Dynast. p. 116), Abulfeda (Annal. p. 74, 79), a d'Herbelot (p. 485). The end of Yezdegerd was not only unfortunate but obscu [In Tabari the story is different. Yezdegerd obtains a night's lodging from miller, who, coveting his gold-embroidered dress, kills him with a hatchet; *cit.* iii. p. 505; cp. the Arabic text of de Goeje, i. 2690.]

[46] The two daughters of Yezdegerd married Hassan, the son of Ali, a Mohammed, the son of Abubeker; and the first of these was the father of numerous progeny. The daughter of Phirouz became the wife of the cali Walid, and their son Yezid derived his genuine or fabulous descent from the Ch roes of Persia, the Cæsars of Rome, and the Chagans of the Turks or Av (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orientale, p. 96, 487).

The conque of Transoxi ana. A.D.

After the fall of the Persian kingdom, the river Oxus divided he territories of the Saracens and of the Turks. This narrow oundary was soon overleaped by the spirit of the Arabs; the governors of Chorasan extended their successive inroads; and ne of their triumphs was adorned with the buskin of a Turkish ueen, which she dropped in her precipitate flight beyond the ills of Bochara.[47] But the final conquest of Transoxiana,[48] as vell as of Spain, was reserved for the glorious reign of the inac-ive Walid; and the name of Catibah, the camel-driver, declares he origin and merit of his successful lieutenant. While one of is colleagues displayed the first Mahometan banner on the banks f the Indus,[49] the spacious regions between the Oxus, the Jax-rtes, and the Caspian Sea, were reduced by the arms of Catibah o the obedience of the prophet and of the caliph.[50] A tribute f two millions of pieces of gold was imposed on the infidels;

[Kutaiba]

[A.D. 704-15

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[47] It was valued at 2000 pieces of gold, and was the prize of Obeidollah the son Ziyād, a name afterwards infamous by the murder of Hosein (Ockley's History the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 142, 143). His brother Salem was accompanied by his ife, the first Arabian woman (A.D. 680) who passed the Oxus; she borrowed, or ther stole, the crown and jewels of the princess of the Sogdians (p. 231, 232). The queen (*khatun* or "lady," she is called) whose slippers enriched the son of yād c. A.D. 674 was still alive and reigning more than 30 years later, when utaiba came to conquer her realm (Narshaki).]

[48] A part of Abulfeda's Geography is translated by Greaves, inserted in Hudson's ollection of the minor Geographers (tom. iii.), and entitled Descriptio Chorasmiæ *Mawaralnahrae*, id est, regionum extra fluvium, Oxum, p. 80. The name of *ransoxiana*, softer in sound, equivalent in sense, is aptly used by Petit de la roix (Hist. de Gengiscan, &c.) and some modern Orientalists, but they are mis-ken in ascribing it to the writers of antiquity. [For the conquest of Transoxiana, abari (see next note) gives the main thread. But we have a very important source, hich has only recently been utilized, in a work of Narshaki of Bokhārā who wrote A.D. 943, known through a Persian translation in possession of the Royal siatic Society. It is a topographical and historical description of Bokhārā, and s been used by A. Vámbéry for his History of Bokhārā, and by M. L. Cahun r his Introduction à l'Histoire de l'Asie (1896). The text was edited in 1892 by hefer.]

[49] [Mohammad ibn Kāsim was the able general who advanced beyond the dus (A.D. 709-714). Advancing through Mekrān (the subjugation of which untry he completed), Mohammad captured the city of Daibal on the coast, a ry difficult achievement, which created a great sensation. Then crossing the dus he defeated an Indian army under a chief named Daher; and advancing rthward on the left bank of the Indus took one after another the towns of ahmanābād, Daur, Alor, Savendary, and finally reached the sacred city of ultān on the Hyphasis. This fell after a long siege. It is not quite correct to y (as in the text) that the Moslems appeared now for the first time on the banks the Indus. In Moāwiya's caliphate, Muhallab had advanced to the Indus from e side of Kābul. In the same caliphate, the conquest of Afghanistan and luchistan was completed; Kandahār was taken in the north and Cosdar in the uth.]

[50] The conquests of Catibah are faintly marked by Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p.), d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. *Catbah Samarcand Valid*), and de Guignes (Hist. s Huns, tom. i. p. 58, 59). [They are fully recounted by Tabari. See Weil, i. p.

their idols were burnt or broken; the Musulman chief pr nounced a sermon in the new mosch of Carizme; after sever battles, the Turkish hordes were driven back to the desert; ar the emperors of China solicited the friendship of the victorio Arabs. To their industry the prosperity of the province, tl Sogdiana of the ancients, may in a great measure be ascribec but the advantages of the soil and climate had been understoc and cultivated since the reign of the Macedonian kings. Befo the invasion of the Saracens, Carizme, Bochara, and Samarcar were rich and populous under the yoke of the shepherds of tl north.[51] These cities were surrounded with a double wall; ar

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497 *sqq.* The expedition of the son of Ziyād against Bokhārā, which Gibb mentions, took place in the caliphate of Moāwiya. In the same caliphate (A.D. 6 Sad (son of caliph Othmân) seems to have advanced to Samarkand. See Weil, p. 291. Kutaiba's conquest of Transoxiana occupied him for ten years, as the were continual revolts. The province of Bokhārā was subjugated by 709; Sama kand was taken and occupied with a garrison in 712; and the province Farghana was annexed in 713. In 715 Kutaiba was advancing or preparing to a vance to Kāshghar; his ambassadors (it is said) were sent to treat with the "Ki of China," when the news of the caliph's death and fears for his own safety caus him to desist from further enterprises of conquest. Under Sulaimān, the su cessor of Walīd, the territories of Jurjān and Tabaristān (S.E. and S. of t Caspian) were subdued. Carizme (or Khwārizm; = the Khanate of Khiva) seen to have been first occupied under Yezīd (680-3); and afterwards reconquered Kutaiba.]

[15] [In Transoxiana there was a mixed population of Iranians and White Hu (Ephthalites), who had been subdued by the Turks (see above, vol. iv. 351), and st acknowledged the allegiance of the Chagan, but were under the immediate gover ment of local princes (like the queen of Bokhārā, the tarkhan of Sogdiana). At t time of Kutaiba's conquest, there was an insurrectionary movement in Transoxiar of the poor against the rich. (Cp. Cahun, *op. cit.* p. 133-4.) The Sarac conquerors most skilfully took advantage of the two elements of disunion—the ra hatred between Irān and Tūrān, and the political faction; and Kutaiba's conquest w due as much to intrigue as to force. It must also be observed that to the Nestori Christians of Transoxiana, Islam (with its ancient history founded on the Jewi Scripture) was less obnoxious than fire-worship. The chief danger which Kutai had to fear was succour to the enemy from the Turks of Altai; and a Turki force actually came in 706; but he managed, by playing upon the credulity of t tarkhan of Sogdiana, to get rid of the formidable warriors without fighti a battle. The conquest of Farghana cost more blows than the conquest of Sogdian Here the Saracens came into contact with the Tibetan Buddhists, who had recent revolted against the Emperor of China. Bands of these Tibetan mountainee crossed the great southern pass to plunder in the lands of the Oxus and Jaxart They formed friendly relations with the Saracens, who in their turn reconnoitr in Kashgharia. It would have been a matter of great importance to the Sarace to hold the southern gate of China, and thus create and command a new route commerce from east to west. But this would have taken away the occupation the Turks, who had hitherto been the intermediates between China and Weste Asia, holding the northern gate and hindering any one else from holding the souther Accordingly the Turkish Chagan interfered, and forcibly recalled the Tibeta to their allegiance to the Emperor of China. The advance to Kāshghar, whi was interrupted by the news of the caliph's death (see last note), was clear intended to wrest from China its south-western provinces, in conjunction with t allies of Tibet.—Some years later (A.D. 724) another Turkish army was sent

he exterior fortification, of a larger circumference, inclosed the ields and gardens of the adjacent district. The mutual wants f India and Europe were supplied by the diligence of the Sogian merchants ; and the inestimable art of transforming linen nto paper has been diffused from the manufacture of Samarcand ver the western world.[52]

Invasion of Syria. A.D. 632

II. No sooner had Abubeker restored the unity of faith and overnment than he dispatched a circular letter to the Arabian ribes. "In the name of the most merciful God, to the rest of he true believers. Health and happiness, and the mercy and lessing of God, be upon you. I praise the most high God, and pray for his prophet Mahomet. This is to acquaint you that I ntend to send the true believers into Syria[53] to take it out of he hands of the infidels. And I would have you know that the ghting for religion is an act of obedience to God." His mesengers returned with the tidings of pious and martial ardour, hich they had kindled in every province ; and the camp of edina was successively filled with the intrepid bands of the aracens, who panted for action, complained of the heat of the eason and the scarcity of provisions, and accused, with impatient urmurs, the delays of the caliph. As soon as their numbers ere complete, Abubeker ascended the hill, reviewed the men, e horses, and the arms, and poured forth a fervent prayer for e success of their undertaking. In person and on foot he ccompanied the first day's march ; and, when the blushing

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ogdiana and defeated 20,000 Moslems near Samarkand. The event is mentioned an inscription recently found near lake Kosho-Tsaidam and deciphered by homsen,—the earliest Turkish document known. The stone was erected by the urkish Chagan in A.D. 733 in memory of his brother Kul; and this Kul won the ctory near Samarkand. The inscription is bilingual—in Turkish and Chinese. e Radlov, Alttürkische Inschriften, cited above, in vol. iv. p. 540.]

[52] A curious description of Samarcand is inserted in the Bibliotheca Arabicoispana, tom. i. p. 208, &c. The librarian Casiri (tom. ii. 9) relates, from credible stimony, that paper was first imported from China to Samarcand, A.H. 30, and *vented*, or rather introduced, at Mecca, A.H. 88. The Escurial library contains per Mss. as old as the ivth or vth century of the Hegira.

[53] A separate history of the conquest of Syria has been composed by Al Wakidi, di of Bagdad, who was born A.D. 748, and died A.D. 822 ; he likewise wrote the nquest of Egypt, of Diarbekir, &c. Above the meagre and recent chronicles of e Arabians, Al Wakidi has the double merit of antiquity and copiousness. His les and traditions afford an artless picture of the men and the times. Yet his rrative is too often defective, trifling, and improbable. Till something better all be found, his learned and spirited interpreter (Ockley, in his History of the racens, vol. i. p. 21-342) will not deserve the petulant animadversion of Reiske rodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas, p. 236). I am sorry to think that the bours of Ockley were consummated in a jail (see his two prefaces to the 1st vol. D. 1708, to the 2nd, 1718, with the list of authors at the end). [See Apndix 1.]

leaders attempted to dismount, the caliph removed their scruple by a declaration that those who rode and those who walked, i the service of religion, were equally meritorious. His instructions[54] to the chiefs of the Syrian army were inspired by th warlike fanaticism which advances to seize, and affects to despise the objects of earthly ambition. "Remember," said the successor of the prophet, "that you are always in the presence c God, on the verge of death, in the assurance of judgment, an the hope of paradise. Avoid injustice and oppression; consul with your brethren, and study to preserve the love and confidenc of your troops. When you fight the battles of the Lord, acqui yourselves like men, without turning your backs; but let no your victory be stained with the blood of women or childrer Destroy no palm-trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut dow no fruit-trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such as you kil to eat. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, an be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons who live retired in monasteries, and propose t themselves to serve God that way: let them alone, and neithe kill them nor destroy their monasteries.[55] And you will fin another sort of people that belong to the synagogue of Satan who have shaven crowns;[56] be sure you cleave their skulls, an give them no quarter, till they either turn Mahometans or pa tribute." All profane or frivolous conversation, all dangerou recollection of ancient quarrels was severely prohibited amon the Arabs; in the tumult of a camp, the exercises of religio were assiduously practised; and the intervals of action were employed in prayer, meditation, and the study of the Koran. Th abuse, or even the use, of wine was chastised by fourscore stroke on the soles of the feet; and in the fervour of their primitiv zeal many secret sinners revealed their fault and solicited their punishment. After some hesitation, the command of the Syrian army was delegated to Abu Obeidah, one of the fugitives of Mecca and companions of Mahomet; whose zeal and devotion were assuaged, without being abated, by the singular mildness and benevolence of his temper. But in all the emergencies of war the soldiers demanded the superior genius of Caled; and, whoever might be the choice of the prince, the *sword of God* was both in fact and fame the foremost leader of the Saracens. He obeyed without reluctance; he was consulted without jealousy; and such was the spirit of the man, or rather of the times, that Caled professed his readiness to serve under the banner of the faith, though it were in the hands of a child or an enemy. Glory and riches and dominion were indeed promised to the victorious Musulman; but he was carefully instructed that, if the goods of this life were his only incitement, *they* likewise would be his only reward.

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[54] The instructions, &c. of the Syrian war are described by Al Wakidi an Ockley, tom. i. p. 22-27, &c. In the sequel it is necessary to contract, and nee less to quote, their circumstantial narrative. My obligations to others shall b noticed.

[55] Notwithstanding this precept, M. Pauw (Recherches sur les Egyptiens, ton ii. p. 192, edit. Lausanne) represents the Bedoweens as the implacable enemies the Christian monks. For my own part, I am more inclined to suspect the avari of the Arabian robbers, and the prejudices of the German philosopher.

[56] Even in the seventh century the monks were generally laymen; they wo their hair long and dishevelled, and shaved their heads when they were ordain priests. The circular tonsure was sacred and mysterious; it was the crown thorns; but it was likewise a royal diadem, and every priest was a king, & (Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 721-758, especially p. 737, 73 [Weil translates the last words of Abū Bekr's speech very differently: "If y meet men who have their crowns shaven and the rest of their hair in long tress touch them only with the flat of the sword and go on your way in God's nan God ward you in war and plague," i. 10.]

Siege of Bosra

One of the fifteen provinces of Syria, the cultivated lands to he eastward of the Jordan, had been decorated by Roman vanity with the name of *Arabia*;[57] and the first arms of the Saracens were justified by the semblance of a national right. The country was enriched by the various benefits of trade; by the vigilance of the emperors it was covered with a line of forts; and the populous cities of Gerasa, Philadelphia, and Bosra,[58] were secure, at east from a surprise, by the solid structure of their walls. The ast of these cities was the eighteenth station from Medina; the oad was familiar to the caravans of Hejaz and Irak, who annully visited this plenteous market of the province and the desert; he perpetual jealousy of the Arabs had trained the inhabitants o arms; and twelve thousand horse could sally from the gates f Bosra, an appellation which signifies, in the Syriac language, strong tower of defence. Encouraged by their first success against the open towns and flying parties of the borders, a deachment of four thousand Moslems presumed to summon and attack the fortress of Bosra. They were oppressed by the

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[57] Huic Arabia est conserta, ex alio latere Nabathæis contigua; opima varietate commerciorum, castrisque oppleta validis et castellis, quæ ad repellendos gentium cinarum excursus, solicitudo pervigil veterum per opportunos saltos erexit et cautos. Ammian. Marcellin. xiv. 8. Reland, Palestin. tom. i. p. 85, 86.

[58] With Gerasa and Philadelphia, Ammianus praises the fortifications of Bosra, firmitate cautissimas. They deserved the same praise in the time of Abulfeda (Tabul. Syriæ, p. 99), who describes this city, the metropolis of Hawran (Auranitis), four days' journey from Damascus. The Hebrew etymology I learn from Reland, Palestin. tom. ii. p. 666.

numbers of the Syrians; they were saved by the presence
Caled,[59] with fifteen hundred horse; he blamed the enterpris
[Shorahbil] restored the battle, and rescued his friend, the venerable Serjabi
who had vainly invoked the unity of God and the promises
the apostle. After a short repose, the Moslems performed the
ablutions with sand instead of water;[60] and the morning praye
was recited by Caled before they mounted on horseback. Co
fident in their strength, the people of Bosra threw open the
gates, drew their forces into the plain, and swore to die in th
defence of their religion. But a religion of peace was incapabl
of withstanding the fanatic cry of "Fight, fight! Paradis
paradise!" that re-echoed in the ranks of the Saracens; and th
uproar of the town, the ringing of bells,[61] and the exclamatio
of the priests and monks increased the dismay and disorder
the Christians. With the loss of two hundred and thirty me
the Arabs remained masters of the field; and the ramparts
Bosra, in expectation of human or divine aid, were crowded wit
holy crosses and consecrated banners. The governor Romanu
had recommended an early submission: despised by the peopl
and degraded from his office, he still retained the desire an
opportunity of revenge. In a nocturnal interview, he informe
the enemy of a subterraneous passage from his house under th
wall of the city; the son of the caliph, with an hundred volu
teers, were committed to the faith of this new ally, and the
successful intrepidity gave an easy entrance to their companion
After Caled had imposed the terms of servitude and tribute, th
apostate or convert avowed in the assembly of the people h
meritorious treason. "I renounce your society," said Romanu
"both in this world and the world to come. And I deny hi

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[59] [The accounts of the wonderful march of Khālid across the Syrian desert,
way of Dūma and Korākar and Tadmor, must be received with caution. T
story of the taking of Busrā told in the text is taken from Ockley and has no go
authority. Cp. Weil, i. 39; Muir, Early Caliphate, p. 101-3.]

[60] The apostle of a desert and an army was obliged to allow this ready succed
neum for water (Koran, c. iii. p. 66, c. v. p. 83); but the Arabian and Pers
casuists have embarrassed his free permission with many niceties and distincti
(Reland, de Relig. Mohammed. l. i. p. 82, 83. Chardin, Voyages en Perse, to
iv.).

[61] *The bells rung!* Ockley, vol. i. p. 38. Yet I much doubt whether this
pression can be justified by the text of Al Wakidi, or the practice of the times.
Græcos, says the learned Ducange (Glossar. med. et infim. Græcitat. tom. i.
774), campanarum usus serius transit et etiamnum rarissimus est. The old
example which he can find in the Byzantine writers is of the year 1040; but
Venetians pretend that they introduced bells at Constantinople in the
century. [When Mohammad said (acc. to the Traditions) "There is a devil
every bell," he meant the bells worn by girls round their ankles. Cp. S. La
Poole, Speeches and Tabletalk of the Prophet M., 168. The Christians of Ara
at that time called to church by beating a wooden stick with a rod.]

that was crucified, and whosoever worships him. And I choose God for my Lord, Islam for my faith, Mecca for my temple, the Moslems for my brethren, and Mahomet for my prophet; who was sent to lead us into the right way, and to exalt the true religion in spite of those who join partners with God."

Siege of Damascus. A.D. 633

The conquest of Bosra, four days' journey from Damascus,[62] encouraged the Arabs to besiege the ancient capital of Syria.[63] At some distance from the walls, they encamped among the groves and fountains of that delicious territory,[64] and the usual option of the Mahometan faith, of tribute, or of war, was proposed to the resolute citizens, who had been lately strengthened by a reinforcement of five thousand Greeks. In the decline as in the infancy of the military art, an hostile defiance was frequently offered and accepted by the generals themselves:[65] many a lance was shivered in the plain of Damascus, and the personal prowess of Caled was signalised in the first sally of the besieged. After an obstinate combat, he had overthrown and made prisoner one of the Christian leaders, a stout and worthy antagonist. He instantly mounted a fresh horse, the gift of the governor of Palmyra, and pushed forwards to the front of the battle. "Repose yourself for a moment," said his friend Derar, "and permit me to supply your place; you are fatigued with ighting with this dog." "O Derar!" replied the indefatigable Saracen, "we shall rest in the world to come. He that labours o-day shall rest to-morrow." With the same unabated ardour, Caled answered, encountered, and vanquished a second champion; nd the heads of his two captives who refused to abandon their

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[62] Damascus is amply described by the Sherif al Edrisi (Geograph. Nub. p. 116, 17), and his translator, Sionita (Appendix, c. 4); Abulfeda (Tabula Syriæ, p. 100); chultens (Index Geograph. ad Vit. Saladin.); d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 291); hévenot (Voyage du Levant, part. i. p. 688-698); Maundrell (Journey from Aleppo o Jerusalem, p. 122-130); and Pocock (Description of the East, vol. ii. p. 117-127).

[63] Nobilissima civitas, says Justin. According to the Oriental traditions, it was lder than Abraham or Semiramis. Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. 6, 7, p. 24, 29, dit. Havercamp. Justin. xxxvi. 2.

[64] Ἔδει γὰρ οἶμαι τὴν Διὸς πόλιν ἀληθῶς, καὶ τῆς Ἑώας ἁπάσης ὀφθαλμὸν, τὴν ἱερὰν ὶ μεγίστην Δάμασκον λέγω, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις σύμπασιν οἷον ἱερῶν κάλλει, καὶ νεῶν μεγέθει, ὶ ὡρῶν εὐκαιρίᾳ, καὶ πηγῶν ἀγλαΐᾳ καὶ ποταμῶν πλήθει, καὶ γῆς εὐφορίᾳ νικῶσαν, &c. lian, epist. xxiv. p. 392. These splendid epithets are occasioned by the figs of amascus, of which the author sends an hundred to his friend Serapion, and this etorical theme is inserted by Petavius, Spanheim, &c. (p. 390-396) among the enuine epistles of Julian. [This is now generally recognized as spurious.] How ould they overlook that the writer is an inhabitant of Damascus (he thrice affirms at this peculiar fig grows only παρ' ἡμῖν), a city which Julian never entered or proached?

[65] Voltaire, who casts a keen and lively glance over the surface of history, has een struck with the resemblance of the first Moslems and the heroes of the Iliad; e siege of Troy and that of Damascus (Hist. Générale, tom. i. p. 348).

religion were indignantly hurled into the midst of the city. T
event of some general and partial actions reduced the Dan
cenes to a closer defence; but a messenger, whom they drop
from the walls, returned with the promise of speedy and pov
ful succour, and their tumultuous joy conveyed the intellige
to the camp of the Arabs. After some debate it was resol
by the generals to raise, or rather to suspend, the siege
Damascus, till they had given battle to the forces of
emperor. In the retreat, Caled would have chosen the m
perilous station of the rear-guard; he modestly yielded to
wishes of Abu Obeidah. But in the hour of danger he flev
the rescue of his companion, who was rudely pressed by a s
of six thousand horse and ten thousand foot, and few among
Christians could relate at Damascus the circumstances of tl
defeat. The importance of the contest required the junct
of the Saracens who were dispersed on the frontiers of Syria
Palestine; and I shall transcribe one of the circular manda
which was addressed to Amrou the future conqueror of Egy
"In the name of the most merciful God: from Caled to Amr
health and happiness. Know that thy brethren the Mosle
design to march to Aiznadin, where there is an army of seve
thousand Greeks, who purpose to come against us, *that they*
extinguish the light of God with their mouths; but God preserveth
light in spite of the infidels.[66] As soon, therefore, as this lette
mine shall be delivered to thy hands, come with those that
with thee to Aiznadin, where thou shalt find us, if it please
most high God." The summons was cheerfully obeyed, and
forty-five thousand Moslems who met on the same day, on
same spot, ascribed to the blessing of providence the effects
their activity and zeal.

Battle of Aiznadin A.D. 633, July 13

About four years after the triumphs of the Persian war,
repose of Heraclius and the empire was again disturbed by a n
enemy, the power of whose religion was more strongly felt t
it was clearly understood by the Christians of the East. In
palace of Constantinople or Antioch, he was awakened by
invasion of Syria, the loss of Bosra, and the danger of Damas
An army of seventy thousand veterans, or new levies, was
sembled at Hems or Emesa, under the command of his gen

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[66] These words are a text of the Koran, c. ix. 32, lxi. 8. Like our fanati
the last century, the Moslems, on every familiar or important occasion, spoke
language of *their* scriptures; a style more natural in their mouths than the He
idiom transplanted into the climate and dialect of Britain.

[Ajnādain]

Verdan;[67] and these troops, consisting chiefly of cavalry, might be ndifferently styled either Syrians, or Greeks, or Romans: *Syrians,* rom the place of their birth or warfare; *Greeks,* from the religion nd language of their sovereign; and *Romans,* from the proud ppellation which was still profaned by the successors of Contantine. On the plain of Aiznadin,[68] as Werdan rode on a vhite mule decorated with gold chains and surrounded with nsigns and standards, he was surprised by the near approach of fierce and naked warrior, who had undertaken to view the state f the enemy. The adventurous valour of Derar[69] was inspired, nd has perhaps been adorned, by the enthusiasm of his age and ountry. The hatred of the Christians, the love of spoil, and he contempt of danger were the ruling passions of the audacius Saracen; and the prospect of instant death could never shake is religious confidence, or ruffle the calmness of his resolution, r even suspend the frank and martial pleasantry of his humour. n the most hopeless enterprises, he was bold, and prudent, nd fortunate: after innumerable hazards, after being thrice a risoner in the hands of the infidels, he still survived to relate the chievements, and to enjoy the rewards, of the Syrian conquest.)n this occasion, his single lance maintained a flying fight against hirty Romans, who were detached by Werdan; and, after killing r unhorsing seventeen of their number, Derar returned in safety o his applauding brethren. When his rashness was mildly cenured by the general, he excused himself with the simplicity of soldier. "Nay," said Derar, "I did not begin first; but they ame out to take me, and I was afraid that God should see me urn my back; and indeed I fought in good earnest, and withut doubt God assisted me against them; and, had I not been pprehensive of disobeying your orders, I should not have come way as I did; and I perceive already that they will fall into ur hands." In the presence of both armies, a venerable Greek dvanced from the ranks with a liberal offer of peace; and the departure of the Saracens would have been purchased by a gift to each soldier, of a turban, a robe, and a piece of gold; ten robes and an hundred pieces to their leader; one hundred robes and a thousand pieces to the caliph. A smile of indignation expressed the refusal of Caled. "Ye Christian dogs, you know your option: the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. We are a people whose delight is in war rather than in peace; and we despise your pitiful alms, since we shall be speedily masters of your wealth, your families, and your persons." Notwithstanding this apparent disdain, he was deeply conscious of the public danger: those who had been in Persia, and had seen the armies of Chosroes, confessed that they never beheld a more formidable array. From the superiority of the enemy the artful Saracen derived a fresh incentive of courage: "You see before you," said he, "the united force of the Romans, you cannot hope to escape, but you may conquer Syria in a single day. The event depends on your discipline and patience. Reserve yourselves till the evening. It was in the evening that the prophet was accustomed to vanquish." During two successive engagements, his temperate firmness sustained the darts of the enemy, and the murmurs of his troops. At length, when the spirits and quivers of the adverse line were almost exhausted, Caled gave the signal of onset and victory. The remains of the Imperial army fled to Antioch, or Cæsarea, or Damascus; and the death of four hundred and seventy Moslems was compensated by the opinion that they had sent to hell above fifty thousand of the infidels. The spoil was inestimable: many banners and crosses of gold and silver, precious stones, silver and gold chains, and innumerable suits of the richest armour and apparel. The general distribution was postponed till Damascus should be taken; but the seasonable supply of arms became the instrument of new victories. The glorious intelligence was transmitted to the throne of the caliph, and the Arabian tribes, the coldest or most hostile to the prophet's mission, were eager and importunate to share the harvest of Syria.[70]

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[67] The name of Werdan is unknown to Theophanes, and, though it might belong) an Armenian chief, has very little of a Greek aspect or sound. If the Byzantine istorians have mangled the oriental names, the Arabs, in this instance, likewise ave taken ample revenge on their enemies. In transposing the Greek character om right to left, might they not produce, from the familiar appellation of *Andrew,* omething like the anagram *Werdan?* [Werdan clearly represents *Bardanes,* an rmenian name. It is hard to understand what was in Gibbon's mind when he proosed to explain Werdan as an anagrammatic corruption of the *English* Andrew. 'he Greek form, of which Andrew is a corruption, is *Andreas.*]

[68] [Between Ramla (then Rama) and Bait Jibrin.]

[69] [This Dhirār is a hero of the false Wākidi.]

The Arabs return to Damascus

The sad tidings were carried to Damascus by the speed o grief and terror; and the inhabitants beheld from their wall the return of the heroes of Aiznadin. Amrou led the van a the head of nine thousand horse; the bands of the Saracen succeeded each other in formidable review; and the rear wa closed by Caled in person, with the standard of the black eagle. To the activity of Derar he entrusted the commission of patrolling round the city with two thousand horse, of scouring the plain, and of intercepting all succour or intelligence. The rest of the Arabian chiefs were fixed in their respective stations before the seven gates of Damascus; and the siege was renewed with fresh vigour and confidence. The art, the labour, the military engines, of the Greeks and Romans, are seldom to be found in the simple, though successful, operations of the Saracens: it was sufficient for them to invest a city with arms rather than with trenches; to repel the sallies of the besieged; to attempt a stratagem or an assault; or to expect the progress of famine and discontent. Damascus would have acquiesced in the trial of Aiznadin, as a final and peremptory sentence between the emperor and the caliph; her courage was rekindled by the example and authority of Thomas, a noble Greek, illustrious in a private condition by the alliance of Heraclius.[71] The tumult and illumination of the night proclaimed the design of the morning sally; and the Christian hero, who affected to despise the enthusiasm of the Arabs, employed the resource of a similar superstition. At the principal gate, in the sight of both armies, a lofty crucifix was erected; the bishop, with his clergy, accompanied the march, and laid the volume of the New Testament before the image of Jesus; and the contending parties were scandalized or edified by a prayer that the Son of God would defend his servants and vindicate his truth. The battle raged with incessant fury; and the dexterity of Thomas,[72] an incomparable archer, was fatal to the boldest Saracens, till their death was revenged by a female heroine. The wife of Aban, who had followed him to the holy war, embraced her expiring husband. "Happy," said she, "happy art thou, my dear; thou art gone to thy Lord, who first joined us together, and then parted us asunder. I will revenge thy death, and endeavour to the utmost of my power to come to the place where thou art, because I love thee. Henceforth shall no man ever touch me more, for I have dedicated myself to the service of God." Without a groan, without a tear, she washed the corpse of her husband, and buried him with the usual rites. Then grasping the manly weapons, which in her native land she was accustomed to wield, the intrepid widow of Aban sought the place where his murderer fought in the thickest of the battle. Her first arrow pierced the hand of his standard-bearer; her second wounded Thomas in the eye; and the fainting Christians no longer beheld their ensign or their leader. Yet the generous champion of Damascus refused to withdraw to his palace; his wound was dressed on the rampart; the fight was continued till the evening; and the Syrians rested on their arms. In the silence of the night, the signal was given by a stroke on the great bell; the gates were thrown open, and each gate discharged an impetuous column on the sleeping camp of the Saracens. Caled was the first in arms; at the head of four hundred horse he flew to the post of danger, and the tears trickled down his iron cheeks, as he uttered a fervent ejaculation: "O God! who never sleepest, look upon thy servants, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies". The valour and victory of Thomas were arrested by the presence of the *sword of God;* with the knowledge of the peril, the Moslems recovered their ranks, and charged the assailants in the flank and rear. After the loss of thousands, the Christian general retreated with a sigh of despair, and the pursuit of the Saracens was checked by the military engines of the rampart.

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[70] [All this description of the engagement of Ajnādain is derived from the un historical account of "Wākidi". For the chronology see Appendix 21.]

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[71] Vanity prompted the Arabs to believe that Thomas was the son-in-law of the mperor. We know the children of Heraclius by his two wives; and his *august* daughter would not have married in exile at Damascus (see Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 118, 119). Had he been less religious, I might only suspect the legitimacy of the damsel.

[72] Al Wakidi (Ockley, p. 101) says, "with poisoned arrows"; but this savage nvention is so repugnant to the practice of the Greeks and Romans that I must suspect, on this occasion, the malevolent credulity of the Saracens.

The city is taken by storm and capitulation. A.D. 634 [635]

After a siege of seventy days,[73] the patience, and perhaps the provisions, of the Damascenes were exhausted; and the bravest of their chiefs submitted to the hard dictates of necessity. In the occurrences of peace and war, they had been taught to dread the fierceness of Caled, and to revere the mild virtues o Abu Obeidah. At the hour of midnight, one hundred chosen deputies of the clergy and people were introduced to the ten of that venerable commander. He received and dismissed them with courtesy. They returned with a written agreement, o the faith of a companion of Mahomet, that all hostilities should cease; that the voluntary emigrants might depart in safety, with as much as they could carry away of their effects; and that the tributary subjects of the caliphs should enjoy their lands and houses, with the use and possession of seven churches. On these terms, the most respectable hostages, and the gate nearest to his camp, were delivered into his hands; his soldiers imitated the moderation of their chief; and he enjoyed the submissive gratitude of a people whom he had rescued from destruction. But the success of the treaty had relaxed their vigilance, and in the same moment the opposite quarter of the city was betrayed and taken by assault. A party of an hundred Arabs had opened the eastern gate to a more inexorable foe. "No quarter," cried the rapacious and sanguinary Caled, "no quarter to the enemies of the Lord;" his trumpets sounded, and a torrent of Christian blood was poured down the streets of Damascus. When he reached the church of St. Mary, he was astonished and provoked by the peaceful aspect of his companions: their swords were in the scabbard, and they were surrounded by a multitude of priests and monks. Abu Obeidah saluted the general: "God," said he, "has delivered the city into my hands by way of surrender, and has saved the believers the trouble of fighting". "And am *I* not," replied the indignant Caled, "am *I* not the lieutenant of the commander of the faithful? Have I not taken the city by storm? The unbelievers shall perish by the sword. Fall on." The hungry and cruel Arabs would have obeyed the welcome command; and Damascus was lost, if the benevolence of Abu Obeidah had not been supported by a decent and dignified firmness. Throwing himself between the trembling citizens and the most eager of the barbarians, he adjured them by the holy name of God to respect his promise, to suspend their fury, and to wait the determination of their chiefs. The chiefs retired into the church of St. Mary; and, after a vehement debate, Caled submitted in some measure to the reason and authority of his colleague; who urged the sanctity of a covenant, the advantage as well as the honour which the Mosems would derive from the punctual performance of their word, and the obstinate resistance which they must encounter from the distrust and despair of the rest of the Syrian cities. It was agreed that the sword should be sheathed, that the part of Damascus which had surrendered to Abu Obeidah should be mmediately entitled to the benefit of his capitulation, and that he final decision should be referred to the justice and wisdom of the caliph.[74] A large majority of the people accepted the terms of toleration and tribute; and Damascus is still peopled by twenty thousand Christians. But the valiant Thomas, and the free-born patriots who had fought under his banner, embraced the alternative of poverty and exile. In the adjacent meadow, a numerous encampment was formed of priests and laymen, of soldiers and citizens, of women and children: they collected with haste and terror their most precious moveables; and abandoned, with loud lamentations or silent anguish, their native homes and the pleasant banks of the Pharphar. The inflexible soul of Caled was not touched by the spectacle of their distress: he disputed with the Damascenes the property of a magazine of corn; endeavoured to exclude the garrison from the benefit of the treaty; consented, with reluctance, that each of the fugitives should arm himself with a sword, or a lance, or a bow; and sternly declared that, after a respite of three days, they might be pursued and treated as the enemies of the Moslems.

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[73] Abulfeda allows only seventy days for the siege of Damascus (Annal. Moslem p. 67, vers. Reiske); but Elmacin, who mentions this opinion, prolongs the term to six months, and notices the use of *balistae* by the Saracens (Hist. Saracen. p. 2 32). Even this longer period is insufficient to fill the interval between the batt of Aiznadin (July, A.D. 633) and the accession of Omar (24 July, A.D. 634 [but s Appendix 21]), to whose reign the conquest of Damascus is unanimously ascrib (Al Wakidi, apud Ockley, vol. i. p. 115; Abulpharagius, Dynast. p. 112, ver Pocock). Perhaps, as in the Trojan war, the operations were interrupted excursions and detachments, till the last seventy days of the siege.

Pursuit of the Damascenes

The passion of a Syrian youth completed the ruin of the exiles of Damascus. A nobleman of the city, of the name of Jonas,[75] was betrothed to a wealthy maiden; but her parents delayed the consummation of his nuptials, and their daughter was persuaded to escape with the man whom she had chosen. They corrupted the nightly watchmen of the gate Keisan: the lover, who led the way, was encompassed by a squadron of Arabs; but his exclamation in the Greek tongue, "the bird is taken," admonished his mistress to hasten her return. In the presence of Caled, and of death, the unfortunate Jonas professed his belief in one God, and his apostle Mahomet; and continued, till the season of his martyrdom, to discharge the duties of a brave and sincere Musulman. When the city was taken, he flew to the monastery, where

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[74] It appears from Abulfeda (p. 125) and Elmacin (p. 32) that this distinction of the two parts of Damascus was long remembered, though not always respected, by the Mahometan sovereigns. See likewise Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 379, 380, 383). [This division of Damascus had nothing to do with the attack of Khālid; it was in accordance with the stipulation already made in the treaty. The same arrangement was adopted in other towns too.]

[75] On the fate of these lovers, whom he names Phocyas and Eudocia, Mr. Hughes has built the siege of Damascus, one of our most popular tragedies, and which possesses the rare merit of blending nature and history, the manners of the times and the feelings of the heart. The foolish delicacy of the players compelled him to soften the guilt of the hero and the despair of the heroine. Instead of a base renegado, Phocyas serves the Arabs as an honourable ally; instead of prompting their pursuit, he flies to the succour of his countrymen, and, after killing Caled and Derar, is himself mortally wounded, and expires in the presence of Eudocia, who professes her resolution to take the veil at Constantinople. A frigid catastrophe! [This story of the pursuit of the exiles depends on the authority of the false Wākidī only. The tragedy of J. Hughes was published in 1720.]

Eudocia had taken refuge; but the lover was forgotten; the apostate was scorned; she preferred her religion to her country; and the justice of Caled, though deaf to mercy, refused to detain by force a male or female inhabitant of Damascus. Four days was the general confined to the city by the obligation of the treaty and the urgent cares of his new conquest. His appetite for blood and rapine would have been extinguished by the hopeless computation of time and distance; but he listened to the importunities of Jonas, who assured him that the weary fugitives might yet be overtaken. At the head of four thousand horse, in the disguise of Christian Arabs, Caled undertook the pursuit. They halted only for the moments of prayer; and their guide had a perfect knowledge of the country. For a long way the footsteps of the Damascenes were plain and conspicuous: they vanished on a sudden; but the Saracens were comforted by the assurance that the caravan had turned aside into the mountains, and must speedily fall into their hands. In traversing the ridges of the Libanus, they endured intolerable hardships, and the sinking spirits of the veteran fanatics were supported and cheered by the unconquerable ardour of a lover. From a peasant of the country, they were informed that the emperor had sent orders to the colony of exiles, to pursue without delay the road of the sea-coast and of Constantinople; apprehensive, perhaps, that the soldiers and people of Antioch might be discouraged by the sight and the story of their sufferings. The Saracens were conducted through the territories of Gabala[76] and Laodicea, at a cautious distance from the walls of the cities; the rain was incessant, the night was dark, a single mountain separated them from the Roman army; and Caled, ever anxious for the safety of his brethren, whispered an ominous dream in the ear of his companion. With the dawn of day, the prospect again cleared, and they saw before them, in a pleasant valley, the tents of Damascus. After a short interval of repose and prayer, Caled divided his cavalry into four squadrons, committing the first to his faithful Derar, and reserving the last for himself. They successively rushed on the promiscuous multitude, insufficiently provided with arms, and already vanquished by sorrow and fatigue. Except a captive who was pardoned and dismissed, the Arabs enjoyed the satisfaction of believing that not a Christian of either sex escaped the edge of their scymetars. The gold and silver of Damascus was scattered over the camp, and a royal wardrobe of three hundred load of silk might clothe an army of naked barbarians. In the tumult of the battle, Jonas sought and found the object of his pursuit; but her resentment was inflamed by the last act of his perfidy; and, as Eudocia struggled in his hateful embraces, she struck a dagger to her heart. Another female, the widow of Thomas, and the real or supposed daughter of Heraclius, was spared and released without a ransom; but the generosity of Caled was the effect of his contempt; and the haughty Saracen insulted, by a message of defiance, the throne of the Cæsars. Caled had penetrated above an hundred and fifty miles into the heart of the Roman province: he returned to Damascus with the same secrecy and speed. On the accession of Omar, the *sword of God* was removed from the command; but the caliph, who blamed the rashness, was compelled to applaud the vigour and conduct, of the enterprise.[77]

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[76] The towns of Gabala and Laodicea, which the Arabs passed, still exist in a state of decay (Maundrell, p. 11, 12. Pocock, vol. ii. p. 14). Had not the Christians been overtaken, they must have crossed the Orontes on some bridge in the sixteen miles between Antioch and the sea, and might have rejoined the high road of Constantinople at Alexandria. The itineraries will represent the directions and distances (p. 146, 148, 581, 582, edit. Wesseling).

Fair of Abyla

Another expedition of the conquerors of Damascus will equally display their avidity and their contempt for the riches of the present world. They were informed that the produce and manufactures of the country were annually collected in the fair of Abyla,[78] about thirty miles from the city; that the cell of a devout hermit was visited at the same time by a multitude of pilgrims; and that the festival of trade and superstition would be ennobled by the nuptials of the daughter of the governor of Tripoli. Abdallah, the son of Jaafar, a glorious and holy martyr, undertook, with a banner of five hundred horse, the pious and profitable commission of despoiling the infidels. As he approached the fair of Abyla, he was astonished by the report of the mighty concourse of Jews and Christians, Greeks and Armenians, of natives of Syria and of strangers of Egypt, to the number of ten thousand, besides a guard of five thousand horse that attended the person of the bride. The Saracens paused: "For my own part," said Abdallah, "I *dare not* go back; our foes are many, our danger is great; but our reward is splendid nd secure, either in this life or in the life to come. Let every nan, according to his inclination, advance or retire." Not a Iusulman deserted his standard. "Lead the way," said Ab-allah to his Christian guide, "and you shall see what the com-anions of the prophet can perform." They charged in five quadrons; but, after the first advantage of the surprise, they vere encompassed and almost overwhelmed by the multitude of heir enemies; and their valiant band is fancifully compared to white spot in the skin of a black camel.[79] About the hour of unset, when their weapons dropped from their hands, when they anted on the verge of eternity, they discovered an approaching loud of dust, they heard the welcome sound of the *tecbir*,[80] and hey soon perceived the standard of Caled, who flew to their elief with the utmost speed of his cavalry. The Christians were roken by his attack, and slaughtered in their flight as far as the iver of Tripoli. They left behind them the various riches of the air: the merchandises that were exposed for sale, the money hat was brought for purchase, the gay decorations of the nuptials, nd the governor's daughter, with forty of her female attendants. 'he fruits, provisions, and furniture, the money, plate, and jewels, vere diligently laden on the backs of horses, asses, and mules; nd the holy robbers returned in triumph to Damascus. The ermit, after a short and angry controversy with Caled, declined he crown of martyrdom, and was left alive in the solitary scene f blood and devastation.

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[77] [Gibbon omits to mention the battle of Fihl (Pella), won over a Greek army towards the end of the summer of A.D. 635. Cp. Bilādhurī, ap. Weil, iii. Anh. zum ersten Bande, p. i.]

[78] *Dair Abil Kodos.* After retrenching the last word, the epithet *holy*, I discover the Abila of Lysanias [Abil as-Sūk] between Damascus and Heliopolis; the name (*Abil* signifies a vineyard [?]) concurs with the situation to justify my conjecture (Reland, Palestin. tom. i. p. 317, tom. ii. p. 525, 527).

Sieges of Heliopolis and Emesa. A.D. 635

Syria,[81] one of the countries that have been improved by the nost early cultivation, is not unworthy of the preference.[82] The heat of the climate is tempered by the vicinity of the sea an mountains, by the plenty of wood and water; and the produc of a fertile soil affords the subsistence, and encourages the propagation, of men and animals. From the age of David to tha of Heraclius, the country was overspread with ancient an flourishing cities: the inhabitants were numerous and wealthy and, after the slow ravage of despotism and superstition, afte the recent calamities of the Persian war, Syria could still attrac and reward the rapacious tribes of the desert. A plain, of te days' journey, from Damascus to Aleppo and Antioch, is watered on the western side, by the winding course of the Orontes. Th hills of Libanus and Anti-Libanus are planted from north t south, between the Orontes and the Mediterranean, and th epithet of *hollow* (Cœlesyria) was applied to a long and fruitfu valley, which is confined in the same direction by the two ridge of snowy mountains.[83] Among the cities, which are enumerate by Greek and Oriental names in the geography and contest o Syria, we may distinguish Emesa or Hems, Heliopolis or Baalbe the former as the metropolis of the plain, the latter as the capita of the valley. Under the last of the Cæsars, they were stron and populous: the turrets glittered from afar; an ample spac was covered with public and private buildings; and the citizen were illustrious by their spirit, or at least by their pride; b their riches, or at least by their luxury. In the days of Paganism, both Emesa and Heliopolis were addicted to the worship o Baal, or the sun; but the decline of their superstition and splendour has been marked by a singular variety of fortune. Not vestige remains of the temple of Emesa, which was equalled i poetic style to the summits of mount Libanus,[84] while the ruin

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[79] I am bolder than Mr. Ockley (vol. i. p. 164), who dares not insert this figu-ative expression in the text, though he observes, in a marginal note, that the rabians often borrow their similes from that useful and familiar animal. The eindeer may be equally famous in the songs of the Laplanders.

[80] We heard the *tecbir*; so the Arabs call
Their shout of onset, when with loud appeal
They challenge heaven, as if demanding conquest.

'his word, so formidable in their holy wars, is a verb active (says Ockley in his ndex) of the second conjugation from *Kabbara*, which signifies saying *Alla Acbar*, iod is most mighty!

[81] In the Geography of Abulfeda, the description of Syria, his native country, s the most interesting and authentic portion. It was published in Arabic and atin, Lipsiæ, 1766, in quarto, with the learned notes of Kochler and Reiske, and ome extracts of geography and natural history from Ibn Ol Wardii. Among the nodern travels, Pocock's description of the East (of Syria and Mesopotamia, vol. . p. 88-209) is a work of superior learning and dignity; but the author too often onfounds what he had seen and what he had read.

[82] The praises of Dionysius are just and lively. Καὶ τὴν μὲν (Syria) πολλοί τε καὶ λβιοι ἄνδρες ἔχουσιν (in Periegesi, v. 902, in tom. iv. Geograph. Minor. Hudson). n another place he styles the country πολύπτολιν αἶαν (v. 898). He proceeds to say,

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Πᾶσα δέ τοι λιπαρή τε καὶ εὔβοτος ἔπλετο χώρη
Μῆλά τε φερβεμέναι καὶ δένδρεσι κάρπον ἀέξειν. V. 921, 922.

This poetical geographer lived in the age of Augustus, and his description of th world is illustrated by the Greek commentary of Eustathius, who paid the sam compliments to Homer and Dionysius (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. l. iv. c. 2. tom. i p. 21, &c.). [The date of Dionysius is still disputed, but he probably wrote unde Hadrian, and certainly at Alexandria. See Leue's article in Philologus, 42, 175 *sqq*

[83] The topography of the Libanus and Anti-Libanus is excellently described b the learning and sense of Reland (Palestin. tom. i. p. 311-326).

[84] ——Emesæ fastigia celsa renident.
Nam diffusa solo latus explicat, ac subit auras
Turribus in caelum nitentibus: incola claris
Cor studiis acuit. . . .
Denique flammicomo devoti pectora soli
Vitam agitant. Libanus frondosa cacumina turget,
Et tamen his certant celsi [*leg.* celsi certant] fastigia templi.

These verses of the Latin version of Rufus Avienus [1084 *sqq.*] are wanting i the Greek original of Dionysius; and, since they are likewise unnoticed b f Baalbec, invisible to the writers of antiquity, excite the uriosity and wonder of the European traveller.[85] The measure f the temple is two hundred feet in length, and one hundred in readth ; the front is adorned with a double portico of eight olumns ; fourteen may be counted on either side ; and each olumn, forty-five feet in height, is composed of three massy locks of stone or marble. The proportions and ornaments of he Corinthian order express the architecture of the Greeks ; ut, as Baalbec has never been the seat of a monarch, we are at loss to conceive how the expense of these magnificent structures ould be supplied by private or municipal liberality.[86] From the onquest of Damascus the Saracens proceeded to Heliopolis and mesa : but I shall decline the repetition of the sallies and ombats which have been already shewn on a larger scale. In he prosecution of the war, their policy was not less effectual han their sword. By short and separate truces they dissolved he union of the enemy ; accustomed the Syrians to compare heir friendship with their enmity ; familiarised the idea of their nguage, religion, and manners ; and exhausted, by clandestine urchase, the magazines and arsenals of the cities which they eturned to besiege. They aggravated the ransom of the more ealthy or the more obstinate ; and Chalcis alone was taxed at ve thousand ounces of gold, five thousand ounces of silver, two housand robes of silk, and as many figs and olives as would load ve thousand asses. But the terms of truce or capitulation were aithfully observed ; and the lieutenant of the caliph, who had romised not to enter the walls of the captive Baalbec, remained ranquil and immoveable in his tent till the jarring factions soliited the interposition of a foreign master. The conquest of the lain and valley of Syria was achieved in less than two years.[87]

[Emesa taken. A.D. 636]

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ustathius, I must, with Fabricius (Bibliot. Latin. tom. iii. p. 153, edit. Ernesti), nd against Salmasius (ad Vopiscum, p. 366, 367, in Hist. August.), ascribe them the fancy rather than the Mss. of Avienus.

[85] I am much better satisfied with Maundrell's slight octavo (Journey, p. 134-139) han with the pompous folio of Doctor Pocock (Description of the East, vol. ii. . 100-113) ; but every preceding account is eclipsed by the magnificent description nd drawings of MM. Dawkins and Wood, who have transported into England he ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec.

[86] The orientals explain the prodigy by a never-failing expedient. The edifices f Baalbec were constructed by the fairies or the genii (Hist. de Timour Bec, tom. i. l. v. c. 23, p. 311, 312. Voyage d'Otter, tom. i. p. 83). With less absurdity, ut with equal ignorance, Abulfeda and Ibn Chaukel ascribe them to the Sabæans r Aadites. Non sunt in omni Syriâ ædificia magnificentiora his (Tabula Syriæ, . 103).

[87] [Ockley, whom Gibbon is following, places the occupation of Emesa and eliopolis early in 637, vol. i. p. 181, 191.]

Yet the commander of the faithful reproved the slowness of their progress, and the Saracens, bewailing their fault with tears of rage and repentance, called aloud on their chiefs to lead them forth to fight the battles of the Lord. In a recent action, under the walls of Emesa, an Arabian youth, the cousin of Caled, was heard aloud to exclaim, "Methinks I see the black-eyed girls looking upon me: one of whom, should she appear in this world, all mankind would die for love of her. And I see in the hand of one of them an handkerchief of green silk, and a cap of precious stones, and she beckons me, and calls out, Come hither quickly, for I love thee." With these words, charging the Christians, he made havoc wherever he went, till, observed at length by the governor of Hems, he was struck through with a javelin.

Battle of Yermuk. A.D 636, November [A.D 634, August]

It was incumbent on the Saracens to exert the full powers of their valour and enthusiasm against the forces of the emperor, who was taught by repeated losses that the rovers of the desert had undertaken, and would speedily achieve, a regular and permanent conquest. From the provinces of Europe and Asia, fourscore thousand soldiers were transported by sea and land to Antioch and Cæsarea; the light troops of the army consisted of sixty thousand Christian Arabs of the tribe of Gassan. Under the banner of Jabalah, the last of their princes, they marched in the van; and it was a maxim of the Greeks that, for the purpose of cutting diamond, a diamond was the most effectual. Heraclius withheld his person from the dangers of the field; but his presumption, or perhaps his despondency, suggested a peremptory order that the fate of the province and the war should be decided by a single battle. The Syrians were attached to the standard of Rome and of the cross; but the noble, the citizen, the peasant, were exasperated by the injustice and cruelty of a licentious host who oppressed them as subjects and despised them as strangers and aliens.[88] A report of these mighty preparations was conveyed to the Saracens in their camp of Emesa; and the chiefs, though resolved to fight, assembled a council; the faith of Abu Obeidah would have expected on the same spot the glory of martyrdom; the wisdom of Caled advised an honourable retreat to the skirts of Palestine and Arabia, where they might await the succours of their friends and the attack of the unbelievers.

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[88] I have read somewhere in Tacitus, or Grotius, Subjectos habent tanquam suos, viles tanquam alienos. Some Greek officers ravished the wife, and murdered the child, of their Syrian landlord; and Manuel smiled at his undutiful complaint.

A speedy messenger soon returned from the throne of Medina, with the blessings of Omar and Ali, the prayers of the widows of the prophet, and a reinforcement of eight thousand Moslems. In their way they overturned a detachment of Greeks, and, when hey joined at Yermuk the camp of their brethren, they found he pleasing intelligence that Caled had already defeated and cattered the Christian Arabs of the tribe of Gassan. In the neighbourhood of Bosra, the springs of Mount Hermon descend n a torrent to the plain of Decapolis, or ten cities; and the Hieromax, a name which has been corrupted to Yermuk, is lost after a short course in the lake of Tiberias.[89] The banks of this obscure stream were illustrated by a long and bloody encounter. On this momentous occasion, the public voice, and the modesty of Abu Obeidah, restored the command to the most deserving of he Moslems. Caled assumed his station in the front, his colleague was posted in the rear, that the disorder of the fugitives might be checked by his venerable aspect and the sight of the yellow banner which Mahomet had displayed before the walls of Chaibar. The last line was occupied by the sister of Derar, with he Arabian women who had enlisted in this holy war, who were accustomed to wield the bow and the lance, and who in a moment of captivity had defended, against the uncircumcised ravishers, heir chastity and religion.[90] The exhortation of the generals was brief and forcible; "Paradise is before you, the devil and hell-fire in your rear". Yet such was the weight of the Roman avalry that the right wing of the Arabs was broken and separated from the main body. Thrice did they retreat in disorder, and thrice were they driven back to the charge by the reproaches and blows of the women. In the intervals of action, Abu Obeidah visited the tents of his brethren; prolonged their repose by repeating at once the prayers of two different hours; bound up their wounds with his own hands, and administered the com-

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[89] See Reland, Palestin. tom. i. p. 272, 283, tom. ii. p. 773, 775. This learned rofessor was equal to the task of describing the Holy Land, since he was alike onversant with Greek and Latin, with Hebrew and Arabian literature. The Yermuk, or Hieromax, is noticed by Cellarius (Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 392), and D'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 185). The Arabs, and even Abulfeda himself, do not seem to recognize the scene of their victory. [For the hronology see Appendix 21. The battle was fought in the plain of Wākūsa, erhaps 40 miles above the junction of the Yermūk with the Jordan, and about 0 miles east of Gadara, close to where the military road from Damascus to Palestine crosses the river. See Muir, *op. cit.* p. 99.]

[90] These women were of the tribe of the Hamyarites, who derived their origin om the ancient Amalekites. Their females were accustomed to ride on horseback, and to fight like the Amazons of old (Ockley, vol. i. p. 67).

fortable reflection that the infidels partook of their sufferin
without partaking of their reward. Four thousand and thirty
the Moslems were buried in the field of battle ; and the skill
the Armenian archers enabled seven hundred to boast that the
had lost an eye in that meritorious service. The veterans of th
Syrian war acknowledged that it was the hardest and mo
doubtful of the days which they had seen. But it was likewis
the most decisive : many thousands of the Greeks and Syrian
fell by the swords of the Arabs ; many were slaughtered, afte
the defeat in the woods and mountains ; many, by mistaking th
ford, were drowned in the waters of the Yermuk ; and, howeve
the loss may be magnified,[91] the Christian writers confess an
bewail the bloody punishment of their sins.[92] Manuel, th
Roman general, was either killed at Damascus or took refuge i
the monastery of mount Sinai. An exile in the Byzantine cour
Jabalah lamented the manners of Arabia and his unlucky pr
ference of the Christian cause.[93] He had once inclined to th
profession of Islam ; but, in the pilgrimage of Mecca, Jabala
was provoked to strike one of his brethren, and fled with amaz
ment from the stern and equal justice of the caliph. The vi
torious Saracens enjoyed at Damascus a month of pleasure an
repose ; the spoil was divided by the discretion of Abu Obeida
an equal share was allotted to a soldier and to his horse, and
double portion was reserved for the noble coursers of the Arabia
breed.

Conquest of Jerusalem. A.D. 637 [636]

After the battle of Yermuk the Roman army no longer ap
peared in the field ; and the Saracens might securely choo
among the fortified towns of Syria the first object of their attac

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[91] We killed of them, says Abu Obeidah to the caliph, one hundred and fi
thousand, and made prisoners forty thousand (Ockley, vol. i. p. 241). As
cannot doubt his veracity nor believe his computation, I must suspect that t
Arabic historians indulged themselves in the practice of composing speeches a
letters for their heroes.

[92] After deploring the sins of the Christians, Theophanes adds (Chronograp
p. 276 [A.M. 6121]) ; ἀνέστη ὁ ἐρημικὸς [*leg.* ἐρημικώτατος] Ἀμαλὴκ τύπτων ἡμᾶς
λαὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ γίνεται πρώτη φορᾷ [*leg.* πρώτη φοβερὰ] πτῶσις τοῦ Ρωμαικ
στρατοῦ ἡ κατὰ τὸ [*leg.* τὸν] Γαβιθὰν λέγω (does he mean Aiznadin ?) καὶ Ἱερμουχὰν,
τὴν ἄθεσμον [*leg.* Δάθεσμον, a fort in Palestine ; cp. Latin version of Anastasius, a
text of de Boor] αἱματοχυσίαν [*leg.* αἱμοχυσία]. His account is brief and obscu
but he accuses the numbers of the enemy, the adverse wind, and the cloud
dust ; μὴ δυνηθέντες (the Romans) ἀντιπροσωπῆσαι [*leg.* ἀντωπῆσαι] ἐχθροῖς διὰ
κονιορτόν, ἡττῶνται, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς βάλλοντες εἰς τὰς στενόδους τοῦ Ἱερμογθοῦ [
Ἱερομουχθᾶ] ποταμοῦ ἐκεῖ ἀπώλοντο ἄρδην (Chronograph. p. 280 [A.M. 6126)].

[93] See Abulfeda (Annal. Moslem. p. 70, 71), who transcribes the poetical co
plaint of Jabalah himself, and some panegyrical strains of an Arabian poet,
whom the chief of Gassan sent from Constantinople a gift of five hundred pie
of gold by the hands of the ambassador of Omar.

hey consulted the caliph whether they should march to Cæsarea
Jerusalem; and the advice of Ali determined the immediate
ege of the latter. To a profane eye, Jerusalem was the first
second capital of Palestine; but, after Mecca and Medina, it
as revered and visited by the devout Moslems, as the temple
the Holy Land which had been sanctified by the revelation
Moses, of Jesus, and of Mahomet himself. The son of Abu
phian was sent with five thousand Arabs to try the first ex-
eriment of surprise or treaty; but on the eleventh day the
wn was invested by the whole force of Abu Obeidah. He
ldressed the customary summons to the chief commanders and
eople of *Ælia*.[94] "Health and happiness to every one that
llows the right way! We require of you to testify that there
but one God and that Mahomet is his apostle. If you refuse
is, consent to pay tribute, and be under us forthwith. Other-
ise I shall bring men against you who love death better than
u do the drinking of wine or eating hogs' flesh. Nor will I
er stir from you, if it please God, till I have destroyed those
at fight for you, and made slaves of your children." But the
ty was defended on every side by deep valleys and steep
cents; since the invasion of Syria, the walls and towers had
een anxiously restored; the bravest of the fugitives of Yermuk
d stopped in the nearest place of refuge; and in the defence
the sepulchre of Christ the natives and strangers might feel
me sparks of the enthusiasm which so fiercely glowed in the
soms of the Saracens. The siege of Jerusalem lasted four
onths; not a day was lost without some action of sally or
sault; the military engines incessantly played from the ram-
rts; and the inclemency of the winter was still more painful
d destructive to the Arabs. The Christians yielded at length
the perseverance of the besiegers. The patriarch Sophronius
peared on the walls, and by the voice of an interpreter de-
anded a conference. After a vain attempt to dissuade the
eutenant of the caliph from his impious enterprise, he proposed,
the name of the people, a fair capitulation, with this extra-
dinary clause, that the articles of security should be ratified
the authority and presence of Omar himself. The question

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[94] In the name of the city, the profane prevailed over the sacred; *Jerusalem* was
own to the devout Christians (Euseb. de Martyr. Palest. c. xi.); but the legal
d popular appellation of *Ælia* (the colony of Ælius Hadrianus) has passed from
Romans to the Arabs (Reland, Palestin. tom. i. p. 207, tom. ii. p. 835;
Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, *Cods*, p. 269, *Ilia*, p. 420). The epithet of *Al
ds*, the Holy, is used as the proper name of Jerusalem.

was debated in the council of Medina ; the sanctity of the plac
and the advice of Ali, persuaded the caliph to gratify the wishe
of his soldiers and enemies, and the simplicity of his journey i
more illustrious than the royal pageants of vanity and oppre
sion. The conqueror of Persia and Syria was mounted on a re
camel, which carried, besides his person, a bag of corn, a bag
dates, a wooden dish, and a leathern bottle of water. Whe
ever he halted, the company, without distinction, was invited t
partake of his homely fare, and the repast was consecrated b
the prayer and exhortation of the commander of the faithful.
But in this expedition or pilgrimage his power was exercised i
the administration of justice ; he reformed the licentious pol
gamy of the Arabs, relieved the tributaries from extortion an
cruelty, and chastised the luxury of the Saracens by despoilin
them of their rich silks and dragging them on their faces in th
dirt. When he came within sight of Jerusalem, the caliph crie
with a loud voice, "God is victorious. O Lord, give us an eas
conquest ;" and, pitching his tent of coarse hair, calmly seate
himself on the ground. After signing the capitulation, h
entered the city without fear or precaution ; and courteously di
coursed with the patriarch concerning its religious antiquities.
Sophronius bowed before his new master, and secretly muttere
in the words of Daniel, "The abomination of desolation is in th
holy place".[97] At the hour of prayer they stood together in th
church of the Resurrection ; but the caliph refused to perfor
his devotions, and contented himself with praying on the ste
of the church of Constantine. To the patriarch he disclosed h
prudent and honourable motive. "Had I yielded," said Oma
"to your request, the Moslems of a future age would have in
fringed the treaty under colour of imitating my example." B
his command the ground of the temple of Solomon was prepare
for the foundation of a mosch ;[98] and, during a residence of te

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[95] The singular journey and equipage of Omar are described (besides Ockle
vol. i. p. 250) by Murtadi (Merveilles de l'Egypte, p. 200-202).

[96] The Arabs boast of an old prophecy preserved at Jerusalem, and describi
the name, the religion, and the person of Omar, the future conqueror. By su
arts the Jews are said to have soothed the pride of their foreign masters, Cyrus a
Alexander (Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 1, 8, p. 547, 579-582).

[97] Τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου ἑστὼς [leg. ἑστὸς]
τόπῳ ἁγίῳ. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 281 [A.M. 6127]. This prediction, which h
already served for Antiochus and the Romans, was again refitted for the prese
occasion, by the œconomy of Sophronius, one of the deepest theologians of t
Monothelite controversy.

[98] According to the accurate survey of D'Anville (Dissertation sur l'ancien
Jerusalem, p. 42-54), the mosch of Omar, enlarged and embellished by succeedi

days, he regulated the present and future state of his Syrian conquests. Medina might be jealous lest the caliph should be detained by the sanctity of Jerusalem or the beauty of Damascus; her apprehensions were dispelled by his prompt and voluntary return to the tomb of the apostle.[99]

Of Aleppo and Antioch
A.D. 638

To achieve what yet remained of the Syrian war, the caliph had formed two separate armies: a chosen detachment, under Amrou and Yezid, was left in the camp of Palestine; while the arger division, under the standard of Abu Obeidah and Caled, marched away to the north against Antioch and Aleppo.[100] The atter of these, the Berœa of the Greeks, was not yet illustrious as the capital of a province or a kingdom; and the inhabitants, by anticipating their submission and pleading their poverty, obtained a moderate composition for their lives and religion. But the castle of Aleppo,[101] distinct from the city, stood erect on a lofty artificial mound: the sides were sharpened to a precipice, and faced with freestone; and the breadth of the ditch might be filled with water from the neighbouring springs. After a loss of three thousand men, the garrison was still equal o the defence; and Youkinna, their valiant and hereditary chief, had murdered his brother, an holy monk, for daring to pronounce the name of peace. In a siege of four or five months, he hardest of the Syrian war, great numbers of the Saracens were killed and wounded; their removal to the distance of a mile could not seduce the vigilance of Youkinna; nor could the Christians be terrified by the execution of three hundred captives, whom they beheaded before the castle-wall. The silence, and

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aliphs, covered the ground of the ancient temple (παλαιὸν τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ δάπεδον, ays Phocas), a length of 215, a breadth of 172, *toises*. The Nubian geographer declares that this magnificent structure was second only in size and beauty to the great mosch of Cordova (p. 113), whose present state Mr. Swinburne has so elegantly represented (Travels into Spain, p. 296-302).

[99] Of the many Arabic tarikhs or chronicles of Jerusalem (d'Herbelot, p. 867), Ockley found one among the Pocock Mss. of Oxford (vol. i. p. 257), which he has used to supply the defective narrative of Al Wakidi.

[100] [Antioch and Aleppo had fallen along with Epiphania, Laodicea, and Chalcis in A.D. 636 (after the fall of Emesa). But the Romans made an attempt to recover North Syria in A.D. 638; most of these towns received them with open arms; and it was with this revolt that Abū Obaida and Khālid had now to cope.]

[101] The Persian historian of Timur (tom. iii. l. v. c. 21, p. 300) describes the astle of Aleppo as founded on a rock one hundred cubits in height; a proof, says he French translator, that he had never visited the place. It is now in the midst of the city, of no strength, with a single gate, the circuit is about 500 or 600 paces, and the ditch half full of stagnant water (Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 149. Pocock, vol. ii. part i. p. 150). The fortresses of the East are contemptible to an European eye.

at length the complaints, of Abu Obeidah informed the calip that their hope and patience were consumed at the foot of thi impregnable fortress. "I am variously affected," replied Omar "by the difference of your success; but I charge you by n means to raise the siege of the castle. Your retreat would diminish the reputation of our arms, and encourage the infidels to fal upon you on all sides. Remain before Aleppo till God shal determine the event, and forage with your horse round the adjacent country." The exhortation of the commander of th faithful was fortified by a supply of volunteers from all th tribes of Arabia, who arrived in the camp on horses or camels Among these was Dames, of a servile birth, but of gigantic siz and intrepid resolution. The forty-seventh day of his servic he proposed, with only thirty men, to make an attempt on th castle. The experience and testimony of Caled recommende his offer; and Abu Obeidah admonished his brethren not t despise the baser origin of Dames, since he himself, could h relinquish the public care, would cheerfully serve under th banner of the slave. His design was covered by the appearanc of a retreat; and the camp of the Saracens was pitched about league from Aleppo. The thirty adventurers lay in ambush a the foot of the hill; and Dames at length succeeded in his inquiries, though he was provoked by the ignorance of his Gree captives. "God curse these dogs," said the illiterate Arab "what a strange barbarous language they speak!" At th darkest hour of the night, he scaled the most accessible height which he had diligently surveyed, a place where the stone were less entire, or the slope less perpendicular, or the guar less vigilant. Seven of the stoutest Saracens mounted on eac other's shoulders, and the weight of the column was sustaine on the broad and sinewy back of the gigantic slave. The foremost in this painful ascent could grasp and climb the lowes part of the battlements; they silently stabbed and cast dow the sentinels; and the thirty brethren, repeating a pious ejaculation, "O apostle of God, help and deliver us!" were successively drawn up by the long folds of their turbans. With bol and cautious footsteps, Dames explored the palace of the governor, who celebrated, in riotous merriment, the festival of hi deliverance. From thence returning to his companions, h assaulted on the inside the entrance of the castle. They overpowered the guard, unbolted the gate, let down the drawbridge and defended the narrow pass, till the arrival of Caled, with th dawn of day, relieved their danger and assured their conquest

Youkinna, a formidable foe, became an active and useful proselyte; and the general of the Saracens expressed his regard for the most humble merit by detaining the army at Aleppo till Dames was cured of his honourable wounds. The capital of Syria was still covered by the castle of Aazaz and the iron bridge of the Orontes. After the loss of those important posts nd the defeat of the last of the Roman armies, the luxury of Antioch [102] trembled and obeyed. Her safety was ransomed with three hundred thousand pieces of gold; but the throne of the successors of Alexander, the seat of the Roman government in the East, which had been decorated by Cæsar with the itles of free, and holy, and inviolate, was degraded under the yoke of the caliphs to the secondary rank of a provincial town.[103]

Flight of Heraclius. A.D. 638

In the life of Heraclius, the glories of the Persian war are clouded on either hand by the disgrace and weakness of his more early and his later days. When the successors of Mahomet unheathed the sword of war and religion, he was astonished at the boundless prospect of toil and danger; his nature was indolent, nor could the infirm and frigid age of the emperor be kindled to a second effort. The sense of shame, and the importunities of the Syrians, prevented his hasty departure from the scene of action; but the hero was no more; and the loss of Damascus and Jerusalem, the bloody fields of Aiznadin and Yermuk, may be imputed in some degree to the absence or misconduct of the sovereign. Instead of defending the sepulchre of Christ, he involved the church and state in a metaphysical controversy for the unity of his will; and, while Heraclius crowned the offspring of his second nuptials, he was tamely stripped of the most valuable part of their inheritance. In the cathedral of Antioch, in the presence of the bishops, at the foot of the crucifix, he bewailed the sins of the prince and people; but his confession instructed the world that it was vain, and perhaps impious, to resist the judgment of God. The Saracens were invincible in fact, sinc they were invincible in opinion; and the desertion of Youkinna his false repentance and repeated perfidy, might justify the suspicion of the emperor that he was encompassed by traitors an apostates who conspired to betray his person and their countr to the enemies of Christ. In the hour of adversity, his superstition was agitated by the omens and dreams of a falling crown and, after bidding an eternal farewell to Syria, he secretly embarked with a few attendants and absolved the faith of hi subjects.[104] Constantine, his eldest son, had been stationed wit forty thousand men at Cæsarea, the civil metropolis of the thre provinces of Palestine. But his private interest recalled him t the Byzantine court; and, after the flight of his father, he fel himself an unequal champion to the united force of the caliph His vanguard was boldly attacked by three hundred Arabs an a thousand black slaves, who, in the depth of winter, had climbe the snowy mountains of Libanus, and who were speedily followe by the victorious squadrons of Caled himself. From the nort and south, the troops of Antioch and Jerusalem advanced alon the sea-shore, till their banners were joined under the walls c the Phœnician cities: Tripoli and Tyre were betrayed; and fleet of fifty transports, which entered without distrust the captiv harbours, brought a seasonable supply of arms and provisions t the camp of the Saracens. Their labours were terminated b the unexpected surrender of Cæsarea:[105] the Roman prince ha embarked in the night;[106] and the defenceless citizens solicite

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[102] The date of the conquest of Antioch by the Arabs is of some importance. By comparing the years of the world in the chronography of Theophanes with the years of the Hegira in the history of Elmacin, we shall determine that it was taken between January 23d and September 1st, of the year of Christ 638 (Pagi, Critica, in Baron. Annal. tom. ii. p. 812, 813). Al Wakidi (Ockley, vol. i. p. 314) assigns that event to Tuesday, August 21st, an inconsistent date; since Easter fell that year on April 5th, the 21st of August must have been a Friday (see the Tables of the Art de Vérifier les Dates). [But see above, p. 437, n. 100.]

[103] His bounteous edict, which tempted the grateful city to assume the victory of Pharsalia for a perpetual æra, is given ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῇ μητροπόλει, ἱερᾷ καὶ ἀσύλῳ καὶ αὐτονόμῳ καὶ ἀρχούσῃ καὶ προκαθημένῃ τῆς ἀνατολῆς. John Malala, in Chron. p. 91, edit. Venet. [p. 216, ed. Bonn]. We may distinguish his authentic information of domestic facts from his gross ignorance of general history.

End of the Syrian war

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[104] See Ockley (vol. i. p. 308, 312), who laughs at the credulity of his autho When Heraclius bade farewell to Syria, Vale Syria et ultimum vale, he prophesie that the Romans should never re-enter the province till the birth of an inauspiciou child, the future scourge of the empire. Abulfeda, p. 68. I am perfectly ignoran of the mystic sense, or nonsense, of this prediction.

[105] [Theophanes gives A.D. 642 (*sub* A.M. 6133) as date of capture of Cæsarea. Ib Abd al Hakam places it in the year of the death of Heraclius (A.H. 20, A.D. 641 John of Nikiu (tr. Zotenberg, p. 569) mentions the capture of Kīlūnās as synchronous with events in Egypt of A.D. 641, but it is gratuitous to identify thi mysterious place with Cæsarea. *Kīlūnās* is far more likely to be a corruptio of Ascalon (and this conjecture may be supported by al-Bilādhurī, p. ii. ap. Wei *loc. cit.*).]

[106] In the loose and obsure chronology of the times, I am guided by an authenti record (in the book of ceremonies of Constantine Porphyrogenitus) which certifie that, June 4, A.D. 638, the emperor crowned his younger son Heraclius [or Heraclonas] in the presence of his eldest Constantine, and in the palace of Constantinople; that January 1, A.D. 639, the royal procession visited the great church, anc on the 4th of the same month, the hippodrome. [Bk. ii., c. 27, 28; p. 627-9, ec Bonn. The flight of Heraclius is probably to be placed in A.D. 636; cp. Wei *op. cit.* p. 79. Theophanes places it in A.D. 633.]

their pardon with an offering of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. The remainder of the province, Ramlah,[107] Ptolemais or Acre, Sichem or Neapolis, Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, Sidon, Gabala, Laodicea, Apamea, Hierapolis, no longer presumed to dispute the will of the conqueror; and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the caliphs seven hundred years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings.[108]

The conquerors of Syria. A.D. 633-639

The sieges and battles of six campaigns had consumed many thousands of the Moslems. They died with the reputation and the cheerfulness of martyrs; and the simplicity of their faith may be expressed in the words of an Arabian youth, when he embraced, for the last time, his sister and mother: "It is not," said he, "the delicacies of Syria, or the fading delights of this world, that have prompted me to devote my life in the cause of religion. But I seek the favour of God and his apostle; and I have heard, from one of the companions of the prophet, that the spirits of the martyrs will be lodged in the crops of green birds, who shall taste the fruits, and drink of the rivers, of paradise. Farewell; we shall meet again among the groves and fountains which God has provided for his elect." The faithful captives might exercise a passive and more arduous resolution; and a cousin of Mahomet is celebrated for refusing, after an abstinence of three days, the wine and pork, the only nourishment that was allowed by the malice of the infidels. The frailty of some weaker brethren exasperated the implacable spirit of fanaticism; and the father of Amer deplored, in pathetic strains, the apostacy and damnation of a son, who had renounced the promises of God and the intercession of the prophet, to occupy, with the priests and deacons, the lowest mansions of hell. The more fortunate Arabs, who survived the war and persevered in the faith, were restrained by their abstemious leader from the abuse of prosperity. After a refreshment of three days, Abu Obeidah withdrew his troops from the pernicious contagion of the luxury of Antioch, and assured the caliph that their religion and virtue could only be preserved by the hard discipline of poverty and labour. But the virtue of Omar, however rigorous to himself, was kind and liberal to his brethren. After a just tribute of praise and thanl giving, he dropped a tear of compassion; and, sitting down the ground, wrote an answer, in which he mildly censured t severity of his lieutenant: "God," said the successor of the p phet, "has not forbidden the use of the good things of this wo to faithful men, and such as have performed good works: the fore, you ought to have given them leave to rest themselves, a partake freely of those good things which the country afforde If any of the Saracens have no family in Arabia, they may mar in Syria; and, whosoever of them wants any female slaves, may purchase as many as he hath occasion for." The conquer prepared to use, or to abuse, this gracious permission; but t year of their triumph was marked by a mortality of men a cattle; and twenty-five thousand Saracens were snatched aw from the possession of Syria. The death of Abu Obeidah mig be lamented by the Christians; but his brethren recollected th he was one of the ten elect whom the prophet had named as t heirs of paradise.[109] Caled survived his brethren about thr years; and the tomb of the Sword of God is shewn in t neighbourhood of Emesa. His valour, which founded in Aral and Syria the empire of the caliphs, was fortified by the opini of a special providence; and, as long as he wore a cap whi had been blessed by Mahomet, he deemed himself invulneral amidst the darts of the infidels.

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[107] [The name Ramlah is of later date (8th cent.); at the time of the conquest the name was Rama.]

[108] Sixty-five years before Christ, *Syria* Pontusque monumenta sunt Cn. Pompeii virtutis (Vell. Patercul. ii. 38), rather of his fortune and power, he adjudged Syria to be a Roman province, and the last of the Seleucides were incapable of drawing a sword in defence of their patrimony (see the original texts collected by Usher, Annal. p. 420).

Progress of the Syrian conquerors: A.D. 639-655

The place of the first conquerors was supplied by a new ger ration of their children and countrymen: Syria became the se and support of the house of Ommiyah; and the revenue, t soldiers, the ships of that powerful kingdom were consecrated enlarge on every side the empire of the caliphs. But the Sa cens despise a superfluity of fame; and their historians scarce condescend to mention the subordinate conquests which are l in the splendour and rapidity of their victorious career. To t *north* of Syria, they passed mount Taurus, and reduced to th obedience the province of Cilicia, with its capital Tarsus, the ancie monument of the Assyrian kings. Beyond a second ridge of t same mountains, they spread the flame of war, rather than t light of religion, as far as the shores of the Euxine and the neig bourhood of Constantinople. To the *east*, they advanced to t banks and sources of the Euphrates and Tigris:[110] the long disputed barrier of Rome and Persia was for ever confounded; the walls of Edessa and Amida, of Dara and Nisibis, which had resisted the arms and engines of Sapor or Nushirvan, were levelled in the dust; and the holy city of Abgarus might vainly produce the epistle of the image of Christ to an unbelieving conqueror. To the *west*, the Syrian kingdom is bounded by the sea; and the ruin of Aradus, a small island or peninsula on the coast, was postponed during ten years. But the hills of Libanus abounded in timber, the trade of Phœnicia was populous in mariners; and a fleet of seventeen hundred barks was equipped and manned by the natives of the desert. The Imperial navy of the Romans fled before them from the Pamphylian rocks to the Hellespont; but the spirit of the emperor, a grand- [Constans II.] son of Heraclius, had been subdued before the combat by a dream and a pun.[111] The Saracens rode masters of the sea; and the islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Cyclades, were successively exposed to their rapacious visits. Three hundred years before the Christian æra, the memorable though fruitless siege of Rhodes[112] by Demetrius had furnished that maritime republic with the materials and the subject of a trophy. A gigantic statue of Apollo, or the sun, seventy cubits in height, was erected at the entrance of the harbour, a monument of the freedom and the arts of Greece. After standing fifty-six years, the colossus of Rhodes was overthrown by an earthquake; but the massy [B.C. 227] trunk and huge fragments lay scattered eight centuries on the ground, and are often described as one of the wonders of the ancient world. They were collected by the diligence of the Saracens, and sold to a Jewish merchant of Edessa, who is said to have laden nine hundred camels with the weight of the brass metal: an enormous weight, though we should include the hundred colossal figures[113] and the three thousand statues which adorned the prosperity of the city of the sun.

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[109] Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 73. Mahomet could artfully vary the prai of his disciples. Of Omar he was accustomed to say that, if a prophet could a after himself, it would be Omar; and that in a general calamity Omar would excepted by the divine justice (Ockley, vol. i. p. 221).

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[110] Al Wakidi had likewise written an history of the conquest of Diarbekir, or Mesopotamia (Ockley, at the end of the iid vol.), which our interpreters do not appear to have seen. [The text has been published by Ewald: Liber Wakedii de Mesopotamiae expugnatae historia, Göttingen, 1827.] The Chronicle of Dionysius of Telmar, the Jacobite patriarch, records the taking of Edessa, A.D. 637, and of Dara, A.D. 641 (Asseman. Bibliot Orient. tom. ii. p. 103), and the attentive may glean some doubtful information from the Chronography of Theophanes (p. 285-87). Most of the towns of Mesopotamia yielded by surrender (Abulpharag. p. 112). [The chronicle of Dionysius of Tellmahrē (Patriarch of Antioch A.D. 818-45) reached down to the year 775; the later part of it has never been published.]

[111] He dreamed that he was at Thessalonica, an harmless and unmeaning vision; but his soothsayer, or his cowardice, understood the sure omen of a defeat concealed in that inauspicious word θὲς ἄλλῳ νίκην, Give to another the victory Theophan. p. 286 [*leg.* 287; A.M. 6146]. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 88 [c. 19]).

[112] Every passage and every fact that relates to the isle, the city, and the colossus of Rhodes, are compiled in the laborious treatise of Meursius, who has bestowed the same diligence on the two larger islands of Crete and Cyprus. See in the iiird vol. of his works, the *Rhodus* of Meursius (l. i. c. 15, p. 715-719) [cp. especially Pliny, Nat. Hist., 34, 18]. The Byzantine writers, Theophanes and Constantine, have ignorantly prolonged the term to 1360 years, and ridiculously divide the weight among 30,000 camels. [See Mr. C. Torr's Rhodes in Ancient Times, p. 6-7. He observes: "The twenty tons of metal would not load more than 90 camels".]

Egypt. Character and life of Amrou

[Amr]

III. The conquest of Egypt may be explained by the character of the victorious Saracen, one of the first of his nation, in an age when the meanest of the brethren was exalted above his nature by the spirit of enthusiasm. The birth of Amrou was at once base and illustrious: his mother, a notorious prostitute, was unable to decide among five of the Koreish; but the proof of resemblance adjudged the child to Aasi, the oldest of her lovers.[114] The youth of Amrou was impelled by the passions and prejudices of his kindred: his poetic genius was exercised in satirical verses against the person and doctrine of Mahomet; his dexterity was employed by the reigning faction to pursue the religious exiles who had taken refuge in the court of the Æthiopian king.[115] Yet he returned from this embassy a secret proselyte; his reason or his interest determined him to renounce the worship of idols; he escaped from Mecca with his friend Caled, and the prophet of Medina enjoyed at the same moment the satisfaction of embracing the two firmest champions of his cause. The impatience of Amrou to lead the armies of the faithful was checked by the reproof of Omar, who advised him not to seek power and dominion, since he who is a subject to-day may be a prince to-morrow. Yet his merit was not overlooked by the two first successors of Mahomet; they were indebted to his arms for the conquest of Palestine; and in all the battles and sieges of Syria he united with the temper of a chief the valour of an adventurous soldier. In a visit to Medina, the caliph expressed a wish to survey the sword which had cut down so many Christian warriors: the son of Aasi unsheathed a short and ordinary scymetar; and, s he perceived the surprise of Omar, "Alas," said the modest Saracen, "the sword itself, without the arm of its master, is neither sharper nor more weighty than the sword of Pharezdak [Farazdak] he poet".[116] After the conquest of Egypt, he was recalled by he jealousy of the caliph Othman; but, in the subsequent roubles, the ambition of a soldier, a statesman, and an orator, merged from a private station. His powerful support, both n council and in the field, established the throne of the Ommiades; the administration and revenue of Egypt were restored y the gratitude of Moawiyah to a faithful friend, who had aised himself above the rank of a subject; and Amrou ended is days in the palace and city which he had founded on the anks of the Nile. His dying speech to his children is celebrated y the Arabians as a model of eloquence and wisdom: he de-lored the errors of his youth; but, if the penitent was still nfected by the vanity of a poet, he might exaggerate the venom nd mischief of his impious compositions.[117]

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[113] Centum colossi alium nobilitaturi locum [colossi centum numero, sed ubicumque singuli fuissent nobilitaturi locum], says Pliny, with his usual spirit. Hist. Natur. xxxiv. 18.

[114] We learn this anecdote from a spirited old woman, who reviled to their faces the caliph and his friend. She was encouraged by the silence of Amrou and the liberality of Moawiyah (Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 111).

[115] Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 46, &c., who quotes the Abyssinian history, or romance, of Abdel Balcides. Yet the fact of the embassy and ambassador may be allowed.

Invasion of Egypt. A.D. 638, June [639, Dec.]

From his camp, in Palestine, Amrou had surprised or antici-ated the caliph's leave for the invasion of Egypt.[118] The magnanimous Omar trusted in his God and his sword, which had haken the thrones of Chosroes and Cæsar; but, when he com-ared the slender force of the Moslems with the greatness of he enterprise, he condemned his own rashness and listened to is timid companions. The pride and the greatness of Pharaoh ere familiar to the readers of the Koran; and a tenfold repeti-on of prodigies had been scarcely sufficient to effect, not the ictory, but the flight of six hundred thousand of the children of srael. The cities of Egypt were many and populous; their chitecture was strong and solid; the Nile, with its numerous ranches, was alone an insuperable barrier; and the granary of he Imperial city would be obstinately defended by the Roman owers. In this perplexity, the commander of the faithful resigned himself to the decision of chance, or, in his opinion, providence. At the head of only four thousand Arabs, t intrepid Amrou had marched away from his station of Ga when he was overtaken by the messenger of Omar. "If y are still in Syria," said the ambiguous mandate, "retreat witho delay; but if, at the receipt of this epistle, you have alrea reached the frontiers of Egypt, advance with confidence, a depend on the succour of God and of your brethren." T experience, perhaps the secret intelligence, of Amrou had taug him to suspect the mutability of courts; and he continued march till his tents were unquestionably pitched on Egypti ground. He there assembled his officers, broke the seal, perus the epistle, gravely inquired the name and situation of the pla and declared his ready obedience to the commands of the cali

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[116] This saying is preserved by Pocock (Not. ad Carmen Tograi, p. 184), and stly applauded by Mr. Harris (Philosophical Arrangements, p. 350).

[117] For the life and character of Amrou, see Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. p. 28, 63, 94, 328, 342, 344, and to the end of the volume; vol. ii. p. 51, 55, 57, , 110-112, 162) and Otter (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxi. p. 131, 2). The readers of Tacitus may aptly compare Vespasian and Mucianus with oawiyah and Amrou. Yet the resemblance is still more in the situation than the characters of the men.

[118] Al Wakidi had likewise composed a separate history of the conquest of gypt, which Mr. Ockley could never procure; and his own inquiries (vol. i. p. 4-362) have added very little to the original text of Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 6-323, vers. Pocock), the Melchite patriarch of Alexandria, who lived three hun-ed years after the revolution.

[Farama]

After a siege of thirty days, he took possession of Farmah Pelusium; and that key of Egypt, as it has been justly nam unlocked the entrance of the country, as far as the ruins Heliopolis and the neighbourhood of the modern Cairo.

The cities of Memphis, Babylon, and Cairo

On the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to t east of the Pyramids, at a small distance to the south of t Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumferen displayed the magnificence of ancient kings. Under the rei of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, the seat of government was moved to the sea-coast; the ancient capital was eclipsed by t arts and opulence of Alexandria; the palaces, and at length t temples, were reduced to a desolate and ruinous condition: in the age of Augustus, and even in that of Constantine, Memph was still numbered among the greatest and most populous of t provincial cities.[119] The banks of the Nile, in this place of t breadth of three thousand feet, were united by two bridges sixty and of thirty boats, connected in the middle stream by t

[arr-Roda]

small island of Rouda, which was covered with gardens and ha tations.[120] The eastern extremity of the bridge was terminat by the town of Babylon and the camp of a Roman legion, whi protected the passage of the river and the second capital

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[119] Strabo, an accurate and attentive spectator, observes of Heliopolis, *νυνὶ οὖν ἔστι πανέρημος ἡ πόλις* (Geograph. l. xvii. p. 1158 [1, § 27]), but of Memphis, declares, *πόλις δ' ἔστι μεγάλη τε καὶ εὔανδρος δευτέρα μετ' Ἀλεξανδοείαν* (p. 1161 § 32]); he notices, however, the mixture of inhabitants and the ruin of the pala In the proper Egypt, Ammianus enumerates Memphis among the four cit maximis urbibus quibus provincia nitet (xxii. 16), and the name of Mem appears with distinction in the Roman Itinerary and Episcopal lists.

[120] These rare and curious facts, the breadth (2946 feet) and the bridge of Nile, are only to be found in the Danish traveller and the Nubian geographer 98).

Egypt. This important fortress, which might fairly be described as a part of Memphis, or *Misrah,* was invested by the arms of the [Misr] ieutenant of Omar: a reinforcement of four thousand Saracens soon arrived in his camp; and the military engines, which battered the walls, may be imputed to the art and labour of his Syrian allies. Yet the siege was protracted to seven months; and the rash invaders were encompassed and threatened by the nundation of the Nile.[121] Their last assault was bold and successful: they passed the ditch, which had been fortified with ron spikes, applied their scaling-ladders, entered the fortress with the shout of "God is victorious!" and drove the remnant of the Greeks to their boats and the isle of Rouda. The spot was afterwards recommended to the conqueror by the easy communication with the gulf and the peninsula of Arabia: the remains of Memphis were deserted; the tents of the Arabs were converted into permanent habitations; and the first mosch was blessed by the presence of fourscore companions of Mahomet.[122] A new city arose in their camp on the eastward bank of the Nile; [Fustat "tent"] nd the contiguous quarters of Babylon and Fostat are confounded n their present decay by the appellation of old Misrah or Cairo, f which they form an extensive suburb. But the name of Cairo, he town of victory, more strictly belongs to the modern capital, which was founded in the tenth century by the Fatimite caliphs.[123] t has gradually receded from the river,[123a] but the continuity of uildings may be traced by an attentive eye from the monuments f Sesostris to those of Saladin.[124]

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[121] From the month of April, the Nile begins imperceptibly to rise; the swell ecomes strong and visible in the moon after the summer solstice (Plin. Hist. Nat. 10), and is usually proclaimed at Cairo on St. Peter's day (June 29). A register f thirty successive years marks the greatest height of the waters between July 25 nd August 18 (Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, lettre xi. p. 67, &c. Pocock's escription of the East, vol. i. p. 200. Shaw's Travels, p. 383).

[122] Murtadi, Merveilles de l'Egypte, p. 243-259. He expatiates on the subject ith the zeal and minuteness of a citizen and a bigot, and his local traditions have strong air of truth and accuracy.

[123] D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 233.

[123a] [The river has receded towards the west. On the different sites included in airo and "Old Misr" see Lane, *Cairo fifty years ago* (1896), ch. i. and x.; and Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, p. 4-9. Memphis is about fourteen iles south of Cairo.]

[124] The position of New and of Old Cairo is well known, and has been often scribed. Two writers who were intimately acquainted with ancient and modern gypt, have fixed, after a learned inquiry, the city of Memphis at *Gizeh,* directly pposite the old Cairo (Sicard, Nouveaux Mémoires des Missions du Levant, tom. p. 5, 6. Shaw's Observations and Travels, p. 296-304). Yet we may not disgard the authority or the arguments of Pocock (vol. i. p. 25-41), Niebuhr oyage, tom. i. 77-106), and, above all, of D'Anville (Description de l'Egypte, p.

Voluntary submission of the Copts or Jacobites. A.D. 638

Yet the Arabs, after a glorious and profitable enterprise, mus have retreated to the desert, had they not found a powerfu alliance in the heart of the country. The rapid conquest o Alexander was assisted by the superstition and revolt of th natives; they abhorred their Persian oppressors, the disciples o the Magi, who had burnt the temples of Egypt, and feasted wit sacrilegious appetite on the flesh of the god Apis.[125] After period of ten centuries the same revolution was renewed by similar cause; and, in the support of an incomprehensible creed the zeal of the Coptic Christians was equally ardent. I hav already explained the origin and progress of the Monophysit controversy, and the persecution of the emperors, which converted a sect into a nation and alienated Egypt from their religion and government. The Saracens were received as th deliverers of the Jacobite church; and a secret and effectua treaty was opened during the siege of Memphis between a victorious army and a people of slaves. A rich and noble Egyptian of the name of Mokawkas, had dissembled his faith to obtain th administration of his province: in the disorders of the Persia war he aspired to independence; the embassy of Mahomet ranke him among princes; but he declined, with rich gifts and ambiguous compliments, the proposal of a new religion.[126] Th abuse of his trust exposed him to the resentment of Heraclius his submission was delayed by arrogance and fear; and his conscience was prompted by interest to throw himself on the favou of the nation and the support of the Saracens. In his first confe ence with Amrou, he heard without indignation the usual optio of the Koran, the tribute, or the sword. "The Greeks," replie Mokawkas, "are determined to abide the determination of th sword; but with the Greeks I desire no communion, eithe in this world or in the next, and I abjure for ever the Byzantine tyrant, his synod of Chalcedon, and his Melchite slave

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111, 112, 130-149), who have removed Memphis towards the village of Mohanna some miles farther to the south. In their heat, the disputants have forgot that t ample space of a metropolis covers and annihilates the far greater part of t controversy.

[125] See Herodotus, l. iii. c. 27, 28, 29. Ælian. Hist. Var. l. iv. c. 8. Suidas Ωχος, tom. ii. p. 774. Diodor. Sicul. tom. ii. l. xvii. p. 197 [c. 49], edit. Wesselin Τῶν Περσῶν ἠσεβηκότων εἰς τὰ ἱερά, says the last of these historians.

[126] Mokawkas sent the prophet two Coptic damsels [see above, p. 379], with t maids and one eunuch, an alabaster vase, an ingot of pure gold, oil, honey, a the finest white linen of Egypt, with an horse, a mule, and an ass, distinguish by their respective qualifications. The embassy of Mahomet was dispatched fr Medina in the seventh year of the Hegira (A.D. 628). See Gagnier (Vie Mahomet, tom. ii. p. 255, 256, 303), from Al Jannabi. [For Mokawkas or Mukaukis see Appendix 20.]

For myself and my brethren, we are resolved to live and die in the profession of the gospel and unity of Christ. It is impossible for us to embrace the revelations of your prophet; but we are desirous of peace, and cheerfully submit to pay tribute and obedience to his temporal successors." The tribute was ascertained at two pieces of gold for the head of every Christian;[127] but old men, monks, women, and children of both sexes under sixteen years of age, were exempted from this personal assessment; the Copts above and below Memphis swore allegiance to the caliph, and promised an hospitable entertainment of three days to every Musulman who should travel through their country. By this harter of security the ecclesiastical and civil tyranny of the Melchites was destroyed;[128] the anathemas of St. Cyril were hundered from every pulpit; and the sacred edifices, with the atrimony of the church, were restored to the national communion of the Jacobites, who enjoyed without moderation the moment of triumph and revenge. At the pressing summons of Amrou, their patriarch Benjamin emerged from his desert; and, fter the first interview, the courteous Arab affected to declare hat he had never conversed with a Christian priest of more innoent manners and a more venerable aspect.[129] In the march om Memphis to Alexandria, the lieutenant of Omar entrusted is safety to the zeal and gratitude of the Egyptians; the roads nd bridges were diligently repaired; and, in every step of his rogress, he could depend on a constant supply of provisions nd intelligence. The Greeks of Egypt, whose numbers could arcely equal a tenth of the natives, were overwhelmed by the niversal defection; they had ever been hated, they were no nger feared; the magistrate fled from his tribunal, the bishop om his altar; and the distant garrisons were surprised or starved y the surrounding multitudes. Had not the Nile afforded a fe and ready conveyance to the sea, not an individual could ave escaped who by birth, or language, or office, or religion, as connected with their odious name.

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[127] [And also a not oppressive property tax. Cp. Weil, i. p. 110, 111.]

[128] The præfecture of Egypt, and the conduct of the war, had been trusted by eraclius to the patriarch Cyrus (Theophan. p. 280, 281 [*sub* A.M. 6126]). "In ain," said James II. "do you not consult your priests?" "We do," replied the tholic ambassador, "and our affairs succeed accordingly." I know not how to ate the plans of Cyrus, of paying tribute without impairing the revenue, and of verting Omar by his marriage with the emperor's daughter (Nicephor. Breviar. 17, 18).

[129] See the life of Benjamin, in Renaudot (Hist. Patriarch. Alexandrin. p. -172), who has enriched the conquest of Egypt with some facts from the Arabic t of Severus, the Jacobite historian.

Siege and conquest of Alexandria. [A.D. 640-1]

By the retreat of the Greeks from the provinces of Upper Egypt, a considerable force was collected in the island of Delta: the natural and artificial channels of the Nile afforded a succession of strong and defensible posts; and the road to Alexandria was laboriously cleared by the victory of the Saracens in two and twenty days of general or partial combat. In their annals of conquest, the siege of Alexandria[130] is perhaps the most arduous and important enterprise. The first trading city in the world was abundantly replenished with the means of subsistence and defence. Her numerous inhabitants fought for the dearest of human rights, religion and property; and the enmity of the natives seemed to exclude them from the common benefit of peace and toleration. The sea was continually open; and, if Heraclius had been awake to the public distress, fresh armies of Romans and barbarians might have been poured into the harbour to save the second capital of the empire. A circumference of ten miles would have scattered the forces of the Greeks and favoured the stratagems of an active enemy; but the two sides of an oblong square were covered by the sea and the lake Maræotis, and each of the narrow ends exposed a front of no more than ten furlongs. The efforts of the Arabs were not inadequate to the difficulty of the attempt and the value of the prize. From the throne of Medina, the eyes of Omar were fixed on the camp and city: his voice excited to arms the Arabian tribes and the veterans of Syria; and the merit of an holy war was recommended by the peculiar fame and fertility of Egypt. Anxious for the ruin or expulsion of their tyrants, the faithfu natives devoted their labours to the service of Amrou; some sparks of martial spirit were perhaps rekindled by the example of their allies; and the sanguine hopes of Mokawkas had fixed his sepulchre in the church of St. John of Alexandria. Euty chius the patriarch observes that the Saracens fought with the courage of lions; they repulsed the frequent and almost daily sallies of the besieged, and soon assaulted in their turn the wall and towers of the city. In every attack, the sword, the banne of Amrou glittered in the van of the Moslems. On a memorabl day, he was betrayed by his imprudent valour: his followe

[Mareotis]

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[130] The local description of Alexandria is perfectly ascertained by the mast hand of the first of geographers (d'Anville, Mémoire sur l'Egypte, p. 52-63), b we may borrow the eyes of the modern travellers, more especially of Théven (Voyage au Levant, part i. p. 381-395), Pocock (vol. i. p. 2-13), and Niebu (Voyage en Arabie, tom. i. p. 34-43). Of the two modern rivals, Savary a Volney, the one may amuse, the other will instruct. [For the topography Alexandria see Puchstein's art. in Paulys Realencyclopädie der class. Altertum wissenschaft, vol. i. p. 1376 *sqq*. (1894), and G. Lumbroso's L'Egitto 1895).]

who had entered the citadel were driven back; and the general, with a friend and a slave, remained a prisoner in the hands of the Christians. When Amrou was conducted before the præfect, he remembered his dignity and forgot his situation; a lofty demeanour and resolute language revealed the lieutenant of the caliph, and the battle-axe of a soldier was already raised to strike off the head of the audacious captive. His life was saved by the readiness of his slave, who instantly gave his master a blow on the face, and commanded him, with an angry tone, to be silent in the presence of his superiors. The credulous Greek was deceived: he listened to the offer of a treaty, and his prisoners were dismissed in the hope of a more respectable embassy, till the joyful acclamations of the camp announced the eturn of their general and insulted the folly of the infidels.[131] At length, after a siege of fourteen months[132] and the loss of hree and twenty thousand men, the Saracens prevailed; the [A.D. 641, Oct. 17] Greeks embarked their dispirited and diminished numbers, and he standard of Mahomet was planted on the walls of the apital of Egypt. "I have taken," said Amrou to the caliph, the great city of the West. It is impossible for me to enunerate the variety of its riches and beauty; and I shall content nyself with observing that it contains four thousand palaces, our thousand baths, four hundred theatres or places of amusenent, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and orty thousand tributary Jews. The town has been subdued by orce of arms, without treaty or capitulation, and the Moslems re impatient to seize the fruits of their victory."[133] The comnander of the faithful rejected with firmness the idea of pillage, nd directed his lieutenant to reserve the wealth and revenue Alexandria for the public service and the propagation of the ith. The inhabitants were numbered; a tribute was imposed; ne zeal and resentment of the Jacobites were curbed, and the

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[131] [There seems to be no early authority for this anecdote.]

[132] Both Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 319) and Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 28) ncur in fixing the taking of Alexandria to Friday of the new moon of Moharram the twentieth year of the Hegira (December 22, A.D. 640). In reckoning backrds fourteen months spent before Alexandria, seven months before Babylon, &c. nrou might have invaded Egypt about the end of the year 638; but we are ured that he entered the country the 12th of Bayni, 6th of June (Murtadi, rveilles de l'Egypte, p. 164. Severus, apud Renaudot, p. 162). The Saracen, d afterwards Lewis IX. of France, halted at Pelusium, or Damietta, during the son of the inundation of the Nile. [For date see Appendix 21.]

[133] Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 316, 319. [Alexandria capitulated, see Tabari, iii. 463; John of Nikiu, ch. 121. Al-Bilādhurī, like Eutychius, has the false statement t it was stormed. Cp. Mr. E. W. Brooks in Byz. Zeitsch. iv. p. 443.]

Melchites who submitted to the Arabian yoke were indulged in the obscure but tranquil exercise of their worship. The intelligence of this disgraceful and calamitous event afflicted the declining health of the emperor; and Heraclius died of a dropsy about seven weeks after the loss of Alexandria.[134] Under the minority of his grandson, the clamours of a people, deprived of their daily sustenance, compelled the Byzantine court to undertake the recovery of the capital of Egypt. In the space of four years, the harbour and fortifications of Alexandria were twice occupied by a fleet and army of Romans. They were twice expelled by the valour of Amrou, who was recalled by the domestic peril from the distant wars of Tripoli and Nubia. But the facility of the attempt, the repetition of the insult, and the obstinacy of the resistance, provoked him to swear that, if a third time he drove the infidels into the sea, he would render Alexandria as accessible on all sides as the house of a prostitute. Faithful to his promise, he dismantled several parts of the walls and towers, but the people was spared in the chastisement of the city, and the mosch of *Mercy* was erected on the spot where the victorious general had stopped the fury of his troops.

The Alexandrian library

I should deceive the expectation of the reader, if I passed in silence the fate of the Alexandrian library, as it is described by the learned Abulpharagius. The spirit of Amrou was more curious and liberal than that of his brethren, and in his leisure hours the Arabian chief was pleased with the conversation of John, the last disciple of Ammonius, and who derived the surname of *Philoponus* from his laborious studies of grammar and philosophy.[135] Emboldened by this familiar intercourse, Philoponus presumed to solicit a gift, inestimable in *his* opinion, contemptible in that of the barbarians: the royal library, which alone, among the spoils of Alexandria, had not been appropriated

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[134] Notwithstanding some inconsistencies of Theophanes and Cedrenus, th accuracy of Pagi (Critica, tom. ii. p. 824) has extracted from Nicephorus and th Chronicon Orientale the true date of the death of Heraclius, February 11th, A.D 641, fifty days after the loss of Alexandria. A fourth of that time was sufficient t convey the intelligence. [Alexandria fell nine months after his death (App. 21).]

[135] Many treatises of this lover of labour (φιλόπονος) are still extant; but fo readers of the present age the printed and unpublished are nearly in the sam predicament. Moses and Aristotle are the chief objects of his verbose commentarie one of which is dated as early as May 10th, A.D. 617 (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. i p. 458-468). A modern (John Le Clerc), who sometimes assumed the same nam was equal to old Philoponus in diligence, and far superior in good sense and re knowledge. [The story founders on the chronology. John Philoponus lived the early part of the *sixth* century. Cp. Krumbacher, Gesch. der byz. Litteratu p. 581.]

y the visit and the seal of the conqueror. Amrou was inclined
o gratify the wish of the grammarian, but his rigid integrity
efused to alienate the minutest object without the consent of
he caliph; and the well-known answer of Omar was inspired
y the ignorance of a fanatic. "If these writings of the Greeks
gree with the book of God, they are useless and need not be
reserved; if they disagree, they are pernicious and ought to
e destroyed." The sentence was executed with blind obedi-
nce; the volumes of paper or parchment were distributed to the
ur thousand baths of the city; and such was their incredible
ultitude that six months were barely sufficient for the con-
mption of this precious fuel. Since the Dynasties of Abul-
haragius[136] have been given to the world in a Latin version,
e tale has been repeatedly transcribed; and every scholar,
ith pious indignation, has deplored the irreparable shipwreck
the learning, the arts, and the genius, of antiquity. For my
vn part, I am strongly tempted to deny both the fact and
e consequences. The fact is indeed marvellous; "Read and
onder!" says the historian himself; and the solitary report
a stranger who wrote at the end of six hundred years on the
nfines of Media is overbalanced by the silence of two annalists
a more early date, both Christians, both natives of Egypt,
d the most ancient of whom, the patriarch Eutychius, has
ply described the conquest of Alexandria.[137] The rigid sen-
nce of Omar is repugnant to the sound and orthodox precept
the Mahometan casuists: they expressly declare that the re-
ious books of the Jews and Christians, which are acquired by
e right of war, should never be committed to the flames; and
at the works of profane science, historians or poets, physi-
ns or philosophers, may be lawfully applied to the use of the
thful.[138] A more destructive zeal may perhaps be attributed
the first successors of Mahomet; yet in this instance the

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[36] Abulpharag. Dynast. p. 114, vers. Pocock. [The story is also given by
ther late authority, Abd al Latif.] Audi quid factum sit et mirare. It would
ndless to enumerate the moderns who have wondered and believed, but I may
inguish with honour the rational scepticism of Renaudot (Hist. Alex. Patriarch.
70): historia . . . habet aliquid ἄπιστον ut Arabibus familiare est. [For
lfaragius or Bar-Hebraeus, see Appendix 1.]

[37] This curious anecdote will be vainly sought in the annals of Eutychius and
Saracenic history of Elmacin [and the histories of Tabari and Ibn Abd al
am who was resident in Egypt]. The silence of Abulfeda, Murtadi, and a
d of Moslems is less conclusive from their ignorance of Christian literature.

[38] See Reland, de Jure Militari Mohammedanorum, in his iiird volume of
ertations, p. 37. The reason for not burning the religious books of the Jews
hristians is derived from the respect that is due to the *name* of God.

conflagration would have speedily expired in the deficiency o materials. I shall not recapitulate the disasters of the Alexandrian library, the involuntary flame that was kindled by Cæsa in his own defence,[139] or the mischievous bigotry of the Christian who studied to destroy the monuments of idolatry.[140] But, i we gradually descend from the age of the Antonines to tha of Theodosius, we shall learn from a chain of contemporar witnesses that the royal palace and the temple of Serapis n longer contained the four, or the seven, hundred thousand volume which had been assembled by the curiosity and magnificence o the Ptolemies.[141] Perhaps the church and seat of the patriarch might be enriched with a repository of books; but, if the ponderous mass of Arian and Monophysite controversy were indee consumed in the public baths,[142] a philosopher may allow, wit smile, that it was ultimately devoted to the benefit of mankind. sincerely regret the more valuable libraries which have been nvolved in the ruin of the Roman empire; but, when I seriously ompute the lapse of ages, the waste of ignorance, and the alamities of war, our treasures, rather than our losses, are the bject of my surprise. Many curious and interesting facts are uried in oblivion: the three great historians of Rome have een transmitted to our hands in a mutilated state, and we are eprived of many pleasing compositions of the lyric, iambic, ıd dramatic poetry of the Greeks. Yet we should gratefully member that the mischances of time and accident have spared ıe classic works to which the suffrage of antiquity[143] had addged the first place of genius and glory; the teachers of ıcient knowledge, who are still extant, had perused and comıred the writings of their predecessors;[144] nor can it fairly be esumed that any important truth, any useful discovery in art nature, has been snatched away from the curiosity of modern es.

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[139] Consult the collections of Frensheim [Freinshemius] (Supplement. Livian c. 12, 43) and Usher (Annal. p. 469). Livy himself had styled the Alexandria library, elegantiæ regum curæque egregium opus: a liberal encomium, for whic he is pertly criticized by the narrow stoicism of Seneca (De Tranquillitate Anim c. 9), whose wisdom, on this occasion, deviates into nonsense.

[140] See this History, vol. iii. p. 201.

[141] Aulus Gellius (Noctes Atticæ, vi. 17), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxii. 16), an Orosius (l. vi. c. 15). They all speak in the *past* tense, and the words of Ammianu are remarkably strong; fuerunt Bibliothecæ innumerabiles [*leg.* inaestimabiles] et loquitur monumentorum veterum concinens fides, &c. [Cp. also the expression of John Philoponus (in his commentary on Aristotle's Prior Analytics p. iv. a, ed. Venice, 1536) as to 40 books of Analytics found "in the ol libraries"; and there is a similar remark in Ammonius. The silence of th early authorities, both Greek and Arabic, is the main argument for Gibbon scepticism as to the burning of the Alexandrian "library" by Omar's order The silence of the chronicles of Theophanes and Nicephorus does not cou for much, as they are capricious and unaccountable in their selection of fact The silence of Tabari and Ibn Abd al Hakam is more important, but not decisive. Of far greater weight is the silence of the contemporary John Nikiu, who gives a very full account of the conquest of Egypt. Weil supports Gibbon, while St. Martin, among others, has defended the statement Abulfaragius. For the two libraries at Alexandria, and the evidence of Orosius, se above, vol. iii. Appendix. 11. It should be noticed perhaps that the expression Abulfaragius is not "library" but "libri philosophici qui in gazophylaciis regi reperiuntur" (tr. Pocock, p. 114). But Abd al Latīf (ed. Silvestre de Sacy, p. 18 speaks of "the library which Amr burned with Omar's permission."—Th origin of the story is perhaps to be sought in the actual destruction of religio books in Persia. Ibn Khaldūn, as quoted by Hājji Khalīfa (apud de Sacy, *op. ci* p. 241), states that Omar authorised some Persian books to be thrown into th water, basing his decision on the same dilemma, which, according to Abulfaragiu he enunciated to Amr. It is quite credible that books of the Fire-worshippe were destroyed by Omar's orders; and this incident might have originated legen of the destruction of books elsewhere.]

[142] Renaudot answers for versions of the Bible, Hexapla *Catenae Patrum*, Co mentaries, &c. (p. 170). Our Alexandrian Ms., if it came from Egypt, and n from Constantinople or mount Athos (Westein, Prolegom. ad N. T. p. 8, &c might *possibly* be among them.

Administration of Egypt

In the administration of Egypt,[145] Amrou balanced the deınds of justice and policy; the interest of the people of the v, who were defended by God, and of the people of the allice, who were protected by man. In the recent tumult of conest and deliverance, the tongue of the Copts and the sword of Arabs were most adverse to the tranquillity of the province. the former, Amrou declared that faction and falsehood would doubly chastised: by the punishment of the accusers, whom should detest as his personal enemies, and by the promotion their innocent brethren, whom their envy had laboured to ure and supplant. He excited the latter by the motives of igion and honour to sustain the dignity of their character, to lear themselves by a modest and temperate conduct to God l the caliph, to spare and protect a people who had trusted to

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3 I have often perused with pleasure a chapter of Quintilian (Institut. Orator. , in which that judicious critic enumerates and appreciates the series of Greek Latin classics.

4 Such as Galen, Pliny, Aristotle, &c. On this subject Wotton (Reflections on nt and modern Learning, p. 85-95) argues with solid sense against the lively c fancies of Sir William Temple. The contempt of the Greeks for *barbaric* ce would scarcely admit the Indian or Æthiopic books into the library of andria; nor is it proved that philosophy has sustained any real loss from their ısion.

This curious and authentic intelligence of Murtadi (p. 284-289) has not been vered either by Mr. Ockley or by the self-sufficient compilers of the Modern ersal History.

their faith, and to content themselves with the legitimate and splendid rewards of their victory. In the management of the revenue he disapproved the simple but oppressive mode of capitation, and preferred with reason a proportion of taxes, deducted on every branch from the clear profits of agriculture and commerce. A third part of the tribute was appropriated to the annual repairs of the dykes and canals, so essential to the public welfare. Under his administration the fertility of Egypt supplied the dearth of Arabia; and a string of camels, laden with corn and provisions, covered almost without an interval the long road from Memphis to Medina.[146] But the genius of Amrou soon renewed the maritime communication which had been attempted [A.D. 643-4] or achieved by the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, or the Cæsars; and a canal, at least eighty miles in length, was opened from the Nile to the Red Sea. This inland navigation, which would have joined the Mediterranean and the Indian ocean, was soon discontinued as useless and dangerous; the throne was removed from Medina to Damascus; and the Grecian fleets might hav explored a passage to the holy cities of Arabia.[147]

Riches and populousness

Of his new conquest, the caliph Omar had an imperfect knowledge from the voice of fame and the legends of the Koran. H requested that his lieutenant would place before his eyes th realm of Pharaoh and the Amalekites; and the answer of Amrou exhibits a lively and not unfaithful picture of that singul country.[148] "O commander of the faithful, Egypt is a compoun of black earth and green plants, between a pulverised mounta

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[146] Eutychius, Annal. tom. ii. p. 320. Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 35.

[147] On these *obscure* canals, the reader may try to satisfy himself from d'Anv (Mém. sur l'Egypte, p. 108-110, 124, 132), and a learned thesis maintained a printed at Strasburg in the year 1770 (Jungendorum marium fluviorumque moli na, p. 39-47, 68-70). Even the supine Turks have agitated the old project of join the two seas (Mémoires du Baron de Tott, tom. iv.). [The canal from Bubastis the Red Sea was begun by Necho and finished by Darius. Having become cho up with sand, it was cleared by Ptolemy II. and again by Trajan. The canal Amr, beginning at Babylon, ran north to Bilbeis, then east to Heroopolis, a then southward, reaching the Red Sea at Kulzum (Suez). John of Nikiu st that the Moslems compelled the Egyptians to execute the work of clearing "Canal of Trajan," tr. Zotenberg, p. 577.]

[148] A small volume, des Merveilles, &c. de l'Egypte, composed in the xi century by Murtadi of Cairo, and translated from an Arabic Ms. of Card Mazarin, was published by Pierre Vatier, Paris, 1666. The antiquities of Eg are wild and legendary; but the writer deserves credit and esteem for his acc of the conquest and geography of his native country (see the correspondence Amrou and Omar, p. 279-289). [For the correspondence of Amr and O recorded by Ibn Abd al Hakam, see Weil, i. p. 124 *sqq.*]

nd a red sand. The distance from Syene to the sea is a month's
ourney for an horseman. Along the valley descends a river,
n which the blessing of the Most High reposes both in the
vening and morning, and which rises and falls with the revolu-
ions of the sun and moon. When the annual dispensation of
'rovidence unlocks the springs and fountains that nourish the
arth, the Nile rolls his swelling and sounding waters through
he realm of Egypt; the fields are overspread by the salutary
ood; and the villages communicate with each other in their
ainted barks. The retreat of the inundation deposits a fertilis-
ıg mud for the reception of the various seeds; the crowds of
usbandmen who blacken the land may be compared to a swarm
f industrious ants; and their native indolence is quickened by the
sh of the task-master and the promise of the flowers and fruits
a plentiful increase. Their hope is seldom deceived; but the
ches which they extract from the wheat, the barley, and the
ce, the legumes, the fruit-trees, and the cattle, are unequally
ıared between those who labour and those who possess. Ac-
rding to the vicissitudes of the seasons, the face of the country
adorned with a *silver* wave, a verdant *emerald*, and the deep
llow of a *golden* harvest." [149] Yet this beneficial order is some-
mes interrupted; and the long delay and sudden swell of the
ver in the first year of the conquest might afford some colour
an edifying fable. It is said that the annual sacrifice of a
rgin [150] had been interdicted by the piety of Omar; and that
e Nile lay sullen and inactive in his shallow bed, till the man-
te of the caliph was cast into the obedient stream, which rose
a single night to the height of sixteen cubits. The admira-
on of the Arabs for their new conquest encouraged the licence
their romantic spirit. We may read, in the gravest authors,

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[149] In a twenty years' residence at Cairo, the consul Maillet had contemplated
t varying scene, the Nile (lettre ii. particularly p. 70, 75); the fertility of the
d (lettre ix). From a college at Cambridge, the poetic eye of Gray had *seen*
same objects with a keener glance:

What wonder in the sultry climes that spread,
Where Nile, redundant o'er his summer bed,
From his broad bosom life and verdure flings,
And broods o'er Egypt with his wat'ry wings;
If with advent'rous oar, and ready sail,
The dusky people drive before the gale;
Or on frail floats to neighbouring cities ride,
That rise and glitter o'er the ambient tide

(Mason's Works, and Memoirs of Gray, p. 199, 200).

[150] Murtadi, p. 164-167. The reader will not easily credit an human sacrifice
ler the Christian emperors, or a miracle of the successors of Mahomet.

that Egypt was crowded with twenty thousand cities or villages;[15] *that*, exclusive of the Greeks and Arabs, the Copts alone wer found, on the assessment, six millions of tributary subjects,[152] o twenty millions of either sex and of every age; *that* three hundred millions of gold or silver were annually paid to the treasur of the caliph.[153] Our reason must be startled by these extravagant assertions; and they will become more palpable, if w assume the compass and measure the extent of habitable ground a valley from the tropic to Memphis, seldom broader than twelv miles, and the triangle of the Delta, a flat surface of two thousand one hundred square leagues, compose a twelfth part of th magnitude of France.[154] A more accurate research will justify more reasonable estimate. The three hundred millions, create by the error of a scribe, are reduced to the decent revenue c four millions three hundred thousand pieces of gold, of whic nine hundred thousand were consumed by the pay of th soldiers.[155] Two authentic lists, of the present and of the twelft century, are circumscribed within the respectable number of tw thousand seven hundred villages and towns.[156] After a long resi

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[151] Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, p. 22. He mentions this number as th *common* opinion; and adds that the generality of these villages contain two or thr thousand persons, and that many of them are more populous than our large citie

[152] Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 308, 311. The twenty millions are computed fro the following *data:* one twelfth of mankind above sixty, one third below sixtee the proportion of men to women as seventeen to sixteen (Recherches sur la Pop lation de la France, p. 71, 72). The president Goguet (Origine des Arts, &c. ton iii. p. 26, &c.) bestows twenty-seven millions on ancient Egypt, because the seve teen hundred companions of Sesostris were born on the same day.

[153] Elmacin, Hist. Saracen. p. 218; and this gross lump is swallowed witho scruple by d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 1031), Arbuthnot (Tables of Ancie Coins, p. 262), and De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. iii. p. 135). They might alleg the not less extravagant liberality of Appian in favour of the Ptolemies (in præfat. of seventy-four myriads 740,000 talents, an annual income of 185, or near 30 millions of pounds sterling, according as we reckon by the Egyptian or th Alexandrian talent (Bernard de Ponderibus Antiq. p. 186).

[154] See the measurement of d'Anville (Mém. sur l'Egypte, p. 23, &c.). Aft some peevish cavils, M. Pauw (Recherches sur les Egyptiens, tom i. p. 118-12 can only enlarge his reckoning to 2250 square leagues.

[155] Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexand. p. 334, who calls the common readin or version of Elmacin *error librarii.* [Elmacin gives 300,300,000.] His ow emendation of 4,300,000 pieces, in the ixth century, maintains a probable mediu between the 3,000,000 which the Arabs acquired by the conquest of Egypt (ide p. 168), and the 2,400,000 which the sultan of Constantinople levied in the la century (Pietro della Valle, tom. i. p. 352 [p. 219 in French translation]; Théveno part i. p. 824). Pauw (Recherches, tom. ii. p. 365-372) gradually raises the revent of the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, and the Cæsars, from six to fifteen millions German crowns.

[156] The list of Schultens (Index Geograph. ad calcem Vit. Saladin. p. 5) contai 2396 places; that of d'Anville (Mém. sur l'Egypte, p. 29), from the divan Cairo, enumerates 2696.

ence at Cairo, a French consul has ventured to assign about four illions of Mahometans, Christians, and Jews, for the ample, hough not incredible, scope of the population of Egypt.[157]

Africa. First invasion by Abdallah. A.D. 647

IV. The conquest of Africa, from the Nile to the Atlantic cean,[158] was first attempted by the arms of the caliph Othman.[159] he pious design was approved by the companions of Mahomet nd the chiefs of the tribes; and twenty thousand Arabs marched rom Medina, with the gifts and the blessing of the commander f the faithful. They were joined in the camp of Memphis by wenty thousand of their countrymen; and the conduct of the ar was entrusted to Abdallah,[160] the son of Said, and the oster-brother of the caliph, who had lately supplanted the con-

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[157] See Maillet (Description de l'Egypte, p. 28), who seems to argue with candour nd judgment. I am much better satisfied with the observations than with the ading of the French consul. He was ignorant of Greek and Latin literature, and is fancy is too much delighted with the fictions of the Arabs. Their best knowdge is collected by Abulfeda (Descript. Ægypt. Arab. et Lat. a Joh. David ichaelis, Gottingæ, in 4to, 1776), and in two recent voyages into Egypt we are nused by Savary and instructed by Volney. I wish the latter could travel over e globe.

[158] My conquest of Africa is drawn from two French interpreters of Arabic erature, Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des rabes, tom. i. p. 8-55), and Otter (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxi. 111-125, and 136). They derive their principal information from Novairi, who mposed, A.D. 1331, an Encyclopædia in more than twenty volumes. The five neral parts successively treat of, 1. Physics, 2. Man, 3. Animals, 4. Plants, and, History; and the African affairs are discussed in the vith chapter of the vth ction of this last part (Reiske, Prodidagmata ad Hagji Chalifæ Tabulas, p. 232-4). Among the older historians who are quoted by Novairi, we may distinguish e original narrative of a soldier who led the van of the Moslems. [The work of ovairi (see Baron de Slane's translation, Journal Asiatique, 1841, and App. to me i. of his transl. of Ibn Khaldūn, p. 313 *sqq.*) is marked by many romantic and gendary details. It is safer to adhere to the briefer notices of the older ninthntury writers, especially Bilādhurī (see references in Journal Asiat., 1844) and Ibn d al Hakam (see extract in Journal Asiat., *ib.*, and App. to Slane's Ibn haldūn, p. 301-12), and use with caution both Novairi and Ibn Khaldūn (whose istory of the Berbers and Musulman dynasties of North Africa has been transed by the Baron de Slane, 1852-6, 4 vols.). Ibn Khaldūn (14th century) used ovairi; and Novairi used Bilādhurī, and Ibn al Athīr, among other sources. n Kutaiba has also some important notices (see Gayangos, History of the ohammedan dynasties in Spain, 1840, vol. i. App. E), and Al Bakri (see Slane, Journal Asiat., 1858). The French conquest of Algiers and occupation of Tunis ve led to some valuable studies on this period: Fournel, Les Berbers: Etudes sur conquête de l'Afrique par les Arabes, 1881; Mercier, Hist. de l'Afrique septenonale, 1888-91; Diehl, Bk. v. in L'Afrique Byzantine, 1896. Besides these, we ve Weil, Amari (Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia, first chapters of vol. i.), Roth's ba ibn Nafi, 1859, Tauxier's Le patrice Gregorius (Rev. Africaine in 1885).]

[159] [Amr however had already rendered Barca tributary and reduced Tripoli d Sabrata in A.D. 642-3 or 643-4 (according to Ibn Abd al Hakam, ap. Slane's Khaldūn, p. 302-3. See Weil, i. p. 124). Omar decided against a further vance westward.]

[160] See the history of Abdallah in Abulfeda (Vit. Mohammed. p. 109) and gnier (Vie de Mahomet, tom. iii. p. 45-48).

The præfect Gregory and his daughter

queror and lieutenant of Egypt. Yet the favour of the prince and the merit of his favourite could not obliterate the guilt o his apostacy. The early conversion of Abdallah and his skilful pen had recommended him to the important office of transcribing the sheets of the Koran; he betrayed his trust, corrupted the text, derided the errors which he had made, and fled to Mecca to escape the justice, and expose the ignorance, of the apostle. After the conquest of Mecca, he fell prostrate at the feet o Mahomet; his tears and the entreaties of Othman extorted a reluctant pardon; but the prophet declared that he had so long hesitated to allow time for some zealous disciple to avenge hi injury in the blood of the apostate With apparent fidelity and effective merit, he served the religion which it was no longer hi interest to desert: his birth and talents gave him an honourabl rank among the Koreish; and, in a nation of cavalry, Abdalla was renowned as the boldest and most dexterous horseman o Arabia. At the head of forty thousand Moslems, he advance from Egypt into the unknown countries of the West. The sand of Barca might be impervious to a Roman legion; but the Arab were attended by their faithful camels; and the natives of th desert beheld without terror the familiar aspect of the soil an climate. After a painful march, they pitched their tents befor the walls of Tripoli,[161] a maritime city, in which the *name*, th wealth, and the inhabitants, of the province had gradually centred, and which now maintains the third rank among th states of Barbary. A reinforcement of Greeks was surprised an cut in pieces on the sea-shore; but the fortifications of Tripol resisted the first assaults; and the Saracens were tempted b the approach of the præfect Gregory[162] to relinquish the labour of the siege for the perils and the hopes of a decisive action. If his standard was followed by one hundred and twenty thousand men, the regular bands of the empire must have been lost in the naked and disorderly crowd of Africans and Moors, who formed the strength, or rather the numbers, of his host. He rejected with indignation the option of the Koran or the tribute; and during several days the two armies were fiercely engaged from the dawn of light to the hour of noon, when their fatigue and the excessive heat compelled them to seek shelter and refreshment in their respective camps. The daughter of Gregory, a maid of incomparable beauty and spirit, is said to have fought by his side; from her earliest youth she was trained to mount on horseback, to draw the bow, and to wield the scymetar; and the richness of her arms and apparel was conspicuous in the foremost ranks of the battle. Her hand, with an hundred thousand pieces of gold, was offered for the head of the Arabian general, and the youths of Africa were excited by the prospect of the glorious prize. At the pressing solicitation of his brethren, Abdallah withdrew his person from the field; but the Saracens were discouraged by the retreat of their leader and the repetition of these equal or unsuccessful conflicts.

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[161] The province and city of Tripoli are described by Leo Africanus (in Navigatione et Viaggi di Ramusio, tom. i. Venetia, 1550, fol. 76, *verso*), and Marmo (Description de l'Afrique, tom. ii. p. 562). The first of these writers was a Moor a scholar, and a traveller, who composed or translated his African geography in state of captivity at Rome, where he had assumed the name and religion of pope Le X. [His work has been recently edited for the Hakluyt Soc. by Dr. R. Brown. In a similar captivity among the Moors, the Spaniard Marmol, a soldier Charles V., compiled his Description of Africa, translated by d'Ablancourt int French (Paris, 1667, 3 vols. in 4to). Marmol had read and seen, but he is destitut of the curious and extensive observation which abounds in the original work of Le the African.

[162] Theophanes, who mentions the defeat, rather than the death, of Gregory He brands the præfect with the name of Τύραννος; he had probably assumed th purple (Chronograph. p. 285 [*sub* A.M. 6139]). [There is no doubt that Gregor revolted against Constans and was proclaimed emperor. Cp. Ibn Abd al Haka (*loc. cit.* p. 304), who speaks of him as "a king named Jorejīr (or Jirjī who had at first administered the country as lieutenant of Heraclius, but ha then revolted against his master and struck dinârs with his own image. Hi

Victory of the Arabs

A noble Arabian, who afterwards became the adversary of Ali and the father of a caliph, had signalised his valour in Egypt, and Zobeir[163] was the first who planted the scaling-ladder against the walls of Babylon. In the African war he was detached from the standard of Abdallah. On the news of the battle, Zobeir, with twelve companions, cut his way through the camp of the Greeks, and pressed forwards, without tasting either food or repose, to partake of the dangers of his brethren. He cast his eyes round the field: "Where," said he, "is our general?" "In his tent." "Is the tent a station for the general of the Moslems?" Abdallah represented with a blush the importance of his own life, and the temptation that was held forth by the Roman præfect. "Retort," said Zobeir, "on the infidels their ungenerous attempt. Proclaim through the ranks that the head

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authority extended from Tripoli to Tangier." He was very popular in Africa, as a champion of orthodoxy against Monotheletism, and protected the Abbot Maximus. See Migne, Patr. Gr. 91, p. 354. He was also supported by the Berbers (cf. Theoph. *loc. cit.*), and he fixed his residence at the inland city of Sufetula, which had a strong citadel.]

[163] See in Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 45) the death of Zobeir, which was honoured with the tears of Ali, against whom he had rebelled. *His* valour at the siege of Babylon, if indeed it be the same person, is mentioned by Eutychius (Annal. tom. ii. p. 308).

of Gregory shall be repaid with his captive daughter and the equal sum of one hundred thousand pieces of gold."[164] To the courage and discretion of Zobeir the lieutenant of the caliph entrusted the execution of his own stratagem, which inclined the long-disputed balance in favour of the Saracens. Supplying by activity and artifice the deficiency of numbers, a part of their forces lay concealed in their tents, while the remainder prolonged an irregular skirmish with the enemy, till the sun was high in the heavens. On both sides they retired with fainting steps; their horses were unbridled, their armour was laid aside, and the hostile nations prepared, or seemed to prepare, for the refreshment of the evening and the encounter of the ensuing day. On a sudden, the charge was sounded; the Arabian camp poured forth a swarm of fresh and intrepid warriors; and the long line of the Greeks and Africans was surprised, assaulted, overturned by new squadrons of the faithful, who, to the eye of fanaticism, might appear as a band of angels descending from the sky. The præfect himself was slain by the hand of Zobeir: his daughter, who sought revenge and death, was surrounded and made prisoner; and the fugitives involved in their disaster the town of Sufetula, to which they escaped from the sabres and lances of the Arabs. Sufetula was built one hundred and fifty miles to the south of Carthage: a gentle declivity is watered by a running stream, and shaded by a grove of Juniper trees; and, in the ruins of a triumphal arch, a portico, and three temples of the Corinthian order, curiosity may yet admire the magnificence of the Romans.[165] After the fall of this opulent city, the provincials and barbarians implored on all sides the mercy of the conqueror. His vanity or his zeal might be flattered by offers of tribute or professions of faith; but his losses, his fatigues, and the progress of an epidemical disease, prevented a solid establishment; and the Saracens, after a campaign of fifteen months, retreated to the confines of Egypt, with the captives and the wealth of their African expedition. The caliph's fifth was granted to a favourite, on the nominal payment of five hundred thousand pieces of gold;[166] but the state was doubly injured by this fallacious transaction, if each foot-soldier had shared one thousand, and each horseman three thousand, pieces in the real division of the plunder. The author of the death of Gregory was expected to have claimed the most precious reward of the victory: from his silence it might be presumed that he had fallen in the battle, till the tears and exclamations of the præfect's daughter at the sight of Zobeir revealed the valour and modesty of that gallant soldier. The unfortunate virgin was offered, and almost rejected, as a slave, by her father's murderer, who coolly declared that his sword was consecrated to the service of religion; and that he laboured for a recompense far above the charms of mortal beauty or the riches of this transitory life.[167] A reward congenial to his temper was the honourable commission of announcing to the caliph Othman the success of his arms. The companions, the chiefs, and the people were assembled in the mosch of Medina, to hear the interesting narrative of Zobeir; and, as the orator forgot nothing except the merit of his own counsels and actions, the name of Abdallah was joined by the Arabians with the heroic names of Caled and Amrou.[168]

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[164] [Novairi, *apud* Slane's Ibn Khaldūn, i. p. 319.]

[165] Shaw's Travels, p. 118, 119. [For Sufetula (Sbaitla), an important centre of roads, see Saladin's Rapport on a mission to Tunis in Nouv. Arch. des Missions, i. 1893. The plan of the site is given in Diehl's l'Afrique Byzantine, p. 278.]

[166] Mimica emptio, says Abulfeda, erat hæc, et mira donatio; quandoquidem Othman, ejus nomine nummos ex ærario prius ablatos ærario præstabat (Annal. Moslem. p. 78). Elmacin (in his cloudy version, p. 39) seems to report the same

Progress of the Saracens in Africa. A.D. 665-689

The western conquests of the Saracens were suspended near twenty years, till their dissensions were composed by the establishment of the house of Ommiyah; and the caliph Moawiyah was invited by the cries of the Africans themselves. The successors of Heraclius had been informed of the tribute which they had been compelled to stipulate with the Arabs; but, instead of being moved to pity and relieve their distress, they

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ob. When the Arabs besieged the palace of Othman, it stood high in their catalogue of grievances.

[167] [Ibn Abd al Hakam (*loc. cit.* p. 306) gives another story about the daughter of Gregory. She fell to the lot of a man of Medina. He placed her on a camel and returned with her improvising these verses:—

"Daughter of Joujīr, you will go on foot in your turn;
Your mistress awaits you in the Hijāz,
You will carry a skin of water from Koba (to Medina)".

She "asked what this dog meant; and having learned the meaning of the words threw herself from the camel and broke her neck".]

[168] Ἐπεστράτευσαν Σαρακηνοὶ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν, καὶ συμβαλόντες τῷ τυράννῳ Γρηγορίῳ τοῦτον τρέπουσι καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κτέννουσι καὶ στοιχήσαντες φόρους μετὰ τῶν Ἄφρων ὑπέστρεψαν. Theophan. Chronograph. p. 285, edit. Paris [A.M. 6139]. His chronology is loose and inaccurate. [Some words have accidentally fallen out in this passage after κτέννουσι and are preserved in the translation of Anastasius: *et hunc ab Africa pellunt* (de Boor supplies καὶ τοῦτον Ἀφρικῆς ἀπελαύνουσιν). This implies that Gregory was not slain; cp. above, note 162. Diehl justly remarks that he must not be identified with Gregory the nephew of Heraclius who died in 651-2; *op. cit.* p. 559; but does not question the statement (of Arabic sources, *e.g.* Ibn Abd al Hakam, *loc. cit.* p. 304) that he was slain at Sbaitla. The details of the battle given in the text depend chiefly on the doubtful authority of Novairi.]

imposed, as an equivalent or a fine, a second tribute of a simila amount. The ears of the Byzantine ministers were shut against the complaints of their poverty and ruin; their despair was reduced to prefer the dominion of a single master; and the extortions of the patriarch[169] of Carthage, who was invested with civil and military power, provoked the sectaries, and even the Catholics, of the Roman province to abjure the religion as [A.D. 665] well as the authority of their tyrants. The first lieutenant[170] o Moawiyah acquired a just renown, subdued an important city, defeated an army of thirty thousand Greeks, swept away four-score thousand captives, and enriched with their spoils the bold adventurers of Syria and Egypt.[171] But the title of conqueror [Okba ibn Nafi] of Africa is more justly due to his successor Akbah. He marched from Damascus at the head of ten thousand of the bravest Arabs and the genuine force of the Moslems was enlarged by the doubtful aid and conversion of many thousand barbarians. It [A.D. 663] would be difficult, nor is it necessary, to trace the accurate line of the progress of Akbah. The interior regions have been peopled by the Orientals with fictitious armies and imaginary citadels.[172] In the warlike province of Zab or Numidia, four-score thousand of the natives might assemble in arms; but the number of three hundred and sixty towns is incompatible with the ignorance or decay of husbandry;[173] and a circumference [A.D. 683] of three leagues will not be justified by the ruins of Erbe o Lambesa, the ancient metropolis of that inland country. A we approach the sea-coast the well-known cities of Bugia[17 and Tangier[175] define the more certain limits of the Saracen victories. A remnant of trade still adheres to the commodiou harbour of Bugia, which, in a more prosperous age, is said to have contained about twenty thousand houses; and the plenty f iron, which is dug from the adjacent mountains, might have upplied a braver people with the instruments of defence. The emote position and venerable antiquity of Tingi, or Tangier, ave been decorated by the Greek and Arabian fables; but the igurative expressions of the latter, that the walls were contructed of brass, and that the roofs were covered with gold and ilver, may be interpreted as the emblems of strength and opuence. The province of Mauritania Tingitana,[176] which assumed he name of the capital, had been imperfectly discovered and ettled by the Romans; the five colonies were confined to a arrow pale, and the more southern parts were seldom explored xcept by the agents of luxury, who searched the forests for vory and the citron-wood,[177] and the shores of the ocean for he purple shell-fish. The fearless Akbah plunged into the eart of the country, traversed the wilderness in which his uccessors erected the splendid capitals of Fez and Morocco,[178] nd at length penetrated to the verge of the Atlantic and the reat desert. The river Sus descends from the western sides of ount Atlas, fertilises, like the Nile, the adjacent soil, and falls nto the sea at a moderate distance from the Canary, or Fortuate, islands. Its banks were inhabited by the last of the Moors, race of savages, without laws, or discipline, or religion: they were astonished by the strange and irresistible terrors of the

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[169] [This is presumably a misprint for *Patrician.*]

[170] [Moāwiya ibn Hudaij.]

[171] Theophanes (in Chronograph. p. 293 [A.M. 6161]) inserts the vague rumour that might reach Constantinople, of the western conquests of the Arabs; and learn from Paul Warnefrid, deacon of Aquileia (de Gestis Langobard. l. v. c. 13 that at this time they sent a fleet from Alexandria into the Sicilian and African seas [The army of 30,000 was sent over from Sicily by the Emperor Constans.]

[172] [Not imaginary. North Africa is full of the remains of Byzantine citadels Cp. above, vol. iv. p. 250, note 111.]

[173] See Novairi (apud Otter, p. 118), Leo Africanus (fol. 81, *verso*), who reckon only cinque citta e infinite casale, Marmol (Description de l'Afrique, tom. iii. p. 33 and Shaw (Travels, p. 57, 65-68).

[174] Leo African. fol. 58, *verso;* 59, *recto.* Marmol, tom. ii. p. 415. Shaw, p. 4

[175] Leo African. fol. 52. Marmol, tom. ii. p. 228.

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[176] Regio ignobilis, et vix quicquam illustre sortita, parvis oppidis habitatur arva flumina emittit, solo quam viris melior et segnitie gentis obscura. Pomponius Mela, i. 5, iii. 10. Mela deserves the more credit, since his own Phœnician ancestors ad migrated from Tingitana to Spain (see, in ii. 6, a passage of that geographer o cruelly tortured by Salmasius, Isaac Vossius, and the most virulent of critics, ames Gronovius). He lived at the time of the final reduction of that country by he emperor Claudius: yet almost thirty years afterwards Pliny (Hist. Nat. v. 1) omplains of his authors, too lazy to inquire, too proud to confess their ignorance of that wild and remote province.

[177] The foolish fashion of this citron-wood prevailed at Rome among the men, as much as the taste for pearls among the women. A round board or table, four or five feet in diameter, sold for the price of an estate (latifundii taxatione), eight, ten, or twelve thousand pounds sterling (Plin. Hist. Natur. xiii. 29). I conceive that I must not confound the tree *citrus* with that of the fruit *citrum*. But I am not botanist enough to define the former (it is like the wild cypress) by the vulgar or Linnæan name; nor will I decide whether the *citrum* be the orange or the lemon. Salmasius appears to exhaust the subject, but he too often involves himself in the web of his disorderly erudition (Plinian. Exercitat. tom ii. p. 666, &c.).

[178] Leo African. fol. 16, *verso;* Marmol, tom. ii. p. 28. This province, the first scene of the exploits and greatness of the *cherifs*, is often mentioned in the curious history of that dynasty at the end of the iiird volume of Marmol, Description de l'Afrique. The iiird volume of the Recherches Historiques sur les Maures (lately published at Paris) illustrates the history and geography of the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. [It is doubtful whether Okba really reached Tangier and the Atlantic. Weil rejects the story; vol. i., p. 288.]

Oriental arms; and, as they possessed neither gold nor silve
the richest spoil was the beauty of the female captives, some
whom were afterwards sold for a thousand pieces of gold Th
career, though not the zeal, of Akbah was checked by the pro
pect of a boundless ocean. He spurred his horse into the wave
and, raising his eyes to heaven, exclaimed with the tone of
fanatic: "Great God! if my course were not stopped by th
sea, I would still go on, to the unknown kingdoms of the Wes
preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the swo
the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee".
Yet this Mahometan Alexander, who sighed for new worlds, w
unable to preserve his recent conquests. By the universal d
[Death of Okba at Tehuda. fection of the Greeks and Africans, he was recalled from t
[683] shores of the Atlantic, and the surrounding multitudes left hi
only the resource of an honourable death. The last scene w
[Abu-l-Muhajir] dignified by an example of national virtue. An ambitious chie
who had disputed the command and failed in the attempt, w
led about as a prisoner in the camp of the Arabian general. T
insurgents had trusted to his discontent and revenge; he di
dained their offers, and revealed their designs. In the hour
danger the grateful Akbah unlocked his fetters and advised hi
to retire; he chose to die under the banner of his rival. E
bracing as friends and martyrs, they unsheathed their scymeta
broke their scabbards, and maintained an obstinate combat, t
they fell by each other's side on the last of their slaughter
[A.D. 688] countrymen.[180] The third general or governor of Africa, Zuhe
avenged and encountered the fate of his predecessor. He va
quished the natives in many battles; he was overthrown by
powerful army which Constantinople had sent to the relief
Carthage.

Foundation of Cairoan. A.D. 670-675 It had been the frequent practice of the Moorish tribes to jo
the invaders, to share the plunder, to profess the faith, and
revolt to their savage state of independence and idolatry on t
first retreat or misfortune of the Moslems. The prudence
Akbah had proposed to found an Arabian colony in the heart
Africa: a citadel that might curb the levity of the barbarians
place of refuge to secure, against the accidents of war, the weal
and the families of the Saracens. With this view, and under t

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[179] Otter (p. 119) has given the strong tone of fanaticism to this exclamati
which Cardonne (p. 37) has softened to a pious wish of *preaching* the Koran.
they had both the same text of Novairi before their eyes.

[180] [Novairi, *loc. cit.* p. 334-6.]

[al-Kairawan]

dest title of the station of a caravan, he planted this colony the fiftieth year of the Hegira. In its present decay, Cai- n[181] still holds the second rank in the kingdom of Tunis, from ich it is distant about fifty miles to the south:[182] its inland ıation, twelve miles westward of the sea, has protected the y from the Greek and Sicilian fleets. When the wild beasts l serpents were extirpated, when the forest, or rather wilder- ss, was cleared, the vestiges of a Roman town were discovered a sandy plain; the vegetable food of Cairoan is brought from r; and the scarcity of springs constrains the inhabitants to lect in cisterns and reservoirs a precarious supply of rain-water. ese obstacles were subdued by the industry of Akbah: he ced a circumference of three thousand and six hundred paces, ich he encompassed with a brick wall; in the space of five ırs, the governor's palace was surrounded with a sufficient mber of private habitations; a spacious mosch was supported five hundred columns of granite, porphyry, and Numidian rble; and Cairoan became the seat of learning as well as of pire. But these were the glories of a later age; the new ony was shaken by the successive defeats of Akbah and Zuheir, l the western expeditions were again interrupted by the civil cord of the Arabian monarchy.[183] The son of the valiant

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[81] The foundation of Cairoan is mentioned by Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, ii. p. 129, 130); and the situation, mosch, &c. of the city are described by Leo canus (fol. 75), Marmol (tom. ii. p. 532), and Shaw (p. 115). [Kairawān means n body of an army, and hence the camp where it halted. Cp. Ibn Abd al cam in Journ. Asiat., Nov. 1844, p. 360 (or, ap. Slane's Ibn Khaldūn, i. p.); also Ibn Khallikān, i. 35, trans. Slane.]

[82] A portentous, though frequent, mistake has been the confounding, from a ht similitude of name, the *Cyrene* of the Greeks, and the *Cairoan* of the Arabs, cities which are separated by an interval of a thousand miles along the sea- st. The great Thuanus has not escaped this fault, the less excusable as it is nected with a formal and elaborate description of Africa (Historiar. l. vii. c. 2, om. i. p. 240, edit. Buckley). [The mistake has been reiterated recently in cher's Church of Egypt, 1897.]

[83] [After the death of Okba, the chief power in North Africa fell into the hands he Berber chief Kuseila, who obtained possession of Kairawān. Throughout reign of Heraclius the indigenous tribes of Northern Africa had been growing re and more independent of the Imperial government, which owing to the ggles in the East was unable to attend to Africa. The shock of the Saracen ısion of 647 had the effect of increasing this independence. Against the subse- nt Saracen attacks, the natives joined hands with the Imperial troops, and seila organized a confederation of native tribes. It was against this Berber ef that the military efforts of Zuhair were directed. A battle was fought in the n of Mamma (in Byzacena) and Kuseila was slain. His death broke up the ber confederation, and restored the leading position in Africa to the Patrician Carthage. It also increased the importance of another Berber potentate, the asian queen Kāhina; who joined forces with the Imperial army to oppose the ısion of Hasan. See below.]

Zobeir maintained a war of twelve years, a siege of seven montl
against the house of Ommiyah. Abdallah was said to unite t
fierceness of the lion with the subtlety of the fox; but, if
inherited the courage, he was devoid of the generosity, of
father.[184]

Conquest of Carthage. A.D. 692-698 **[Hasan ibn an-Noman]**

The return of domestic peace allowed the caliph Abdalmal
to resume the conquest of Africa; the standard was delivered
Hassan governor of Egypt, and the revenue of that kingdo
with an army of forty thousand men, was consecrated to t
important service. In the vicissitudes of war, the interior p
vinces had been alternately won and lost by the Saracens. B
the sea-coast still remained in the hands of the Greeks; the p
decessors of Hassan had respected the name and fortifications
Carthage; and the number of its defenders was recruited by t
fugitives of Cabes and Tripoli. The arms of Hassan were bold
and more fortunate; he reduced and pillaged the metropolis
[A.D. 695] Africa; and the mention of scaling-ladders may justify the sus
cion that he anticipated, by a sudden assault, the more tedic
operations of a regular siege. But the joy of the conquerors w
[A.D. 697] soon disturbed by the appearance of the Christian succours. T
præfect and patrician John, a general of experience and renow
embarked at Constantinople the forces of the Eastern empire;
they were joined by the ships and soldiers of Sicily, and a pow
ful reinforcement of Goths[186] was obtained from the fears a
religion of the Spanish monarch. The weight of the confedera
navy broke the chain that guarded the entrance of the harbou
the Arabs retired to Cairoan, or Tripoli; the Christians lande
the citizens hailed the ensign of the cross, and the winter w

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[184] Beside the Arabic chronicles of Abulfeda, Elmacin, and Abulpharagi
under the seventy-third year of the Hegira, we may consult d'Herbelot (Bibl
Orient. p. 7) and Ockley (Hist. of the Saracens, vol. ii. p. 339-349). The latter
given the last and pathetic dialogue between Abdallah and his mother; but
forgot a physical effect of *her* grief for his death, the return, at the age
ninety, and fatal consequences, of her *menses*.

[185] Λεόντιος . . . ἅπαντα τὰ Ῥωμαικὰ ἐξώπλισε πλόϊμα στρατηγόν τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Ἰωάν
τὸν Πατρίκιον [ὡς] ἔμπειρον τῶν πολεμίων προχειρισάμενος πρὸς Καρχηδόνα κατὰ
Σαρακηνῶν ἐξέπεμψεν. Nicephori Constantinoplitani Breviar. p. 28 [p. 35, ed.
Boor]. The patriarch of Constantinople, with Theophanes (Chronograph. p.
[A.M. 6190]), have slightly mentioned this last attempt for the relief of Afri
Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 129, 141) has nicely ascertained the chronology b
strict comparison of the Arabic and Byzantine historians, who often disagree b
in time and fact. See likewise a note of Otter (p. 121).

[186] Dove s' erano ridotti i nobili Romani e i *Gotti;* and afterwards, i Rom
suggirono e i *Gotti*, lasciarono Carthagine (Leo African. fol. 72, *recto*). I kn
not from what Arabic writer the African derived his Goths; but the fact, thou
new, is so interesting and so probable, that I will accept it on the slightest author

idly wasted in the dream of victory or deliverance. But Africa was irrecoverably lost: the zeal and resentment of the commander of the faithful[187] prepared in the ensuing spring a more numerous armament by sea and land; and the patrician in his turn was compelled to evacuate the post and fortifications of Carthage. A second battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Utica: the Greeks and Goths were again defeated; and their timely embarkation saved them from the sword of Hassan, who had invested the slight and insufficient rampart of their camp. Whatever yet remained of Carthage was delivered to the flames, and the colony of Dido[188] and Cæsar lay desolate above two hundred years, till a part, perhaps a twentieth, of the old circumference was repeopled by the first of the Fatimite caliphs. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the second capital of the West was represented by a mosch, a college without students, twenty-five or thirty shops, and the huts of five hundred peasants, who, in their abject poverty, displayed the arrogance of the Punic senators. Even that paltry village was swept away by the Spaniards whom Charles the Fifth had stationed in the fortress of the Goletta. The ruins of Carthage have perished; and the place might be unknown, if some broken arches of an aqueduct did not guide the footsteps of the inquisitive traveller.[189]

Final conquest of Africa. A.D 698-709

The Greeks were expelled, but the Arabians were not yet masters of the country. In the interior provinces, the Moors or *Berbers*,[190] so feeble under the first Cæsars, so formidable to the

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[187] This commander is styled by Nicephorus Βασιλεὺς Σαρακηνῶν, a vague though not improper definition of the caliph. Theophanes introduces the strange appellation of Πρωτοσύμβουλος, which his interpreter Goar explains by *Visir Azem.* They may approach the truth, in assigning the active part to the minister, rather than the prince; but they forgot that the Ommiades had only a *kateb*, or secretary, and that the office of Vizir was not revived or instituted till the 132nd year of the Hegira (d'Herbelot, p. 912).

[188] According to Solinus (l. 27 [*leg.* c. 30], p. 36, edit. Salmas.), the Carthage of Dido stood either 677 or 737 years: a various reading, which proceeds from the difference of Mss. or editions (Salmas. Plinian. Exercit. tom. i. p. 228). The former of these accounts, which gives 823 years before Christ, is more consistent with the well-weighed testimony of Velleius Paterculus; but the latter is preferred by our chronologists (Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 398) as more agreeable to the Hebrew and Tyrian annals.

[189] Leo African. fol. 71, *verso; 72, recto.* Marmol, tom ii. p. 445-447. Shaw, p. 80.

[190] The history of the word *Barbar* may be classed under four periods. 1. In the time of Homer, when the Greeks and Asiatics might probably use a common idiom, the imitative sound of Barbar was applied to the ruder tribes, whose pronunciation was most harsh, whose grammar was most defective. Κᾶρες βαρβαρόφωνοι (Iliad ii. 867, with the Oxford scholiast Clarke's Annotation, and Henry Stephens's Greek Thesaurus, tom. i. p. 720). 2. From the time, at least, of Herodotus, it

Byzantine princes, maintained a disorderly resistance to the religion and power of the successors of Mahomet. Under the standard of their queen Cahina the independent tribes acquired some degree of union and discipline; and, as the Moors respected in their females the character of a prophetess, they attacked the invaders with an enthusiasm similar to their own. The veteran bands of Hassan were inadequate to the defence of Africa; the conquests of an age were lost in a single day,[191] and the Arabian chief, overwhelmed by the torrent, retired to the confines of Egypt, and expected, five years, the promised succours of the caliph. After the retreat of the Saracens, the victorious prophetess assembled the Moorish chiefs, and recommended a measure of strange and savage policy. "Our cities," said she, "and the gold and silver which they contain, perpetually attract the arms of the Arabs. These vile metals are not the objects of *our* ambition; we content ourselves with the simple productions of the earth. Let us destroy these cities; let us bury in their ruins those pernicious treasures; and, when the avarice of our foes shall be destitute of temptation, perhaps they will cease to disturb the tranquillity of a warlike people." The proposal was accepted with unanimous applause. From Tangier to Tripoli the buildings, or at least the fortifications, were demolished, the fruit-trees were cut down, the means of subsistence were extirpated, a fertile and populous garden was changed into a desert, and the historians of a more recent period could discern the frequent traces of the prosperity and devastation of their ancestors. Such is the tale of the modern Arabians. Yet I strongly suspect that their ignorance of antiquity, the love of the marvellous, and the fashion of extolling the philosophy of barbarians, has induced them to describe, as one voluntary act, the calamities of three hundred years since the first fury of the Donatists and Vandals. In the progress

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was extended to *all* the nations who were strangers to the language and manners of the Greeks. 3. In the age of Plautus, the Romans submitted to the insult (Pompeius Festus, l. ii. p. 48, edit. Dacier) and freely gave themselves the name of barbarians. They insensibly claimed an exemption for Italy and her subject provinces; and at length removed the disgraceful appellation to the savage or hostile nations beyond the pale of the empire. 4. In every sense, it was due to the Moors; the familiar word was borrowed from the Latin provincials by the Arabian conquerors, and has justly settled as a local denomination (Barbary) along the northern coast of Africa. [In Moorish history, the Berbers (Moors proper) are clearly distinguished from the Arabs who ruled, and were afterwards mastered by, them.]

[191] [Novairi (*loc. cit.* p. 340) says that the battle was fought on the banks of the stream Nīni (which flows into the lake Guerrat el Tarf near Bagai). Ibn Abd al Hakam says: near a river which is now called the river of destruction. Cp. Weil, i. p. 474.]

of the revolt Cahina had most probably contributed her share of destruction; and the alarm of universal ruin might terrify and alienate the cities that had reluctantly yielded to her unworthy yoke. They no longer hoped, perhaps they no longer wished, the return of their Byzantine sovereigns: their present servitude was not alleviated by the benefits of order and justice; and the most zealous Catholic must prefer the imperfect truths of the Koran to the blind and rude idolatry of the Moors. The general of the Saracens was again received as the saviour of the province; the friends of civil society conspired against the savages of the land; and the royal prophetess was slain in the first battle, which overturned the baseless fabric of her superstition and empire. The same spirit revived under the successor of Hassan; it was finally quelled by the activity of Musa[192] and his two sons; but the number of the rebels may be presumed from that of three hundred thousand captives; sixty thousand of whom, the caliph's fifth, were sold for the profit of the public treasury. Thirty thousand of the barbarian youth were enlisted in the troops; and the pious labours of Musa, to inculcate the knowledge and practice of the Koran, accustomed the Africans to obey the apostle of God and the commander of the faithful. In their climate and government, their diet and habitation, the wandering Moors resembled the Bedoweens of the desert. With the religion, they were proud to adopt the language, name, and origin of Arabs; the blood of the strangers and natives was insensibly mingled; and from the Euphrates to the Atlantic the same nation might seem to be diffused over the sandy plains of Asia and Africa. Yet I will not deny that fifty thousand tents of pure Arabians might be transported over the Nile, and scattered through the Libyan desert; and I am not ignorant that five of the Moorish tribes still retain their *barbarous* idiom, with the appellation and character of *white* Africans.[193]

[Mūsā ibn Nusair]

Adoption of the Moors

Spain. First temptations and designs of the Arabs. A.D. 709

V. In the progress of conquest from the north and south, the Goths and the Saracens encountered each other on the confines of Europe and Africa. In the opinion of the latter, the difference of religion is a reasonable ground of enmity and warfare.[194]

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[192] [Mūsā seems to have succeeded Hasan in A.D. 704. See A. Müller, Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendlande, i. p. 422. Weil adopts the date A.D. 698 given by Ibn Kutaiba.]

[193] The first book of Leo Africanus and the observations of Dr. Shaw (p. 220, 223, 227, 247, &c.) will throw some light on the roving tribes of Barbary, of Arabian or Moorish descent. But Shaw had seen these savages with distant terror; and Leo, a captive in the Vatican, appears to have lost more of his Arabic, than he could acquire of Greek or Roman, learning. Many of his gross mistakes might be detected in the first period of the Mahometan history.

As early as the time of Othman[195] their piratical squadrons had ravaged the coast of Andalusia;[196] nor had they forgotten the relief of Carthage by the Gothic succours. In that age, as well as in the present, the kings of Spain were possessed of the fortress of Ceuta: one of the columns of Hercules, which is divided by a narrow strait from the opposite pillar or point of Europe.[197] A small portion of Mauritania was still wanting to the African conquest; but Musa, in the pride of victory, was repulsed from the walls of Ceuta by the vigilance and courage of count Julian, the general of the Goths. From his disappointment and perplexity Musa was relieved by an unexpected message of the Christian chief, who offered his place, his person, and his sword to the successors of Mahomet, and solicited the disgraceful honour of introducing their arms into the heart of Spain.[198]

[Septem]

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[194] In a conference with a prince of the Greeks, Amrou observed that their religion was different; upon which score it was lawful for brothers to quarrel. Ockley's History of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 328.

[195] Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem. p. 78, vers. Reiske.

[196] The name of Andalusia [al-Andalus] is applied by the Arabs not only to the modern province, but to the whole peninsula of Spain (Geograph. Nub. p. 151; d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 114, 115). The etymology has been most improbably deduced from Vandalusia, country of the Vandals (d'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 146, 147, &c.). But the Handalusia of Casiri, which signifies in Arabic, the region of the evening, of the West, in a word the Hesperia of the Greeks, is perfectly apposite (Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 327, &c.). [The derivation of Andalusia is an unsolved problem.]

[197] [There is a serious mistake here. The fortress of Septem (Ceuta) did not belong to the Visigothic King, but to the Roman Emperor; Count Julian was an Imperial not a Gothic general. It seems probable that, as Dozy conjectures, the governor of Septem received the title of *Exarch* after the fall of Carthage. It seems too that some posts on the coast of Spain were still retained by the Empire —perhaps reconquered since the reign of Suinthila (see above, vol. 4, p. 299, n. 56). Cp. Dozy, Recherches sur l'histoire et la litt. de l'Espagne, i., p. 64 *sqq.*; Isidore Pacensis, 38 (in Migne, Patr. Lat., vol. 96); and Life of St. Gregory of Agrigentum, in Patr. Græc. vol. 98, p. 685, 697.]

[198] The fall and resurrection of the Gothic monarchy are related by Mariana (tom. i. p. 238-260, l. vi. c. 19-26, l. vii. c. 1, 2). That historian has infused into his noble work (Historiæ de Rebus Hispaniæ, libri xxx. Hagæ Comitum 1733, in four volumes in folio, with the Continuation of Miniana) the style and spirit of a Roman classic; and, after the xiith century, his knowledge and judgment may be safely trusted. But the Jesuit is not exempt from the prejudices of his order; he adopts and adorns, like his rival Buchanan, the most absurd of the national legends; he is too careless of criticism and chronology, and supplies from a lively fancy the chasms of historical evidence. These chasms are large and frequent: Roderic, archbishop of Toledo, the father of the Spanish history, lived five hundred years after the conquest of the Arabs; and the more early accounts are comprised in some meagre lines of the blind chronicles of Isidore of Badajoz (Pacensis), and of Alphonso III. king of Leon, which I have seen only in the Annals of Pagi. [The chronicle of Isidorus Pacensis (reaching from 610 to 754 A.D.) is printed in Migne's Patr. Lat., vol. 98, p. 1253 *sqq.*]

State of the Gothic monarchy

If we enquire into the cause of his treachery, the Spaniards will repeat the popular story of his daughter Cava;[199] of a virgin who was seduced, or ravished, by her sovereign; of a father who sacrificed his religion and country to the thirst of revenge. The passions of princes have often been licentious and destructive; but this well-known tale, romantic in itself, is indifferently supported by external evidence; and the history of Spain will suggest some motives of interest and policy, more congenial to the breast of a veteran statesman.[200] After the decease or deposition of Witiza, his two sons were supplanted by the ambition of Roderic, a noble Goth, whose father, the duke or governor of a province, had fallen a victim to the preceding tyranny. The monarchy was still elective; but the sons of Witiza, educated on the steps of the throne, were impatient of a private station. Their resentment was the more dangerous, as it was varnished with the dissimulation of courts; their followers were excited by the remembrance of favours and the promise of a revolution; and their uncle Oppas, archbishop of Toledo and Seville, was the first person in the church, and the second in the state. It is probable that Julian was involved in the disgrace of the unsuccessful faction; that he had little to hope and much to fear from the new reign; and that the imprudent king could not forget or forgive the injuries which Roderic and his family had sustained. The merit and influence of the count rendered him an useful or formidable subject; his estates were ample, his followers bold and numerous; and it was too fatally shewn that, by his Andalusian and Mauritanian commands, he held in his hand the keys of the Spanish monarchy. Too feeble, however, to meet his sovereign in arms, he sought the aid of a foreign power; and his rash invitation of the Moors and Arabs produced the calamities of eight hundred years. In his epistles, or in a personal interview, he revealed the wealth and nakedness of his country; the weakness of an unpopular prince; the degeneracy of an effeminate people. The Goths were no longer the victorious barbarians who had humbled the pride of Rome, despoiled the queen of nations, and penetrated from the Danube to the Atlantic ocean. Secluded from the world by the Pyrenæan mountains, the successors of Alaric had slumbered in a long peace; the walls of the cities were mouldered into dust; the youth had abandoned the exercise of arms; and the presumption of their ancient renown would expose them in a field of battle to the first assault of the invaders. The ambitious Saracen was fired by the ease and importance of the attempt; but the execution was delayed till he had consulted the commander of the faithful; and his messenger returned with the permission of Walid to annex the unknown kingdoms of the West to the religion and throne of the caliphs. In his residence of Tangier, Musa, with secrecy and caution, continued his correspondence and hastened his preparations. But the remorse of the conspirators was soothed by the fallacious assurance that he should content himself with the glory and spoil, without aspiring to establish the Moslems beyond the sea that separates Africa from Europe.[201]

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[199] Le viol (says Voltaire) est aussi difficile à faire qu'à prouver. Des Evêques se seroient-ils ligués pour une fille? (Hist. Générale, c. xxvi.). His argument is not logically conclusive.

[200] In the story of Cava, Mariana (l. vi. c. 21, p. 241, 242) seems to vie with the Lucretia of Livy. Like the ancients, he seldom quotes; and the oldest testimony of Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 713, No. 19), that of Lucas Tudensis, a Gallician deacon of the xiiith century, only says, Cava quam pro concubinâ utebatur.

The first descent of the Arabs. A.D. 710, July

Before Musa would trust an army of the faithful to the traitors and infidels of a foreign land, he made a less dangerous trial of their strength and veracity. One hundred Arabs,[202] and four hundred Africans, passed over, in four vessels, from Tangier or Ceuta; the place of their descent on the opposite shore of the strait is marked by the name of Tarif their chief; and the date of this memorable event[203] is fixed to the month of Ra-

[Abu Zora Tarif]

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[201] The Orientals, Elmacin, Abulpharagius, Abulfeda, pass over the conquest of Spain in silence, or with a single word. The text of Novairi and the other Arabian writers is represented, though with some foreign alloy, by M. de Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne sous la Domination des Arabes, Paris, 1765, 3 vols. in 12mo, tom. i. p. 55-114) and more concisely by M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 347-350). [Novairi's account—in which he follows the older historian Ibn al-Athīr—will be found in Slane's translation in Journ. Asiat., 1841, p. 564 *sqq.*] The librarian of the Escurial has not satisfied my hopes; yet he appears to have searched with diligence his broken materials; and the history of the conquest is illustrated by some valuable fragments of the *genuine* Razis (who wrote at Corduba, A.H. 300), of Ben Hazil, &c. See Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 32, 105, 106, 182, 252, 319-332. On this occasion, the industry of Pagi has been aided by the Arabic learning of his friend the Abbé de Longuerue, and to their joint labours I am deeply indebted. [See Dozy, Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne (1861), vol. 2; Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne (1860). Lembke's Geschichte Spaniens, Burke's History of Spain, and S. Lane-Poole's sketch of the "Moors in Spain," contain accounts of the conquest. A translation of a large part of a voluminous work of Al Makkari, by P. de Gayangos, with very valuable notes, appeared in 1840 (2 vols.). The Arabic text has been critically edited by W. Wright. As Al Makkari lived in the seventeenth century his compilation has no independent authority.]

[202] [That is, horses.]

[203] A mistake of Roderic of Toledo, in comparing the lunar years of the Hegira with the Julian years of the Æra, has determined Baronius, Mariana, and the crowd

madan, of the ninety-first year of the Hegira, to the month of July, seven hundred and forty-eight years from the Spanish era of Cæsar,[204] seven hundred and ten after the birth of Christ. From their first station, they marched eighteen miles through an hilly country to the castle and town of Julian; [205] on which (it is still called Algezire) they bestowed the name of the Green Island, from a verdant cape that advances into the sea. Their hospitable entertainment, the Christians who joined their standard, their inroad into a fertile and unguarded province, the richness of their spoil and the safety of their return, announced to their brethren the most favourable omens of victory. In the ensuing spring, five thousand veterans and volunteers were embarked under the command of Tarik, a dauntless and skilful soldier, who surpassed the expectation of his chief; and the necessary transports were provided by the industry of their too faithful ally. The Saracens landed [206] at the pillar or point of Europe; the corrupt and familiar appellation of Gibraltar (*Gebel al Tarik*) describes the mountain of Tarik; and the intrenchments of his camp were the first outline of those fortifications which, in the hands of our countrymen, have resisted the art and power of the house of Bourbon. The adjacent governors informed the court of Toledo of the descent and progress of the Arabs; and the defeat of his lieutenant Edeco, who had been commanded to seize and bind the presumptuous strangers, admonished Roderic of the magnitude of the danger. At the royal summons the dukes and counts, the bishops and nobles of the Gothic monarchy, assembled at the head of their followers;

[Tarik ibn Ziyad]

Their second descent, A.D. 711, April

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of Spanish historians, to place the first invasion in the year 713, and the battle of Xeres in November 714. This anachronism of three years has been detected by the more correct industry of modern chronologists, above all, of Pagi (Critica, tom. iii. p. 169, 171-174), who have restored the genuine state of the revolution. At the present time an Arabian scholar, like Cardonne, who adopts the ancient error (tom. i. p. 75), is inexcusably ignorant or careless.

[204] The Æra of Cæsar, which in Spain was in legal and popular use till the xivth century, begins thirty-eight years before the birth of Christ. I would refer the origin to the general peace by sea and land, which confirmed the power and *partition* of the triumvirs (Dion Cassius, l. xlviii. p. 547 [c. 28], 553 [c. 36]. Appian de Bell. Civil. l. v. p. 1034, edit. fol. [c. 72]). Spain was a province of Cæsar Octavian; and Tarragona, which raised the first temple to Augustus (Tacit. Annal. i. 78), might borrow from the Orientals this mode of flattery.

[205] The road, the country, the old castle of count Julian, and the superstitious belief of the Spaniards of hidden treasures, &c. are described by Père Labat (Voyages en Espagne et en Italie, tom. i. p. 207-217) with his usual pleasantry.

[206] The Nubian Geographer (p. 154) explains the topography of the war; but it is highly incredible that the lieutenant of Musa should execute the desperate and useless measure of burning his ships. [The derivation of "Gibraltar" seems doubtful, though commonly accepted.]

and the title of King of the Romans, which is employed by an Arabic historian, may be excused by the close affinity of language, religion, and manners, between the nations of Spain. His army consisted of ninety or an hundred thousand men: a formidable power, if their fidelity and discipline had been adequate to their numbers. The troops of Tarik had been augmented to twelve thousand Saracens; but the Christian malcontents were attracted by the influence of Julian, and a crowd of Africans most greedily tasted the temporal blessings of the Koran. In the neighbourhood of Cadiz, the town of Xeres [207] has been illustrated by the encounter which determined the fate of the kingdom; the stream of the Guadalete, which falls into the bay, divided the two camps, and marked the advancing and retreating skirmishes of three successive and bloody days. On the fourth day the two armies joined a more serious and decisive issue; but Alaric would have blushed at the sight of his unworthy successor, sustaining on his head a diadem of pearls, encumbered with a flowing robe of gold and silken embroidery, and reclining on a litter or car of ivory, drawn by two white mules. Notwithstanding the valour of the Saracens, they fainted under the weight of multitudes, and the plain of Xeres was overspread with sixteen thousand of their dead bodies. "My brethren," said Tarik to his surviving companions, "the enemy is before you, the sea is behind; whither would ye fly? Follow your general: I am resolved either to lose my life or to trample on the prostrate king of the Romans." Besides the resource of despair, he confided in the secret correspondence and nocturnal interviews of count Julian with the sons and the brother of Witiza. The two princes and the archbishop of Toledo occupied the most important post; their well-timed defection broke the ranks of the Christians; each warrior was prompted by fear or suspicion to consult his personal safety; and the remains of the Gothic army were scattered or destroyed in the flight and pursuit of the three following days. Amidst the general disorder, Roderic started from his car, and mounted Orelia, the fleetest of his horses; but he escaped from a soldier's death to perish more ignobly in the waters of the Baetis or Guadalquivir.

and victory.
July 19-26

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[207] Xeres (the Roman colony of Asta Regia) is only two leagues from Cadiz. In the xvith century it was a granary of corn; and the wine of Xeres is familiar to the nations of Europe (Lud. Nonii Hispania, c. 13, p. 54-56, a work of correct and concise knowledge; d'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, &c. p. 154). [The battle was fought on the banks of the Wādī Bekka, now called the Salado, on July 19. See Dozy, Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne, ii. 34.]

is diadem, his robes, and his courser were found on the bank;
it, as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the
ide and ignorance of the caliph must have been gratified with
me meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the
.lace of Damascus. "And such," continues a valiant historian
the Arabs, "is the fate of those kings who withdraw them-
lves from a field of battle." [208]

Ruin of the Gothic monarchy. A.D. 711

Count Julian had plunged so deep into guilt and infamy that
s only hope was in the ruin of his country. After the battle
Xeres he recommended the most effectual measures to the
ctorious Saracen. "The king of the Goths is slain; their
inces have fled before you, the army is routed, the nation is
tonished. Secure with sufficient detachments the cities of
ıetica; but in person, and without delay, march to the royal
ty of Toledo, and allow not the distracted Christians either
ne or tranquillity for the election of a new monarch." Tarik
tened to his advice. A Roman captive and proselyte, who
ıd been enfranchised by the caliph himself, assaulted Cor-
›va with seven hundred horse; he swam the river, surprised
e town, and drove the Christians into the great church, where
ıey defended themselves above three months. Another detach-
ent reduced the sea-coast of Baetica, which in the last period
the Moorish power has comprised in a narrow space the popu-
us kingdom of Grenada. The march of Tarik from the Baetis
the Tagus [209] was directed through the Sierra Morena, that
parates Andalusia and Castille, till he appeared in arms under
ıe walls of Toledo.[210] The most zealous of the Catholics had
caped with the relics of their saints; and, if the gates were
ıut, it was only till the victor had subscribed a fair and reason-
›le capitulation. The voluntary exiles were allowed to depart

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[208] Id sane infortunii regibus pedem ex acie referentibus sæpe contingit. Ben
azil of Grenada, in Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 327. Some credulous
›aniards believe that king Roderic, or Roderigo, escaped to an hermit's cell; and
hers, that he was cast alive into a tub full of serpents, from whence he exclaimed,
th a lamentable voice, "they devour the part with which I have so grievously
ıned" (Don Quixote, part ii. l. iii. c. i.).

[209] The direct road from Corduba to Toledo was measured by Mr. Swinburne's
ules in 72½ hours; but a larger computation must be adopted for the slow and
vious marches of an army. The Arabs traversed the province of La Mancha,
ıich the pen of Cervantes has transformed into classic ground to the reader of
ery nation.

[210] The antiquities of Toledo, *Urbs Parva* in the Punic wars, *Urbs Regia* in
e vith century, are briefly described by Nonius (Hispania, c. 59, p. 181-186).
e borrows from Roderic the *fatale palatium* of Moorish portraits; but modestly
sinuates that it was no more than a Roman amphitheatre.

with their effects; seven churches were appropriated to th Christian worship; the archbishop and his clergy were at libert to exercise their functions, the monks to practise or neglect thei penance; and the Goths and Romans were left in all civil an criminal cases to the subordinate jurisdiction of their own law and magistrates. But, if the justice of Tarik protected th Christians, his gratitude and policy rewarded the Jews, to whos secret or open aid he was indebted for his most important acquisitions. Persecuted by the kings and synods of Spain, who ha often pressed the alternative of banishment or baptism, that outcast nation embraced the moment of revenge; the compariso of their past and present state was the pledge of their fidelity and the alliance between the disciples of Moses and of Mahome was maintained till the final æra of their common expulsion From the royal seat of Toledo, the Arabian leader spread hi conquests to the north, over the modern realms of Castile an Leon; but it is needless to enumerate the cities that yielded o his approach, or again to describe the table of emerald,[211] transported from the East by the Romans, acquired by the Goth among the spoils of Rome, and presented by the Arabs to th throne of Damascus. Beyond the Asturian mountains, the maritime town of Gijon was the term[212] of the lieutenant of Musa who had performed, with the speed of a traveller, his victoriou march, of seven hundred miles, from the rock of Gibraltar to th bay of Biscay. The failure of land compelled him to retreat and he was recalled to Toledo, to excuse his presumption of subduing a kingdom in the absence of his general. Spain, which in a more savage and disorderly state, had resisted, two hundre years, the arms of the Romans, was overrun in a few months b those of the Saracens; and such was the eagerness of submissio and treaty that the governor of Cordova is recorded as the onl chief who fell, without conditions, a prisoner into their hands The cause of the Goths had been irrevocably judged in the fiel f Xeres; and, in the national dismay, each part of the monarchy eclined a contest with the antagonist who had vanquished the nited strength of the whole.[213] That strength had been wasted y two successive seasons of famine and pestilence; and the overnors, who were impatient to surrender, might exaggerate e difficulty of collecting the provisions of a siege. To disarm e Christians, superstition likewise contributed her terrors; and e subtle Arab encouraged the report of dreams, omens, and rophecies, and of the portraits of the destined conquerors of pain, that were discovered on breaking open an apartment of e royal palace. Yet a spark of the vital flame was still alive; me invincible fugitives preferred a life of poverty and freedom the Asturian valleys; the hardy mountaineers repulsed the aves of the caliph; and the sword of Pelagius has been trans- rmed into the sceptre of the Catholic kings.[214]

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[211] In the Historia Arabum (c. 9, p. 17, ad calcem Elmacin) Roderic of Toled describes the emerald tables, and inserts the name of Medinat Almeyda in Arabi words and letters. He appears to be conversant with Mahometan writers; but cannot agree with M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 350), that he had rea and transcribed Novairi; because he was dead an hundred years before Novai composed his history. This mistake is founded on a still grosser error. M. d Guignes confounds the historian Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo in th xiiith century, with cardinal Ximenes, who governed Spain in the beginning c the xvith, and was the subject, not the author, of historical compositions.

[212] Tarik might have inscribed on the last rock the boast of Regnard and hi companions in their Lapland journey, "Hic tandem stetimus, nobis ubi defu orbis".

Conquest of Spain by Musa, A.D. 712, 713

On the intelligence of this rapid success, the applause of Musa egenerated into envy; and he began, not to complain, but to ar, that Tarik would leave him nothing to subdue. At the ead of ten thousand Arabs and eight thousand Africans, he assed over in person from Mauritania to Spain; the first of his mpanions were the noblest of the Koreish; his eldest son was ft in the command of Africa; the three younger brethren were an age and spirit to second the boldest enterprises of their ther. At his landing in Algezire, he was respectfully enter- ined by count Julian, who stifled his inward remorse, and testi- ed, both in words and actions, that the victory of the Arabs had t impaired his attachment to their cause. Some enemies yet mained for the sword of Musa. The tardy repentance of the oths had compared their own numbers and those of the in- ders; the cities from which the march of Tarik had de- ined considered themselves as impregnable; and the bravest triots defended the fortifications of Seville and Merida. They ere successively besieged and reduced by the labour of Musa, ho transported his camp from the Baetis to the Anas, from the uadalquivir to the Guadiana. When he beheld the works of oman magnificence, the bridge, the aqueducts, the triumphal arches, and the theatre, of the ancient metropolis of Lusitania, "I should imagine," said he to his four companions, "that the human race must have united their art and power in the foundation of this city; happy is the man who shall become its master!" He aspired to that happiness, but the *Emeritans* sustained on this occasion the honour of their descent from the veteran legionaries of Augustus.[215] Disdaining the confinement of their walls, they gave battle to the Arabs on the plain; but an ambuscade rising from the shelter of a quarry, or a ruin, chastised their indiscretion and intercepted their return. The wooden turrets of assault were rolled forwards to the foot of the rampart; but the defence of Merida was obstinate and long; and the *castle of the martyrs* was a perpetual testimony of the losses of the Moslems. The constancy of the besieged was at length subdued by famine [June A.D. 713] and despair; and the prudent victor disguised his impatience under the names of clemency and esteem. The alternative of exile or tribute was allowed; the churches were divided between the two religions; and the wealth of those who had fallen in the siege, or retired to Gallicia, was confiscated as the reward of the faithful. In the midway between Merida and Toledo, the lieutenant of Musa saluted the vicegerent of the caliph, and conducted him to the palace of the Gothic kings. Their first interview was cold and formal; a rigid account was exacted of the treasures of Spain; the character of Tarik was exposed to suspicion and obloquy; and the hero was imprisoned, reviled, and ignominiously scourged by the hand or the command of Musa. Yet so strict was the discipline, so pure the zeal, or so tame the spirit, of the primitive Moslems that, after this public indignity, Tarik could serve and be trusted in the reduction of the Tarragonese province. A mosch was erected at Saragossa, by the liberality of the Koreish; the port of Barcelona was opened to the vessels of Syria; and the Goths were pursued beyond the Pyrenean mountains into their Gallic province of Septimania or Languedoc.[216] In the church of St. Mary at Carcassonne, Musa ound, but it is improbable that he left, seven equestrian statues of massy silver; and from his *term* or column of Narbonne he eturned on his footsteps to the Gallician and Lusitanian shores of the ocean. During the absence of the father, his son Abdelaziz chastised the insurgents of Seville, and reduced, from Malaga to Valentia, the sea-coast of the Mediterranean: his original treaty with the discreet and valiant Theodemir[217] will epresent the manners and policy of the times. "*The conditions of peace agreed and sworn between Abdelaziz, the son of Musa, the on of Nassir, and Theodemir, prince of the Goths.* In the name of he most merciful God, Abdelaziz makes peace on these condiions: *That* Theodemir shall not be disturbed in his principality; nor any injury be offered to the life or property, the wives and hildren, the religion and temples, of the Christians: *That* Theoemir shall freely deliver his seven cities, Orihuela, Valentola, Alicant, Mola, Vacasora, Bigerra (now Bejar), Ora (or Opta), and Lorca: *That* he shall not assist or entertain the enemies of the aliph, but shall faithfully communicate his knowledge of their ostile designs: *That* himself, and each of the Gothic nobles, hall annually pay one piece of gold, four measures of wheat, as many of barley, with a certain proportion of honey, oil, and inegar; and that each of their vassals shall be taxed at one moiety of the said imposition. Given the fourth of Regeb, in he year of the Hegira ninety-four, and subscribed with the ames of four Musulman witnesses."[218] Theodemir and his ubjects were treated with uncommon lenity; but the rate of ribute appears to have fluctuated from a tenth to a fifth, accord- ng to the submission or obstinacy of the Christians.[219] In this

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[213] Such was the argument of the traitor Oppas, and every chief to whom it was dressed did not answer with the spirit of Pelagius: Omnis Hispania dudum sub o regimine Gothorum, omnis exercitus Hispaniæ in uno congregatus Ismaeli- rum non valuit sustinere impetum. Chron. Alphonsi Regis apud Pagi, tom. iii. 177.

[214] The revival of the Gothic kingdom in the Asturias is distinctly, though con- sely, noticed by d'Anville (Etats de l'Europe, p. 159).

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[215] The honourable relics of the Cantabrian war (Dion Cassius, l. liii. p. 720 [c. 26] were planted in this metropolis of Lusitania, perhaps of Spain (submittit cui tota suos Hispania fasces). Nonius (Hispania, c. 31, p. 106-110) enumerates the ancien structures, but concludes with a sigh: Urbs hæc olim nobilissima ad magnam incolarum infrequentiam delapsa est et præter priscæ claritatis ruinas nihil ostendit

[216] Both the interpreters of Novairi, de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 349 and Cardonne (Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 93, 94, 104, 105), lead Musa into the Narbonnese Gaul. But I find no mention of this enterprise eithe in Roderic of Toledo or the Mss. of the Escurial, and the invasion of the Saracen is postponed by a French chronicle till the ixth year after the conquest of Spain, A.D

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1 (Pagi, Critica, tom. iii. p. 177, 195. Historians of France, tom. iii.). I much uestion whether Musa ever passed the Pyrenees.

[217] Four hundred years after Theodemir, his territories of Murcia and Carthagena retain in the Nubian Geographer Edrisi (p. 154, 161) the name of Tadmir 'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 156; Pagi, tom. iii. p. 174). In the present decay Spanish agriculture, Mr. Swinburne (Travels into Spain, p. 119) surveyed with easure the delicious valley from Murcia to Orihuela, four leagues and a half of he finest corn, pulse, lucern, oranges, &c.

[218] See the treaty in Arabic and Latin, in the Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana, tom. p. 105, 106. It is signed the 4th of the month of Regeb, A.H. 94, the 5th of pril A.D. 713, a date which seems to prolong the resistance of Theodemir and the overnment of Musa. [As Milman remarks, *eight* cities, not seven, are named in e text; Bigerra is omitted in Conde's translation.]

[219] From the history of Sandoval, p. 87, Fleury (Hist. Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 261) as given the substance of another treaty concluded A.Æ.C. 782, A.D. 734, etween an Arabian chief and the Goths and Romans, of the territory of Coimbra Portugal. The tax of the churches is fixed at twenty-five pounds of gold; of the onasteries, fifty; of the cathedrals, one hundred: the Christians are judged by eir count, but in capital cases he must consult the alcaide. The church doors

revolution, many partial calamities were inflicted by the carnal or religious passions of the enthusiasts; some churches were profaned by the new worship; some relics or images were confounded with idols; the rebels were put to the sword; and one town (an obscure place between Cordova and Seville) was rased to its foundations. Yet, if we compare the invasion of Spain by the Goths, or its recovery by the kings of Castile and Arragon, we must applaud the moderation and discipline of the Arabian conquerors.

isgrace f Musa. .D. 714

The exploits of Musa were performed in the evening of life, though he affected to disguise his age by colouring with a red powder the whiteness of his beard. But in the love of action and glory his breast was still fired with the ardour of youth; and the possession of Spain was considered only as the first step to the monarchy of Europe. With a powerful armament by sea and land, he was preparing to repass the Pyrenees, to extinguish in Gaul and Italy the declining kingdoms of the Franks and Lombards, and to preach the unity of God on the altar of the Vatican. From thence, subduing the barbarians of Germany, he proposed to follow the course of the Danube from its source to the Euxine Sea, to overthrow the Greek or Roman empire of Constantinople, and, returning from Europe to Asia, to unite his new acquisitions with Antioch and the provinces of Syria.[220] But his vast enterprise, perhaps of easy execution, must have seemed extravagant to vulgar minds; and the visionary conqueror was soon reminded of his dependence and servitude. The friends of Tarik had effectually stated his services and wrongs: at the court of Damascus, the proceedings of Musa were blamed, his intentions were suspected, and his delay in complying with the first invitation was chastised by an harsher and more peremptory summons. An intrepid messenger of the caliph entered his camp at Lugo in Gallicia, and in the presence of the Saracens and Christians arrested the bridle of his horse. His own loyalty, or that of his troops, inculcated the duty of obedience; and his disgrace was alleviated by the recall of his rival, and the permission of investing with his two governments

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must be shut, and they must respect the name of Mahomet. I have not the original before me; it would confirm or destroy a dark suspicion that the piece has been forged to introduce the immunity of a neighbouring convent.

[220] This design, which is attested by *several* Arabian historians (Cardonne, tom. i. p. 95, 96), may be compared with that of Mithridates, to march from the Crimea to Rome; or with that of Cæsar, to conquer the East and return home by the North. And all three are, perhaps, surpassed by the *real* and successful enterprise of Hannibal.

his two sons, Abdallah and Abdelaziz. His long triumph from Ceuta to Damascus displayed the spoils of Africa and the treasures of Spain; four hundred Gothic nobles, with gold coronets and girdles, were distinguished in his train: and the number of male and female captives, selected for their birth or beauty, was computed at eighteen, or even at thirty, thousand persons. As soon as he reached Tiberias in Palestine, he was apprised of the sickness and danger of the caliph, by a private message from Soliman, his brother and presumptive heir; who wished to reserve for his own reign the spectacle of victory. Had Walid recovered, the delay of Musa would have been criminal: he pursued his march, and found an enemy on the throne. In his trial before a partial judge, against a popular antagonist, he was convicted of vanity and falsehood; and a fine of two hundred thousand pieces of gold either exhausted his poverty or proved his rapaciousness. The unworthy treatment of Tarik was revenged by a similar indignity; and the veteran commander, after a public whipping, stood a whole day in the sun before the palace gate, till he obtained a decent exile, under the pious name of a pilgrimage to Mecca. The resentment of the caliph might have been satiated with the ruin of Musa; but his fears demanded the extirpation of a potent and injured family. A sentence of death was ntimated with secrecy and speed to the trusty servants of the throne both in Africa and Spain; and the forms, if not the substance, of justice were superseded in this bloody execution. In the mosch or palace of Cordova, Abdelaziz was slain by the swords of the conspirators; they accused their governor of claiming the honours of royalty; and his scandalous marriage with Egilona, the widow of Roderic, offended the prejudices both of the Christians and Moslems. By a refinement of cruelty, the head of the son was presented to the father, with an insulting question, whether he acknowledged the features of the rebel? "I know his features," he exclaimed with indignation: "I assert his innocence; and I imprecate the same, a juster fate, against he authors of his death." The age and despair of Musa raised him above the power of kings; and he expired at Mecca of he anguish of a broken heart. His rival was more favourably reated; his services were forgiven; and Tarik was permitted o mingle with the crowd of slaves.[221] I am ignorant whether count Julian was rewarded with the death which he deserved indeed, though not from the hands of the Saracens; but the tale of their ingratitude to the sons of Witiza is disproved by the most unquestionable evidence. The two royal youths were reinstated in the private patrimony of their father; but on the decease of Eba the elder, his daughter was unjustly despoiled of her portion by the violence of her uncle Sigebut. The Gothic maid pleaded her cause before the caliph Hashem, and obtained the restitution of her inheritance; but she was given in marriage to a noble Arabian, and their two sons, Isaac and Ibrahim, were received in Spain with the consideration that was due to their origin and riches.

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[221] I much regret our loss, or my ignorance, of two Arabic works of the eighth entury, a Life of Musa and a Poem on the exploits of Tarik. Of these authentic ieces, the former was composed by a grandson of Musa, who had escaped from

rosperity f Spain nder the Arabs

A province is assimilated to the victorious state by the introduction of strangers and the imitative spirit of the natives; and Spain, which had been successively tinctured with Punic, and Roman, and Gothic blood, imbibed, in a few generations, the name and manners of the Arabs. The first conquerors, and the twenty successive lieutenants of the caliphs, were attended by a numerous train of civil and military followers, who preferred a distant fortune to a narrow home; the private and public interest was promoted by the establishment of faithful colonies; and the cities of Spain were proud to commemorate the tribe or country of their Eastern progenitors. The victorious though motley bands of Tarik and Musa asserted, by the name of *Spaniards*, their original claim of conquest; yet they allowed their brethren of Egypt to share their establishments of Murcia and Lisbon. The royal legion of Damascus was planted at Cordova; that of Emesa at Seville; that of Kinnisrin or Chalcis at Jaen; that of Palestine at Algezire and Medina Sidonia. The natives of Yemen and Persia were scattered round Toledo and the inland country; and the fertile seats of Grenada were bestowed on ten thousand horsemen of Syria and Irak, the children of the purest and most noble of the Arabian tribes.[222] A spirit of

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the massacre of his kindred; the latter by the Vizir of the first Abdalrahman, caliph of Spain, who might have conversed with some of the veterans of the conqueror (Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 36, 139). [The account, in the text, of the punishment and fate of Mūsā is legendary; and is refuted by the fact, attested by Bilādhurī, that Mūsā enjoyed the protection of Yezīd, the powerful favourite of Sulaiman. See Dozy, Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne, i. p. 217.]

[222] Bibliot. Arab. Hispana, tom. ii. p. 32, 252. The former of these quotations is taken from a *Biographia Hispanica*, by an Arabian of Valentia (see the copious Extracts of Casiri, tom. ii. p. 30-121); and the latter from a general Chronology of the Caliphs, and of the African and Spanish Dynasties, with a particular History of the Kingdom of Grenada, of which Casiri has given almost an entire version, Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana (tom. ii. p. 177-319). The author Ebn Khateb, a native of

emulation, sometimes beneficial, more frequently dangerous, was nourished by these hereditary factions. Ten years after the conquest, a map of the province was presented to the caliph: the seas, the rivers, and the harbours, the inhabitants and cities, the climate, the soil, and the mineral productions of the earth.[223] In the space of two centuries, the gifts of nature were improved by the agriculture,[224] the manufactures, and the commerce of an industrious people; and the effects of their diligence have been magnified by the idleness of their fancy. The first of the Ommiades who reigned in Spain solicited the support of the Christians; and, in his edict of peace and protection, he contents himself with a modest imposition of ten thousand ounces of gold, ten thousand pounds of silver, ten thousand horses, as many mules, one thousand cuirasses, with an equal number of helmets and lances.[225] The most powerful of his successors derived from the same kingdom the annual tribute of twelve millions and forty-five thousand dinars or pieces of gold, about six millions of sterling money:[226] a sum which, in the tenth century, most probably surpassed the united revenues of the Christian monarchs. His royal seat of Cordova contained six hundred moschs, nine hundred baths, and two hundred thousand houses: he gave laws to eighty cities of the first, to three hundred of the second and third order; and the fertile banks of the Guadalquivir were adorned with twelve thousand villages and hamlets. The Arabs might exaggerate the truth, but they created and they describe

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Grenada, and a contemporary of Novairi and Abulfeda (born A.D. 1313, died A.D. 1374), was an historian, geographer, physician, poet, &c. (tom. ii. p. 71, 72).

[223] Cardonne, Hist. de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 116, 117.

[224] A copious treatise of husbandry, by an Arabian of Seville, in the xiith century, is in the Escurial library, and Casiri had some thoughts of translating it. He gives a list of the authors quoted, Arabs as well as Greeks, Latins, &c.; but it is much if the Andalusian saw these strangers through the medium of his countryman Columella (Casiri, Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. i. p. 323-338).

[225] Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 104. Casiri translates the original testimony of the historian Rasis, as it is alleged in the Arabic Biographia Hispanica, pars ix. But I am most exceedingly surprised at the address, Principibus cæterisque Christianis Hispanis suis *Castellae*. The name of Castellae was unknown in the viiith century; the kingdom was not erected till the year 1022, an hundred years after the time of Rasis (Bibliot. tom. ii. p. 330), and the appellation was always expressive, not of a tributary province, but of a line of *castles* independent of the Moorish yoke (d'Anville, Etats de l'Europe, p. 166-170). Had Casiri been a critic, he would have cleared a difficulty, perhaps of his own making.

[226] Cardonne, tom. i. p. 337, 338. He computes the revenue at 130,000,000 of French livres. The entire picture of peace and prosperity relieves the bloody uniformity of the Moorish annals.

the most prosperous æra of the riches, the cultivation, and the populousness of Spain.[227]

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oleration**

The wars of the Moslems were sanctified by the prophet; but, among the various precepts and examples of his life, the caliphs selected the lessons of toleration that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelievers. Arabia was the temple and patrimony of the God of Mahomet; but he beheld with less jealousy and affection the nations of the earth. The polytheists and idolaters who were ignorant of his name might be lawfully extirpated by his votaries;[228] but a wise policy supplied the obligation of justice; and, after some acts of intolerant zeal, the Mahometan conquerors of Hindostan have spared the pagods of that devout and populous country. The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus were solemnly invited to accept the more *perfect* revelation of Mahomet; but, if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were entitled to the freedom of conscience and religious worship.[229] In a field of battle, the forfeit lives of the prisoners were redeemed by the profession of *Islam;* the females were bound to embrace the religion of their masters, and a race of sincere proselytes was gradually multiplied by the education of the infant captives. But the millions of African and Asiatic converts, who swelled the native band of the faithful Arabs, must have been allured, rather than constrained, to declare their belief in one God and the apostle of God. By the repetition of a sentence and the loss of a foreskin, the subject or the slave, the captive or the criminal, arose in a moment the

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[227] I am happy enough to possess a splendid and interesting work, which has only been distributed in presents by the court of Madrid: *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana Escurialensis operâ et studio Michaelis Casiri, Syro Maronitae. Matriti, in folio, tomus prior*, 1760, *tomus posterior*, 1770. The execution of this work does honour to the Spanish press; the Mss. to the number of MDCCCLI, are judiciously classed by the editor, and his copious extracts throw *some* light on the Mahometan literature and history of Spain. These relics are now secure, but the task has been supinely delayed, till in the year 1671 a fire consumed the greatest part of the Escurial library, rich in the spoils of Grenada and Morocco. [In his History of Mohammadan Dynasties in Spain M. Gayangos criticised Casiri's work as "hasty and superficial," and containing "unaccountable blunders".]

[228] The *Harbii*, as they are styled, qui tolerari nequeunt, are, 1. Those who, *besides* God, worship the sun, moon, or idols. 2. Atheists. Utrique, quamdiu princeps aliquis inter Mohammedanos superest, oppugnari debent donec religionem amplectantur, nec requies iis concedenda est, nec pretium acceptandum pro optinendâ conscientiæ libertate (Reland, Dissertat. x. de Jure Militari Mohammedan. tom. (ii. p. 14). A rigid theory!

[229] The distinction between a proscribed and a tolerated sect, between the *Harbii* and the people of the Book, the believers in some divine revelation, is correctly defined in the conversation of the caliph Al Mamun with the idolaters or Sabæans of Charræ. Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 107, 108.

free and equal companion of the victorious Moslems. Every sin was expiated, every engagement was dissolved: the vow of celibacy was superseded by the indulgence of nature; the active spirits who slept in the cloister were awakened by the trumpet of the Saracens; and, in the convulsion of the world, every member of a new society ascended to the natural level of his capacity and courage. The minds of the multitude were tempted by the invisible as well as temporal blessings of the Arabian prophet; and charity will hope that many of his proselytes entertained a serious conviction of the truth and sanctity of his revelation. In the eyes of an inquisitive polytheist, it must appear worthy of the human and the divine nature. More pure than the system of Zoroaster, more liberal than the law of Moses, the religion of Mahomet might seem less inconsistent with reason than the creed of mystery and superstition which, in the seventh century, disgraced the simplicity of the gospel.

Fall of the Magians of Persia

In the extensive provinces of Persia and Africa, the national religion has been eradicated by the Mahometan faith. The ambiguous theology of the Magi stood alone among the sects of the East: but the profane writings of Zoroaster[230] might, under the reverend name of Abraham, be dexterously connected with the chain of divine revelation. Their evil principle, the dæmon Ahriman, might be represented as the rival, or as the creature, of the God of light. The temples of Persia were devoid of images; but the worship of the sun and of fire might be stigmatized as a gross and criminal idolatry.[231] The milder sentiment was consecrated by the practice of Mahomet[232] and the prudence of the caliphs; the Magians, or Ghebers, were ranked with the Jews and Christians among the people of the written law;[233] and, as late as the third century of the Hegira, the city of Herat will afford a lively contrast of private zeal and public toleration.[234] Under the payment of an annual tribute, the Mahometan law secured to the Ghebers of Herat their civil and religious liberties; but the recent and humble mosch was overshadowed by the antique splendour of the adjoining temple of fire. A fanatic Imam deplored, in his sermons, the scandalous neighbourhood, and accused the weakness or indifference of the faithful. Excited by his voice, the people assembled in tumult; the two houses of prayer were consumed by the flames, but the vacant ground was immediately occupied by the foundations of a new mosch. The injured Magi appealed to the sovereign of Chorasan; he promised justice and relief; when, behold! four thousand citizens of Herat, of a grave character and mature age, unanimously swore that the idolatrous fane had *never* existed; the inquisition was silenced, and their conscience was satisfied (says the historian Mirchond[235]) with this holy and meritorious perjury.[236] But the greatest part of the temples of Persia were ruined by the insensible and general desertion of their votaries. It was *insensible,* since it is not accompanied with any memorial of time or place, of persecution or resistance. It was *general*, since the whole realm, from Shiraz to Samarcand, imbibed the faith of the Koran; and the preservation of the native tongue reveals the descent of the Mahometans of Persia.[237] In the mountains and deserts, an obstinate race of unbelievers adhered to the superstition of their fathers; and a faint tradition of the Magian theology is kept alive in the province of Kirman, along the banks of the Indus, among the exiles of Surat, and in the colony, which, in the last century, was planted by Shaw Abbas at the gates of Ispahan. The chief pontiff has retired to mount Elbourz, eighteen leagues from the city of Yezd; the perpetual fire (if it continue to burn) is inaccessible to the profane; but his residence is the school, the oracle, and the pilgrimage of the Ghebers, whose hard and uniform features attest the unmingled purity of their blood. Under the jurisdiction of their elders, eighty thousand families maintain an innocent and industrious life; their subsistence is derived from some curious manufactures and mechanic trades; and they cultivate the earth with the fervour of a religious duty. Their ignorance withstood the despotism of Shaw Abbas, who demanded with threats and tortures the prophetic books of Zoroaster; and this obscure remnant of the Magians is spared by the moderation or contempt of their present sovereigns.[238]

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[230] The Zend or Pazend, the Bible of the Ghebers, is reckoned by themselves, or at least by the Mahometans, among the ten books which Abraham received from heaven; and their religion is honourably styled the religion of Abraham (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 701; Hyde, de Religione veterum Persarum, c. iii. p. 27, 28, &c.). I much fear that we do not possess any pure and *free* description of the system of Zoroaster. Dr. Prideaux (Connection, vol. i. p. 300, octavo) adopts the opinion that he had been the slave and scholar of some Jewish prophet in the captivity of Babylon. Perhaps the Persians, who have been the masters of the Jews, would assert the honour, a poor honour, of being *their* masters.

[231] The Arabian Nights, a faithful and amusing picture of the Oriental world, represent, in the most odious colours, the Magians, or worshippers of fire, to whom they attribute the annual sacrifice of a Musulman. The religion of Zoroaster has not the least affinity with that of the Hindoos, yet they are often confounded by the Mahometans; and the sword of Timour was sharpened by this mistake (Hist. de Timour Bec, par Cherefeddin Ali Yezdi, l. v.).

[232] Vie de Mahomet, par Gagnier, tom. iii. p. 114, 115.

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[233] Hæ tres sectæ, Judæi, Christiani, et qui inter Persas Magorum institutis addicti sunt, κατ' ἐξοχήν, *populi libri* dicuntur (Reland, Dissertat. tom. iii. p. 15). The caliph Al Mamun confirms this honourable distinction in favour of the three sects, with the vague and equivocal religion of the Sabæans, under which the ancient polytheists of Charræ were allowed to shelter their idolatrous worship (Hottinger, Hist. Orient. p. 167, 168).

[234] This singular story is related by d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 448, 449) on the faith of Khondemir, and by Mirchond himself (Hist. priorum Regum Persarum, &c. p. 9, 10, not. p. 88, 89).

[235] Mirchond (Mohammed Emir Khoondah Shah), a native of Herat, composed, in the Persian language, a general history of the East, from the Creation to the year of the Hegira 875 (A.D. 1471). In the year 904 (A.D. 1498), the historian obtained the command of a princely library, and his applauded work, in seven or twelve parts, was abbreviated in three volumes by his son Khondemir, A.H. 927, A.D. 1520. The two writers, most accurately distinguished by Petit de la Croix (Hist. de Genghizcan, p. 537, 538, 544, 545), are loosely confounded by d'Herbelot (p. 358, 410, 994, 995); but his numerous extracts, under the improper name of Khondemir, belong to the father rather than the son. The historian of Genghizcan refers to a Ms. of Mirchond, which he received from the hands of his friend d'Herbelot himself. A curious fragment (the Taherian and Soffarian Dynasties) has been lately published in Persic and Latin (Viennæ, 1782, in quarto, cum notis Bernard de Jenisch); and the editor allows us to hope for a continuation of Mirchond.

[236] Quo testimonio boni se quidpiam præstitisse opinabantur. Yet Mirchond must have condemned their zeal, since he approved the legal toleration of the Magi, cui (the fire temple) peracto singulis annis censu, uti sacra Mohammedis lege cautum, ab omnibus molestiis ac oneribus libero esse licuit.

Decline an
fall of Chr
anity in
Africa

The northern coast of Africa is the only land in which the light of the gospel, after a long and perfect establishment, has been totally extinguished. The arts, which had been taught by Carthage and Rome, were involved in a cloud of ignorance; the doctrine of Cyprian and Augustine was no longer studied. Five hundred episcopal churches were overturned by the hostile fury of the Donatists, the Vandals, and the Moors. The zeal and numbers of the clergy declined; and the people, without discipline, or knowledge, or hope, submissively sunk under the yoke of the Arabian prophet. Within fifty years after the

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[237] The last Magian of name and power appears to be Mardavige the Dilemite [Mardāwīj, the Ziyārid], who, in the beginning of the xth century, reigned in the northern provinces of Persia, near the Caspian Sea (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 335). But his soldiers and successors, the *Bowides* [Buwaihids], either professed or embraced the Mahometan faith; and under their dynasty (A.D. 933-1020 [932-1023 in Ispahān and Hamadhān; but till 1055 in Fārs, in Irāk and in Kirmān. For the geographical distribution of the dynasty see S. Lane-Poole, Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 143]) I should place the fall of the religion of Zoroaster.

[238] The present state of the Ghebers in Persia is taken from Sir John Chardin, not indeed the most learned, but the most judicious and inquisitive, of our modern travellers (Voyages in Pherse, tom. ii. p. 109, 179-187, in 4to). His brethren, Pietro della Valle, Olearius, Thévenot, Tavernier, &c. whom I have fruitlessly searched, had neither eyes nor attention for this interesting people.

D 749 expulsion of the Greeks, a lieutenant of Africa informed the caliph that the tribute of the infidels was abolished by their conversion;[239] and, though he sought to disguise his fraud and rebellion, his specious pretence was drawn from the rapid and extensive progress of the Mahometan faith. In the next D. 837 age an extraordinary mission of five bishops was detached from Alexandria to Cairoan. They were ordained by the Jacobite patriarch to cherish and revive the dying embers of Christianity.[240] But the interposition of a foreign prelate, a stranger to the Latins, an enemy to the Catholics, supposes the decay and dissolution of the African hierarchy. It was no longer the time when the successor of St. Cyprian, at the head of a numerous synod, could maintain an equal contest with the ambition of the D. 1053- Roman pontiff. In the eleventh century, the unfortunate priest who was seated on the ruins of Carthage, implored the arms and the protection of the Vatican; and he bitterly complains that his naked body had been scourged by the Saracens, and that his authority was disputed by the four suffragans, the tottering pillars of his throne. Two epistles of Gregory the Seventh[241] are destined to soothe the distress of the Catholics and the pride of a Moorish prince. The pope assures the sultan that they both worship the same God and may hope to meet in the bosom of Abraham; but the complaints that three bishops could no longer be found to consecrate a brother, announces the speedy and inevitable ruin of the episcopal order. The Spain. D. 1149, &c. Christians of Africa and Spain had long since submitted to the practice of circumcision and the legal abstinence from wine and pork; and the name of *Mozarabes*[242] (adoptive Arabs) was applied to their civil or religious conformity.[243] About the middle of the twelfth century, the worship of Christ and the succession of pastors were abolished along the coast of Barbary, and in the kingdoms of Cordova and Seville, of Valencia and Grenada.[244] The throne of the Almohades, or Unitarians, was founded on the blindest fanaticism, and their extraordinary rigour might be provoked or justified by the recent victories and intolerant zeal of the princes of Sicily and Castile, of Arragon and Portugal. The faith of the Mozarabes was occasionally revived by **A.D. 1535** the papal missionaries; and, on the landing of Charles the Fifth, some families of Latin Christians were encouraged to rear their heads at Tunis and Algiers. But the seed of the gospel was quickly eradicated, and the long province from Tripoli to the Atlantic has lost all memory of the language and religion of Rome.[245]

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[239] The letter of Abdoulrahman, governor or tyrant of Africa, to the caliph Aboul Abbas, the first of the Abbassides, is dated A.H. 132 (Cardonne, Hist. d'Afrique et de l'Espagne, tom. i. p. 168).

[240] Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 66. Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 287, 288.

[241] Among the Epistles of the Popes, see Leo IX. epist. 3; Gregor. VII. l. i. epist. 22, 23, l. iii. epist. 19, 20, 21; and the criticisms of Pagi (tom. iv. A.D. 1053, No. 14, A.D. 1073, No. 13), who investigates the name and family of the Moorish prince, with whom the proudest of the Roman pontiffs so politely corresponds.

[242] Mozarabes, or Mostarabes [al-Mustariba], *adscititii*, as it is interpreted in Latin (Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabum, p. 39, 40. Bibliot. Arabico-Hispana, tom. ii. p. 18). The Mozarabic liturgy, the ancient ritual of the church of Toledo, has been attacked by the popes and exposed to the doubtful trials of the sword and of fire (Marian, Hist. Hispan. tom. i. l. ix. c. 18, p. 378). It was, or rather it is, in the Latin tongue; yet, in the xith century, it was found necessary (A.Æ.C. 1087. A.D. 1039) to transcribe an Arabic version of the canons of the councils of Spain (Bibliot. Arab. Hisp. tom. i. p. 547) for the use of the bishops and clergy in the Moorish kingdoms.

Toleratio of the Christian

After the revolution of eleven centuries, the Jews and Christians of the Turkish empire enjoy the liberty of conscience, which was granted by the Arabian caliphs. During the first age of the conquest, they suspected the loyalty of the Catholics, whose name of Melchites betrayed their secret attachment to the Greek emperor, while the Nestorians and Jacobites, his inveterate enemies, approved themselves the sincere and voluntary friends of the Mahometan government.[246] Yet this partial jealousy was healed by time and submission; the churches of Egypt

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[243] About the middle of the xth century, the clergy of Cordova was reproached with this criminal compliance, by the intrepid envoy of the emperor Otho I. (Vit. Johan. Gorz. in Secul. Benedict. V. No. 115, apud Fleury, Hist. Eccl és. tom. xii. p. 91).

[244] Pagi, Critica, tom. iv. A.D. 1149, No. 8, 9. He justly observes that, when Seville, &c. were retaken by Ferdinand of Castille, no Christians, except captives, were found in the place; and that the Mozarabic churches of Africa and Spain, described by James à Vitriaco, A.D. 1218 (Hist. Hierosol. c. 80, p. 1095, in Gest. Dei per Francos), are copied from some older book. I shall add that the date of the Hegira, 677 (A.D. 1278), must apply to the copy, not the composition, of a treatise of jurisprudence, which states the civil rights of the Christians of Cordova (Bibliot. Arab. Hist. tom. i. p. 471); and that the Jews were the only dissenters whom Abul Waled, king of Grenada (A.D. 1313), could either discountenance or tolerate (tom. ii. p. 288).

[245] Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 288. Leo Africanus would have flattered his Roman masters, could he have discovered any latent relics of the Christianity of Africa.

[246] Absit (said the Catholic to the Vizir of Bagdad) ut pari loco habeas Nestorianos, quorum præter Arabas nullus alius rex est, et Græcos quorum reges amovendo Arabibus bello non desistunt, &c. See in the collections of Assemannus (Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 94-101) the state of the Nestorians under the caliphs. That of the Jacobites is more concisely exposed in the preliminary Dissertation of the second volume of Assemannus.

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ardships

were shared with the Catholics;[247] and all the Oriental sects were included in the common benefits of toleration. The rank, the immunities, the domestic jurisdiction, of the patriarchs, the bishops, and the clergy, were protected by the civil magistrate; the learning of individuals recommended them to the employments of secretaries and physicians; they were enriched by the lucrative collection of the revenue; and their merit was sometimes raised to the command of cities and provinces. A caliph of the house of Abbas was heard to declare that the Christians were most worthy of trust in the administration of Persia. "The Moslems," said he, "will abuse their present fortune; the Magians regret their fallen greatness; and the Jews are impatient for their approaching deliverance."[248] But the slaves of despotism are exposed to the alternatives of favour and disgrace. The captive churches of the East have been afflicted in every age by the avarice or bigotry of their rulers; and the ordinary and legal restraints must be offensive to the pride or the zeal of the Christians.[249] About two hundred years after Mahomet, they were separated from their fellow-subjects by a turban or girdle of a less honourable colour; instead of horses or mules, they were condemned to ride on asses, in the attitude of women. Their public and private buildings were measured by a diminutive standard; in the streets or the baths, it is their duty to give way or bow down before the meanest of the people; and their testimony is rejected, if it may tend to the prejudice of a true believer. The pomp of processions, the sound of bells or of psalmody, is interdicted in their worship; a decent reverence for the national faith is imposed on their sermons and conversations; and the sacrilegious attempt to enter a mosch or to seduce a Musulman will not be suffered to escape with impunity. In a time, however, of tranquillity and justice, the Christians have never been compelled to renounce the Gospel or to embrace the Koran; but the punishment of death is inflicted upon [249a] the apostates who have professed and deserted the law of Mahomet. The martyrs of Cordova provoked the sentence of the cadhi by the public confession of their inconstancy, or their passionate invectives against the person and religion of the prophet.[250]

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[247] Eutych. Annal. tom. ii. p. 384, 387, 388. Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex. p. 205, 206, 257, 332. A taint of the Monothelite heresy might render the first of these Greek patriarchs less loyal to the emperors and less obnoxious to the Arabs.

[248] Motadhed, who had reigned from A.D. 892-902. The Magians still held their name and rank among the religions of the empire (Assemanni, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 97).

[249] Reland explains the general restraints of the Mahometan policy and jurisprudence (Dissertat. tom. iii. p. 16-20). The oppressive edicts of the caliph Motawakkel (A.D. 847-861), which are still in force, are noticed by Eutychius (Annal tom. ii. p. 448) and d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orient. p. 640). A persecution of th caliph Omar II. is related, and most probably magnified, by the Greek Theophanes (Chron. p. 334 [ad A.M. 6210]).

The empire of the caliphs. A.D. 718

At the end of the first century of the Hegira, the caliphs were the most potent and absolute monarchs of the globe. Their prerogative was not circumscribed, either in right or in fact, by the power of the nobles, the freedom of the commons, the privileges of the church, the votes of a senate, or the memory of a free constitution. The authority of the companions of Mahomet expired with their lives; and the chiefs or emirs of the Arabian tribes left behind, in the desert, the spirit of equality and independence. The regal and sacerdotal characters were united in the successors of Mahomet; and, if the Koran was the rule of their actions, they were the supreme judges and interpreters of that divine book. They reigned by the right of conquest over the nations of the East, to whom the name of liberty was unknown, and who were accustomed to applaud in their tyrants the acts of violence and severity that were exercised at their own expense. Under the last of the Ommiades, the Arabian empire extended two hundred days' journey from east to west, from the confines of Tartary and India to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. And, if we retrench the sleeve of the robe, as it is styled by their writers, the long and narrow province of Africa, the solid and compact dominion from Fargana to Aden, from Tarsus to Surat, will spread on every side to the measure of four or five months of the march of a caravan.[251] We should vainly seek the indissoluble union and easy obedience that pervaded the government of Augustus and the Antonines; but the progress of the Mahometan religion diffused over this ample space a general resemblance of manners and opinions. The language and laws of the Koran were studied with equal devotion at Samarcand and Seville: the Moor and the Indian embraced as countrymen and brothers in the pilgrimage of Mecca; and the Arabian language was adopted as the popular idiom in all the provinces to the westward of the Tigris.[252]

[249a] [The quarto ed. gives *ror.*]

[250] The martyrs of Cordova (A.D. 850, &c.) are commemorated and justified by St. Eulogius, who at length fell a victim himself. A synod, convened by the caliph, ambiguously censured their rashness. The moderate Fleury cannot reconcile their conduct with the discipline of antiquity, toutefois l'autorité de l'église, &c. (Fleury, Hist. Ecclés. tom. x. p. 415-522, particularly p. 451, 508, 509). Their authentic acts throw a strong though transient light on the Spanish church in the ixth century.

[251] See the article *Eslamiah* (as we say Christendom) in the Bibliothèque Orientale (p. 325). This chart of the Mahometan world is suited by the author, Ebn Alwardi, to the year of the Hegira 385 (A.D. 995). Since that time, the losses in Spain have been overbalanced by the conquests in India, Tartary, and European Turkey.

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[252] The Arabic of the Koran is taught as a dead language in the college of Mecca. By the Danish traveller, this ancient idiom is compared to the Latin; the vulgar tongue of Hejaz and Yemen to the Italian; and the Arabian dialects of Syria, Egypt, Africa, &c. to the Provençal, Spanish, and Portuguese (Niebuhr, Déscription dé l'Arabie, p. 74, &c.).

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

Greek (and Other) Sources

For the later part of his history Menander (for whom see above, vol. iv. Appendix 1, p. 518) had access to the direct knowledge of contemporaries who were concerned in the political events. For the earlier years he possibly used Theophanes of Byzantium, who related in ten Books the events from A.D. 566 to 581.[1] Some extracts from Theophanes have been preserved by Photius (Müller, F. H. G. iv. 270; Dindorf, Hist. Græc. Min. vol. i.).

Johannes of Epiphania (see Evagrius, 5, 24) also wrote a history which overlapped with those of Theophanes and Menander. Beginning with A.D. 572 it came down to A.D. 598, and was chiefly concerned with Persian affairs, on which Johannes was well informed, being acquainted with Chosroes II. and other influential Persians, and knowing the geography of the countries in which the wars were waged. One long fragment of Bk. 1 has come down (Müller, F. H. G. iv. 272 *sqq.;* Dindorf, Hist. Græc. Min. vol. i.), but it is probable that we have much material derived from him in Theophylactus Simocatta, Bks. 4 and 5; and his work was also used by Evagrius (B. 6).

John of Ephesus (or of Asia, as he is also styled) was born about A.D. 505 at Amida, and brought up by Maron the Stylite in the Monophysitic faith. He came to Constantinople in A.D. 535, and in the following year was appointed bishop of the Monophysites (Bishop "of Ephesus," or "of Asia"). He enjoyed the favour of the Emperor and Empress; and Justinian assigned him the mission of converting to Christianity the pagans who were still numerous in Asia, Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria; and afterwards (A.D. 546) he was appointed to suppress idolatry in Constantinople itself.[2] It is remarkable that the orthodox Emperor should have committed this work to a Monophysite; the circumstance illustrates the policy of the Emperor and the influence of Theodora. John founded a Syrian monastery near Sycae and the Golden Horn; but he was deposed from his dignity of Abbot by the Patriarch John of Sirmium in the reign of Justin II., and imprisoned (A.D. 571). He survived the year 585. His Ecclesiastical History, written in Syriac, began with the age of Julius Cæsar and came down to the reign of Maurice. It was divided into three parts (each of six Books), of which the first s lost. Of the second, large fragments are preserved in the chronicle of Dionysius of Tellmahrē (who was Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch from 818 to 845

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[1] So Krumbacher, Gesch. der byz. Litt., ed. 2, p. 244; but I feel uncertain as to this con-ecture. Theophanes and Menander must have been writing their books very much about he same time. It seems likely that Menander derived his account of the negotiations of he peace with Persia in A.D. 562 from a written relation by the ambassador Peter the Patrician (so too Krumbacher, p. 239).

[2] John calls himself "idol breaker," and "teacher of the heathen". We learn of his mission from his own work, Eccles. Hist. B. ii. 44 and iii. 36, 37. He had the administration of all the revenues of the Monophysites in Constantinople and everywhere else (B. V. 1).

A.D.),[3] and have been translated into Latin by Van Douwen and Land (Johannis episc. Ephesi comment. de beatis orientalibus, 1889). Part 3 is extant and is one of our most valuable contemporary sources for the reigns of Justin II. and Tiberius. It has been translated into English by R. Payne Smith, 1860, and into German by J. Schönfelder, 1862. It begins with the year A.D. 571—the year of the persecution of the Monophysites by Justin II. John tells us that this part of his history was mostly written during the persecution under great difficulties; the pages of his Ms. had to be concealed in various hiding-places. This explains the confused order in part of his narrative. [W. Wright, Syriac Literature (1894; a reprint, with a few additions, of the article under the same title in the Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. xxii.), p. 102 *sqq.*]

Evagrius (c. 536-600 A.D.; born at Epiphania), an advocate of Antioch, is the continuer of the continuers (Socrates, &c.) of Eusebius. His Ecclesiastical History, in six Books, begins with the council of Ephesus in A.D. 431 and comes down to A.D. 593. Apart from its importance as one of the main authorities for the ecclesiastical history of the long period of which it treats, this work has also some brief but valuable notices concerning secular history. Evagrius had the use of older works which are now lost, such as Eustathius (whose chronicle he used in Bks. 2 and 3; see above, vol. iv. p. 512) and Johannes of Epiphania (whose still unpublished work he was permitted to consult in composing Bk. 6).[4] Evagrius also made use of John Malalas (the first edition; see above, vol. iv. Appendix 1) and Procopius. An attempt[5] has been made to show that he used the work of Menander (directly or indirectly), but the demonstration is not convincing. The accuracy of Evagrius in using those sources which are extant enables us to feel confidence in him when his sources are lost. For the end of Justinian's reign, for Justin, Tiberius, and Maurice, he has the full value of a contemporary authority. [Ed. H. Valesius, 1673; in Migne, Patr. Gr. vol. 86. A new, much-needed critical edition by MM. Parmentier and Bidez is in the press.]

Theophylactus Simocattes, born in Egypt, lived in the reigns of Maurice and Heraclius, and seems to have held the post of an imperial secretary. He wrote, in euphemistic style, works on natural history, essays in epistolary form, and a history of the reign of Maurice. Theophylactus—the chief authority for the twenty years which his history deals with—may be said to close a series of historians, which beginning with Eunapius includes the names of Priscus, Procopius, Agathias, and Menander. After Theophylactus we have for more than three hundred years nothing but chronicles. Theophylactus had a narrow view of history and no discernment for the relative importance of facts (cp. Gibbon, c. xlvi., note 49); the affectation of his florid, periphrastic style renders his work disagreeable to read; but he is trustworthy and honest, according to his lights. Although a Christian, he affects to speak of Christian things with a certain unfamiliarity—as a pagan, like Ammianus or Eunapius, would speak of them. He made use of the works of Menander and John of Epiphania. [Best edition by C. de Boor, 1887.]

Contemporary with Theophylactus was the unknown author of the Chronicon Paschale (or Alexandrinum, as it is also called): a chronicle which had great influence on subsequent chronography. Beginning with Adam it came down to the year A.D. 629; but, as all our Mss. are derived from one (extant) Vatican Ms. which was mutilated at the beginning and at the end, our text ends with A.D. 627. As far as A.D. 602 the work is a compilation from sources which are for the most part known (cp. above, vol. ii. Appendix 1, p. 539); but from this point forward its character changes, the author writes from personal knowledge, and the chronicle assumes, for the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius, the dignity of an important contemporary source, even containing some original documents (see above, p. 90, n. 127; 92, n. 129; 93, n. 132). From the prominence of the Patriarch Sergius, it has been conjectured that the author belonged, like George of Pisidia (see below), to the Patriarch's circle. The chronology is based on the era which assigned the creation of the world to March 21, 5507, and is the first case we have of the use of this so-called Roman or Byzantine era. [Best edition by Dindorf in the Bonn series. For an analysis of the chronology, see H. Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus, ii. 1, 138 *sqq.*]

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[3] And in two Mss. in the British Museum.

[4] But Evagrius did not make such large use of Johannes as Theophylactus did; it was no his main material. For Bk. 5 he did not use Johannes at all. Cp. Adamek, Beitr. zu Geschichte des byz. Kaisers Mauricius, ii. p. 10-19.

[5] By L. Jeep (in 14 Supp.-Bd. der Jahrbb. f. Classische Philologie, p. 162 *sqq.*). Adame argues sensibly against this view, *op. cit.* p. 4 *sqq.*

The poems of George Pisides (a native of Pisidia) are another valuable contemporary source for the Persian wars of Heraclius, to whom he was a sort of poet laureate. It is indeed sometimes difficult to extract the historical fact from his poetical circumlocutions. The three works which concern a historian are written in smooth and correct Iambic trimeters, which, though they ignore the canon of the Cretic ending rediscovered by Porson, are subject to a new law, that the last word of the verse shall be barytone. They thus represent a transition to the later "political" verses, which are governed only by laws of accent. (1) On the (first) expedition of Heraclius against the Persians, in three cantos (*Akroaseis*). (2) On the attack of the Avars on Constantinople and its miraculous deliverance (A.D. 626). (3) The *Heracliad*, in two cantos, on the final victory of Heraclius, composed on the news of the death of Chosroes (A.D. 628). These works were utilised by Theophanes. George is the author of many other poems, epigrams, &c. [See Migne, Patr. Gr., xcii., after Querci's older edition; L. Sternbach, in Wiener Studien, 13 (1891), 1 *sqq.* and 14 (1892), 51 *sqq.* The three historical poems are printed in the Bonn series by Bekker, 1836.]

For the account of the siege of Constantinople in A.D. 626 (probably by Theodore, private secretary of the Patriarch[6]) see above, p. 87, n. 116. It is entitled *περὶ τῶν ἀθέων Ἀβάρων τε καὶ Περσῶν κατὰ τῆς θεοφυλάκτου πόλεως μανιώδους κινήσεως καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῆς θεοτόκου μετ' αἰσχύνης ἀποχωρήσεως.* The events of each day of the siege, from Tuesday, July 29, to Thursday, August 7, are related with considerable detail, wrapped up in rhetorical verbiage and contrasting with the straightforward narrative of the Chronicon Paschale, with which it is in general agreement. The account, however, of the catastrophe of the Slavs and their boats in the Golden Horn differs from that of the Chronicon Paschale.[7]

In connexion with this siege, it should be added that the famous *ἀκάθιστος ὕμνος*—which might be rendered "Standing Hymn"; the singers were to stand while they sang it—is supposed by tradition to have been composed by the Patriarch Sergius in commemoration of the miraculous deliverance of the city. It would be remarkable if Sergius, who fell into disrepute through his Monothelete doctrines, really composed a hymn which won, and has enjoyed to the present day, unparalleled popularity among the orthodox. A recent Greek writer (J. Butyras) has pointed out that expressions in the hymn coincide remarkably with the decisions of the Synod of A.D. 680 against Monotheletism, and concludes that the hymn celebrates the Saracen siege of Constantinople under Constantine IV.—a siege with which some traditions connect it. (Compare K. Krumbacher, Gesch. der byz. Litt., p. 672.) The hymn was, without due grounds, ascribed to George of Pisidia by Querci. The text will be found in Migne, Patrol. Gr. 92, p. 1335 *sqq.*; in the Anthol. Graeca of Christ and Paranikas, p. 140 *sqq.*, and elsewhere.

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[6] The same Theodore is the author of a relation of the discovery of a coffer containing he Virgin's miraculous robe in her Church at Blachernae, during the Avar siege of A.D. 619. The text is printed by Loparev (who wrongly refers it to the Russian siege of A.D. 860; he s corrected by Vasilievski, Viz. Vrem. iii., p. 83 *sqq.*) in Viz. Vrem. ii., p. 592 *sqq.*

[7] The metaphor of Scylla and Charybdis, in c. 9, recalls lines of the Bellum Avaricum of George of Pisidia (ll. 204 *sqq.*), as Mai noticed; but it may be a pure coincidence.

The Life and martyrdom of Anastasius, an apostate to Christianity from the Magian religion, who suffered on Jan. 22 ,628, was drawn up at Jerusalem towards the end of the same year, and deserves some attention in connexion with the Persian wars of Heraclius. It is published in its original form, distinct from later accretions, by H. Usener, Acta Martyris Anastasii Persae, 1894.

The History of Heraclius by Sebaeos, an Armenian bishop of the seventh century, written in the Armenian tongue, was first brought to light through the discovery of a Ms. in the library of Etzmiadzin some years before Brosset visited that library in 1848. The text was edited in 1851, and Patkanian's Russian translation appeared in 1862. Two passages in the work show that Sebaeos was a contemporary of Heraclius and Constans (c. 30 *ad fin.*, p. 122; and c. 34 *ad init.*, p. 148, tr. Patk.); and this agrees with some brief notices of later writers, who state that Sebaeos was present at the Council of Dovin in A.D. 645 (of which he gives a full account in c. 33). It is also stated that he was Bishop of Bagratun. The work is not strictly confined to the reign of Heraclius. It begins in the reign of the Persian king Perozes in the fifth century, and briefly touches the reigns of Kobad and of Chosroes I., of whom Sebaeos relates the legend that he was converted to Christianity. The events connected with the revolt of Bahram and the accession of Chosroes II. are told at more length (c. 2-3), and especial prominence is given to the part played by the Armenian prince Musheg, who supported Chosroes. The next seventeen chapters are concerned chiefly with the history of Chosroes and his intrigues in Armenia during the reign of Maurice. It is not till the twenty-first chapter that we meet Heraclius, and not till the twenty-fourth that his history really begins.

In c. 32 we again take leave of him, and the rest of the work (c. 32-38), about a third of the whole, deals with the following twelve years (641-652). The great importance of Sebaeos (apart from his value for domestic and ecclesiastical affairs in Armenia) lies in his account of the Persian campaigns of Heraclius. [Besides the Russian translation, Patkanian published an account of the contents of the work of Sebaeos in the Journal Asiatique, vii., p. 101 *sqq.*, 1866.]

For the ecclesiastical history of the seventh and eighth centuries we are better furnished than for the political, as we have writings on the great controversies of the times by persons who took part in the struggles. Unluckily the synods which finally closed the Monotheletic and the Iconoclastic questions in favour of the "orthodox" views enjoined the destruction of the controversial works of the defeated parties, so that of Monotheletic and Iconoclastic literature we have only the fragments which are quoted in the Acts of Councils or in the writings of the Dyothelete and Iconodule controversialists.

For the Monotheletic dispute we have (besides the Acts of the Council of Rome in A.D. 649, and of the Sixth General Council of A.D. 680) the works of the great defender of the orthodox view, the Abbot Maximus (A.D. 580-662). He had been a secretary of the Emperor Heraclius, and afterwards became abbot of a monastery at Chrysopolis (Scutari), where we find him A.D. 630. His opposition to Monotheletism presently drove him to the west, and in Africa he met the Monothelete Patriarch Pyrrhus and converted him from his heretical error (A.D. 645). But the conversion was not permanent; Pyrrhus returned to his heresy. Maximus then proceeded to Rome, and in A.D. 653 was carried to Constantinople along with Pope Martin, and banished to Bizya in Thrace. A disputation which he held then with the Bishop of Caesarea led to a second and more distant exile to Lazica, where he died. A considerable number of polemical writings on the question for which he suffered are extant, including an account of his disputation with Pyrrhus. [His works are collected in Migne, Patr. Gr. xc. xci. (after the edition of Combefis, 1675).] Maximus had a dialectical training and a tendency to mysticism. "Pseudo-Dionysius was introduced into the Greek Church by Maximus; he harmonized the Areopagite with the traditional ecclesiastical doctrine, and thereby influenced Greek theology more powerfully than John o Damascus" (Ehrhard, ap. Krumbacher, Gesch. der byz. Litt. p. 63).

Another younger opponent of Monotheletism was Anastasius of the monastery of Mount Sinai. He travelled about in Syria and Egypt, fighting with heresies (second half of seventh century). Three essays of his are extant (περὶ τοῦ κατ' εἰκόνα) on Monotheletism; the third gives a history of the controversy. [Works in Migne, Patr. Gr. vol. lxxxix.]

John of Damascus was the most important opponent of iconoclasm in the reigns of Leo III. and Constantine V. The son of a Syrian who was known by the Arabic name of Mansur, and held a financial post under the Saracen government at Damascus, he was born towards the end of the seventh century. He was educated by a Sicilian monk named Cosmas. He withdrew to the monastery of St. Sabas before A.D. 736 [8] and died before A.D. 753. What we know of his life is derived from a Biography of the tenth century by John of Jerusalem, who derived his facts from an earlier Arabic biography. (The life is printed in Migne, Patr. Gr. xciv. p. 429 *sqq.*) The great theological work of John is the Πηγὴ γνώσεως, "Fountain of Knowledge," a systematical theology founded on the concepts of Aristotelian metaphysics (here John owed much to Leontius of Byzantium). But the works which concern us are the essays against the Iconoclasts, three in number, composed between A.D. 726 and 736. The first Diatribe was written and published between the edict of Leo and the deposition of the Patriarch Germanus three years later. The second seems to have been written immediately after the news of this deposition reached Palestine; for John, referring to this, makes no reference to the installation of Anastasius which took place a fortnight later (see p. 12; Migne, Patr. Gr. xciv. p. 1297). The object of this dissertation was to elucidate the propositions of the first, which had excited much discussion and criticism. The third contains much that is in the first and second, and develops a doctrine as to the use of images.[9] The great edition (1712) of Lequien, with valuable prolegomena, is reprinted in Migne's Patr. Gr. xciv.-xcvi. [Monographs: J. Langen, Johannes von D., 1879; J. H. Lupton, St. John of D., 1884.]

The defence of image-worship addressed "to all Christians and to the Emperor Constantine Kaballinos and to all heretics," included in John's works (Migne, vol. xcv. p. 309 *sqq.*), is not genuine. It contains much abuse of Leo and Con-tantine.

When the Paschal Chronicle deserts us in A.D. 627, we have no contemporary istorians or chroniclers for the general course of the Imperial history until we each the end of the eighth century. There is a gap of more than a century and a alf in our series of Byzantine history. The two writers on whom we depend for he reigns of the Heracliad dynasty and of the early Iconoclast sovereigns lived at he end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century: the Patriarch Nicehorus and the monk Theophanes. They both used a common source, of which we have no record.

Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 806-815, has his place in history as well as in literature. At the time of the second council of Nicaea, A.D. 787, he was an imperial secretary. In A.D. 806 he succeeded Tarasius in the Patriarchate ee above, p. 192) and stood forth as the opponent of the monastic party. Deposed y Leo V. he was, under this and the following Emperor, the most prominent hampion of image-worship. He died in exile A.D. 829. He was greater as a heological than as an historical writer. His important works on the iconoclastic uestion were written during exile: (1) the Apologeticus minor, a short treatise efending image-worship; (2) in A.D. 817, the Apologeticus major, which is speci- lly important as containing a number of quotations from an iconoclastic work by the Emperor Constantine V. These treatises are printed by Mai, Nova Patrum Bibl., i. 1 *sqq.*, ii. 1 *sqq.*, iii. 1 *sqq.* [For other works see Pitra, Spicilegium Solesmense, i. p. 302 *sqq.*, iv. p. 233 *sqq.* Cp. Ehrhard, apud Krumbacher, Gesch. der byz. Litt. p. 72.] The historical works are two: (1) the *Χρονογραφικὸν σύντομον*—"Concise list of dates,"—a collection of tables of kings, emperors, patriarchs, &c., from Adam to the year of the author's death; (2) the *Ἱστορία σύντομος*—"concise History,"—beginning with the death of Maurice and ending with A.D. 769.[10] It is a very poor composition; the author selects what is likely to interest an illiterate public and disregards the relative importance of events. The value of the work is entirely due to the paucity of other materials for the period which it covers. Yet Nicephorus seems to have bestowed some pains on the composition of the work. A Ms. in the British Museum contains a text which seems to represent the author's first compilation of his material before he threw it into the form in which it was "published". See A. Burckhardt, Byz. Zeitsch. v. p. 465 *sqq.*, 1896. [Excellent edition of the historical works by C. de Boor, 1880. This edition includes the life of Nicephorus by the deacon Ignatius written soon after his death.]

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[8] John perhaps held his father's post for a while. For the legend of his right hand see ove, p. 255, note.

[9] Its genuineness has been questioned on insufficient grounds by the Oxford scholar H ody.

George, the syncellus or private secretary of the Patriarch Tarasius, had written a chronicle from the creation of the world, which he intended to bring down to his own time. But when death approached (A.D. 810-11) he had only reached the accession of Diocletian, and he begged his friend THEOPHANES to complete the work. Theophanes belonged to a good and wealthy family.[11] He was of ascetic disposition and founded a monastery (*ἡ μονὴ τοῦ μεγάλου Ἀγροῦ*) called "Great Farm" near Sigriane not far from Cyzicus.[12] Theophanes undertook the charge of his dying friend and wrote his *Chronography* between A.D. 811and 815. When Leo V. came to the throne, he took a strong position against the Emperor's iconoclastic policy and was imprisoned in the island of Samothrace, where he died (817). The Chronography (from A.D. 284 to 813) is arranged strictly in the form of annals. The events are arranged under the successive Years of the World, which are equated with the Years of the Incarnation; and the regnal years of the Roman Emperors and of the Persian Kings (in later part, the Saracen caliphs), and the years of the bishops of the five great Sees, are also added in tabular form. Moreover many single events are dated by Indictions, although the indictions do not appear in the table at the head of each year. The awkwardness of dating events on three systems is clear.

Theophanes adopted the Alexandrian era of Anianus (March 25, B.C. 5493; see above, vol. ii. Appendix 3), and thus his Annus Mundi runs from March 25 to March 24. As the Indiction runs from Sept. 1 to Aug. 31, the only part of the year which is common to the A.M. and the Indiction is March 25 to Aug. 31. It is obvious that, without very careful precautions, the practice of referring to an Indiction under an A.M. which only partly corresponds to it is certain to lead t confusion. And, as it turns out, Theophanes loses a year in the reign of Phocas whose overthrow he placed in the right Indiction (14th = A.D. 610-11), but in th wrong A.M. (6102 = A.D. 609-10). The mistake has set his dates (A.M.) throughou the seventh century a year wrong; we have always to add a year to the A.M. t get the right date (cp. the discrepancies with the Indiction under A.M. 6150 an 6171[13]). The true chronology is recovered at the year 6193, and the indiction i found once more in correspondence under A.M. 6207. A new discrepancy arise some years later, for which see below, p. 524. In the earlier part of th work Theophanes used (besides Socrates, &c.) a compilation of excerpts fro Theodorus Lector (see above, vol. iv. Appendix 1, p. 512). For the sixth centur

[10] Generally referred to as Breviarium Nicephori.

[11] The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos states that Theophanes was h *μητρόθειος*, an uncle of his mother. De. Adm. Imp. iii. p. 106, ed. Bonn.

[12] Ruins of the cloister still exist. See T. E. Evangelides, *ἡ μονὴ τῆς Σιγριανῆς*, 1895.

[13] Read *ἰνδικτιῶνος η* (for *α*) in De Boor's ed. p. 356.

he draws upon John Malalas, Procopius, Agathias, John of Epiphania, and Theophylactus; for the seventh George Pisides. It is possible that all these authors were known to him only indirectly through an intermediate source. He had, in any case, before him an unknown source for the seventh and most of the eighth century (if not more than one), and this was also a source of Nicephorus (see above, p. 499). For the reign of Constantine VI. and Irene, Nicephorus and Michael I., Theophanes has the value of a partial and prejudiced contemporary. [Previous editions have been superseded by De Boor's magnificent edition (1883), vol. i. text; vol. ii. the Latin version of Anastasius, three lives of Theophanes, dissertations by the editor on the material for the text, and splendid Indices. Another Life of Theophanes has been edited by K. Krumbacher, 1897.]

The writings of THEODORE OF STUDION provide us with considerable material for ecclesiastical history as well as for the state of Monasticism at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century. For his prominence in questions of church discipline, which assumed political importance (in connexion with the marriage of Constantine VI. and the policy of Nicephorus I.), see above, p. 190 n. and 192 n.; and he was a stout opponent of Leo V. in the matter of image-worship. He was born A.D. 759 (his father was a tax-collector); under the influence of his uncle Plato, he and his whole family entered the monastery of Saccudion, where in A.D. 797 he succeeded his uncle as abbot. In the following year, he and his monks took up their abode in the monastery of Studion; and from this time forward Studion was one of the most important cloisters in the Empire. Three times was Theodore banished: (1) A.D. 795-7, owing to his opposition to the marriage of Constantine; (2) A.D. 809-11, for his refusal to communicate with Joseph who had performed the marriage ceremony; (3) A.D. 814-20, for his opposition to Leo V. Under Michael II. he was not formally banished, but did not care to abide at Constantinople. He died A.D. 826.

The following works of Theodore have historical interest: (1) The three *λόγοι ἀντιρρητικοί*, and other works in defence of image-worship; (2) the Life of abbot Plato, which gives us a picture of monastic life; (3) the Life of his mother Theoctista, with a most interesting account of his early education, and glimpses of family life; (4) a large collection of letters, of the first importance for the ecclesiastical history of the period; they show the abbot at work, not only in his pastoral duties, but in his ecclesiastical struggles for a quarter of a century. [Collected works in Migne, Patr. Gr. xcix.; but 277 letters, not included, are edited by J. Cozza-Luzi, Nova patrum Bibliotheca, viii. 1, 1 *sqq.*, 1871.][14]

There are many Lives of Martyrs who suffered at the hands of the iconoclastic Emperors. The most important is that of St. Stephen of Mount Auxentius (distinguished from the protomartyr as "the younger") who suffered in A.D. 767; the biography was written in A.D. 808 by Stephen, deacon of St. Sophia, and furnishes some important material for the history of the iconoclastic policy of Constantine V. For the persecution of Theophilus, we have a life of Theodore Graptus[15] and his brother Theophanes (ed. Combefis, Orig. rerumque Constantinop. manipulus, p. 191 *sqq.*), containing a letter of Theodore himself to John of Cyzicus, of which Schlosser has made good use (Gesch. der bilderst. Kaiser, p. 524 *sqq.*). Other Lives of importance for the history of the iconoclastic movement are those of Germanus the Patriarch (ed. Papadopulos-Kerameus in the Mavrogordateios Bibliothêkê, Appendix, p. 3 *sqq.*), Theophanes, Confessor (see above); Nicetas, abbot of Medikion in Bithynia (died A.D. 824; Acta SS. April 1, Appendix, xxxiv.-xli.); Theodore of Studion (see above); Nicephorus, Patriarch (see above, p. 500); Tarasius, by the deacon Ignatius (ed. Heikel, 1889; Latin version in Acta SS. Febr. 25, 576 *sqq.*); the Patriarch Methodius (Migne, Patr. Gr., vol. c.,

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[14] Theodore was also celebrated as a composer of hymns; many of his hymns are extant. His brother Joseph must not be confounded with the Sicilian Joseph the hymnographer.

[15] Theodore and Theophanes were called *Graptoi*, "marked," because the Emperor Theophilus branded twelve iambic trimeters on their foreheads.

p. 1244 *sqq.*). For the ecclesiastical history of the reign of Michael III., the life of Ignatius by Nicetas David Paphlagon is of great importance (Migne, Gr. Patr., cv., 487 *sqq.*). These and other less important[16] biographies, in most instances composed by younger contemporaries, have great value in three ways: (1) they give us facts passed over by the chroniclers; (2) many of them were used by the chroniclers, and therefore are to be preferred as furnishing information at first hand; (3) they give us material for a social picture of the period (especially valuable in this respect is the Life of Plato by Theodore Studites; see above p. 501).

The Life of the Empress Theodora, combined with relations of the deathbed repentance of Theophilus and of his good deeds, is highly important. It was the main source of the chronicler George Monachus for the events concerned. Ed. W. Regel, in Analecta Byzantino-Russica, p. 1 *sqq.*[17]

For Leo the Armenian we have a mysterious fragment of what was clearly a valuable chronicle written by a contemporary, whose name is unknown. The piece which has survived (printed in the vol. of the Bonn series which contains Leo Grammaticus, under the title Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio) is of great value for the Bulgarian siege of Constantinople in A.D. 815.

Apart from this fragment, and the contemporary biographies of saints, the meagre chronicle of George the Monk (sometimes styled George Hamartolus, "the sinner") is the oldest authority for the thirty years after the point when the chronicle of Theophanes ended (A.D. 813-842). George wrote in the reign of Michael III., and completed his chronicle, which began with the creation, towards the close of that Emperor's reign. It is divided into four Books; the fourth, beginning with Constantine the Great and ending with the death of Theophilus, is based mainly on the chronicle of Theophanes. For the last thirty years, the author depends on his own knowledge as a contemporary and on oral information; but also makes use of the Vita Theodorae (see above) and the Vita Nicephori by Ignatius (see above, p. 500). Throughout the ecclesiastical interest predominates.

The chronicle of George became so popular and was re-edited so often with additions and interpolations, that it has become one of the most puzzling problems in literary research to penetrate through the accretions to the original form. Until recently the shape and extent of the chronicle and its author's identity were obscured by the circumstance that a continuation, reaching down to A.D. 948 (in some Mss. this continuation is continued to still later epochs), was annexed to the original work of George. The original continuation to 948[18] was composed by "the Logothete," who has been supposed to be identical with Symeon "Magister and Logothete" (for whose chronicle see below). [The only edition of the whole chronicle (with its continuation) is that of Muralt (1859), which is very unsatisfactory. Combefis edited the latter part from 813 to 948, and this has been reprinted in the Bonn series (along with Theophanes Continuatus), 1838. The material for a new critical edition has been collected by Professor C. de Boor. Much has been written on the problems connected with these chronicles; but I need only refer to F. Hirsch, Byzantinische Studien, 1876, which cleared the way to further investigation; and to the most recent study of De Boor on the subject, Die Chronik des Logotheten, in Byz. Zeitsch., vi., 233 *sqq.*]

The chronicle of Symeon Magister, who is probably the same person as the hagiographer Symeon Metaphrastes, has not yet been published; but for practical purposes it is accessible to the historian in the form of two redactions which go under the name of Leo Grammaticus and Theodosius of Melitene.[19] Beginning with the creation it came down to A.D. 948. LEO GRAMMATICUS (according to a note in Cod. Par. 1711) "completed" the Chronography (*i.e.*, the original Chronicle of Symeon) in the year 1013; but otherwise he is only a name like THEODOSIUS OF MELITENE. [Leo is included in the Bonn series, 1842; Theodosius was published by Tafel, 1859.] This chronicle is different in tone from that of George Monachus; the work of a logothete, not of a monk, it exhibits interest in the court as well as in the church.

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[16] See Ehrhard, ap. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 193 *sqq.*

[17] The Diêgêsis printed by Combefis, Auct. Nov. gr.—lat. patrum bibl., vol. ii., 715 *sqq.*, is a late redaction which completely disfigures the original form and contains little of the Vita Theodorae.

[18] The chief source of the compilation is the Continuation of Theophanes.

Another chronicle, which may be conveniently called the PSEUDO-SYMEON, comes down to the year 963. The last part of the work, A.D. 813-963, was published by Combefis (1685) and reprinted by Bekker (Bonn, 1838) under the name of Symeon Magister. The mistake was due to a misleading title on the cover of the Paris Ms. which contains the chronicle. (On the sources of the unknown author, see F. Hirsch, Byzantinische Studien.)

In respect to these extremely confusing chronicles with their numerous redactions, Krumbacher makes a good remark: "In Byzantium works of this kind were never regarded as completed monuments of literary importance, but as practical handbooks which every possessor and copyist excerpted, augmented, and revised just as he chose" (p. 362).

JOSEPH GENESIUS (son of Constantine who held the office of logothete under Michael III.) wrote (between A.D. 945 and 959) at the suggestion of the Emperor Constantine VII. an Imperial History in four Books, embracing the reigns of Leo V., Michael II., Theophilus, and Michael III.: thus a continuation of Theophanes, who left off at the accession of Leo. V. In Bk. iv. Genesius, clearly departing from the original plan, added a brief account of the reign of Basil I., so that his work reaches from A.D. 813 to 886. Besides oral information and tradition, from which, as he says himself, he derived material, he used the work of George Monachus, and the Life of Ignatius by Nicetas (see above, p. 502). His history is marked by (1) superstition, (2) bigotry (especially against the iconoclasts), (3) partiality to his patron's grandfather Basil. [Ed. Lachmann in Bonn series, 1834. For the sources, &c., see Hirsch, Byzantinische Studien; cp. also Wäschke in Philologus, 37, p. 255 *sqq.*, 1878.]

A SICILIAN CHRONICLE, relating briefly the Saracen conquest of the island, from A.D. 827 to 965 is preserved in Greek and in an Arabic translation. It must have been composed soon after 965. There are three editions: P. Batiffol, 1890 (in Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres); Cozza-Luzi and Lagumina, with the Arabic text, 1890, in Documenti p. s. alla storia di Sicilia, 4ta serie, ii.; A. Wirth, Chronographische Späne, 1894.

It is unfortunate that the historical monograph which the grammarian THEOGNOSTOS, a contemporary of Leo V. and Michael II., dedicated to the revolt of Euphemius and the first successes of the Saracens in Sicily (A.D. 827), is lost. The work is used by the compilers of Theophanes Continuatus (see p. 82, ed. Bonn).

We have a disappointing account of the siege and capture of Syracuse by the Saracens in 1880, from the pen of THEODOSIUS, a monk, who endured the siege and was carried prisoner to Palermo, whence he wrote a letter describing his experiences to a friend. (Published in the Paris ed. of Leo Diaconus, p. 177 *sqq.*)

Besides stimulating Joseph Genesius to write his work, the Emperor Constantine VII. organized another continuation of Theophanes, written by several compilers who are known as the SCRIPTORES POST THEOPHANEM, the Emperor himself being one of the *collaborateurs*. It seems probable that the original intention was not to go beyond the death of Basil or perhaps of Leo VI., but the work was extended after the death of Constantine, and comes down to A.D. 961. It falls into six Books: Bk. 1, Leo V.; Bk. 2, Michael II.; Bk. 3, Theophilus; Bk 4, Michael III.; Bk. 5, Basil I. (this Book was the composition of the EMPEROR CONSTANTINE). So far the work conforms to a uniform plan; but Bk. 6, instead of containing only Leo VI., contains also Alexander, Constantine VII., Romanus I., Romanus II. It has been conjectured that the author of part of this supplement was THEODORE DAPHNOPATES, a literary man of the tenth century, known (among other things) by some official letters which he composed for Romanus I. The Continuation of Theophanes shows, up to the death of Basil, its semi-official origin by the marked tendency to glorify the Basilian dynasty by obscuring its Amorian predecessors. The main source of Bks. 1 to 5 is Genesius. Bk. 6 falls into two parts which are markedly distinct: A, Leo VI., Alexander, Constantine, Romanus I., Constantine, caps. 1—7; B, Constantine, 8—end, Romanus II. A is based upon the work of the Logothete (probably Symeon Magister) which has come down to us as a continuation of George Monachus (see above). Now the Logothete was an admirer of Romanus I. and not devoted to the family of Constantine VII.; and the sympathies of the Logothete are preserved by the compiler of A, notwithstanding their inconsistency with the tendencies of Bks. 1-5. The Logothete's work appeared in the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, and must have been utilised almost immediately after its appearance by the compiler of A. It is probable that B was composed early in the same reign by a different author; it seems not to depend on another work, but to have been written from a contemporary's knowledge. [Scriptores post Theophanem, ed. Combefis, 1685; Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bekker, 1838 (Bonn). Analysis of sources, &c., in Hirsch, Byzantinische Studien.]

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[19] There is another redaction known as the Pseudo-Polydeukes (because it was passed off as a work of Julius Polydeukes by a Greek copyist named Darmarios), but it breaks off in the reign of Valens, and therefore does not concern us here. See further Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 363, as to another unedited Chronicle of the same kin.

The circumstances of the capture of Thessalonica by the Cretan pirates in A.D. 904 are vividly portrayed for us in the well-written narrative of JOHN CAMENIATES, a narrow-minded priest, ignorant of the world, but one who had lived through the exciting and terrifying scenes which he records and had the faculty of observation and the power of expressing his impressions. The work is printed in the Paris (1685) and in the Bonn (1838) series along with the Scriptores post Theophanem.

For the ecclesiastical history of the reign of Leo VI. we have a work of great importance in the anonymous VITA EUTHYMII published by C. de Boor (1888); cp. above, p. 207, note 43. The work was composed soon after the ex-Patriarch's death (A.D. 917).

With the history of LEO DIACONUS (Leo Asiaticus) we enter upon a new period of historiography. After an interval of more than three hundred years, he seems to re-open the series which closed with Theophylactus Simocatta. His history in ten Books embracing the reigns of Romanus II., Nicephorus Phocas, and John Tzimisces (959-975) is—although written after 992—a contemporary work in a good sense; depending on personal knowledge and information derived from living peoples, not on previous writers. As Leo was born in 950 he is not a contemporary in quite the same sense for the earlier as for the later part of his work. He afterwards took part in the Bulgarian War of Basil II. [Included in the Paris and the Bonn series.]

[For the poem of Theodosius on the reconquest of Crete by Nicephorus, see below, vol. vi., c. lii.]

The work of Leo Diaconus was continued by the most prominent and influential literary figure of the eleventh century, CONSTANTINE PSELLUS (born A.D. 1018, probably at Nicomedia). He adopted the legal profession; was a judge in Philadelphia under Michael IV.; an imperial secretary under Michael V. He enjoyed the favour of Constantine IX., who founded a university at Constantinople and appointed Psellus Professor of Philosophy. But his services were required in political life; he became chief secretary (proto-asecretis) of the Emperor and one of his most influential ministers. Presently he left the world to become a monk and assumed the name of Michael, by which he is generally known. But monastic life hardly suited him, and after some years he returned to the world. He played a prominent part under Isaac Comnenus and Constantine Ducas; and was "prime minister" during the regency of Eudocia and the reign of Michael Parapinaces (a pupil who did him small credit). He died probably in 1078. As professor, Psellus had revived an interest in Plato, whose philosophy he set above Aristotle—a novelty which was regarded as a heresy. In this, he was stoutly opposed by his friend John Xiphilin, who was a pronounced Aristotelian. As young men, Psellus had taught Xiphilin philosophy, and Xiphilin had taught Psellus law. It was through the influence or example of Xiphilin (who withdrew to the monastery of Bithynian Olympus) that Psellus had assumed the tonsure. Xiphilin, who had written on law in his youth, wrote homilies in his later years, and became Patriarch of Constantinople in 1064; his old friend Psellus pronounced his funeral oration in 1075.

For success in the courts of the sovereigns whom Psellus served, candour and self-respect would have been fatal qualities. Psellus had neither; his writings (as well as his career) show that he adapted himself to the rules of the game, and was servile and unscrupulous. His Chronography reflects the tone of the time-serving courtier. Beginning at A.D. 976, it treats very briefly the long reign of Basil, and becomes fuller as it goes on. It deals chiefly with domestic wars and court intrigues; passing over briefly, and often omitting altogether, the wars with foreign peoples. The last part of the work was written for the eye of Michael Parapinaces, and consequently in what concerns him and his father Constantine X. is very far from being impartial.

The funeral orations which Psellus composed on Xiphilin, on the Patriarch Michael Cerularius (see above, p. 221) and on Lichudes, a prominent statesman of the time, have much historical importance, as well as many of his letters. [The Chronography and these Epitaphioi are published in vol. iv., the letters (along with other works) in vol. v., of the Bibliotheca Græca medii aevi of C. Sathas.] These works are but a small portion of the encyclopædic literary output of Psellus, which covered the whole field of knowledge. It has been well said that Psellus is the Photius of the eleventh century. He was an accomplished stylist and exerted a great influence on the writers of the generation which succeeded him. [For his life and writings see (besides Leo Allatius, De Psellis et eorum scriptis, 1634; cp. Fabricius, 10, p. 41 *sqq.*) Sathas, Introductions in *op. cit.* vols. iv. and v.; A. Rambaud, Revue Historique, 3, p. 241 *sqq.*; K. Neumann, Die Weltstellung des byz. Reiches vor den Kreuzzügen, 1894; B. Rhodius, Beitr. zur Lebensgeschichte und zu den Briefen des Psellos, 1892.]

Important for the history, especially the military history, of the eleventh century is a treatise entitled Strategicon by CECAUMENOS. Of the author himself we know little; he was witness of the revolution which overthrew Michael V., and he wrote this treatise for his son's benefit after the death of Romanus Diogenes. The title suggests that it should exclusively concern military affairs, but the greater part of the work consists of precepts of a general kind. Much is told of the author's grandfather Cecaumenos, who took part in the Bulgarian wars of Basil II. Joined on to the Strategicon is a distinct treatise of different authorship (by a member of the same family; his name was probably Niculitzas): a book of advice to the Emperor "of the day"—perhaps to Alexius Comnenus on the eve of his accession. It contains some interesting historical references. [First published by B. Vasilievski in 1881 (in the Zhurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosviestcheniya; May, June, July), with notes; text re-edited by Vasilievski and Jernstedt (Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regiis libellus), 1896.]

The latter part of the period covered in the history of Psellus has had another contemporary, but less partial, historian in MICHAEL ATTALEIATES, a rich advocate, who founded a monastery and a hostelry for the poor (ptochotropheion).[20] His abilities were recognized by Constantine Ducas and Nicephorus Botaneiates, from whom he received honorary titles (Patrician, Magister, Proedros), and held posts of no political importance. He accompanied Romanus Diogenes on his campaigns as a "military judge". The history embraces the period 1034-1079, and was completed c. 1080; it is dedicated to Nicephorus III. [First published in the Bonn series, 1873.]

Just as Attaleiates overlaps Psellus and furnishes important material for correcting and completing his narrative, so the work of the prince Nicephorus Bryennius, son-in-law of Alexius Comnenus, overlaps and supplements the work of Attaleiates. Nicephorus had good opportunities for obtaining authentic information on the history of the times. His father had aspired to the throne and overthrown Michael VII. (see above, p. 224), but had been immediately overthrown by Alexius Comnenus and blinded. But, when Alexius came himself to the throne, Bryennius found favour at court; and his brilliant son was chosen by the Emperor as the husband of Anna and created Caesar. He played a prominent part on several occasions during the reign of Alexius, conducting, for instance, the defence of the capital against Godfrey of Bouillon in 1097. After his father-in-law's death he refused (cp. above, p. 228) to take part in a conspiracy[21] which his wife organized against her brother John, under whose rule he continued to serve the state until his death in 1037. In his last years, at the suggestion of his mother-in-law Irene, he undertook the composition of a history of Alexius Comnenus, but death hindered him from completing it, and the work covers only nine years, A.D. 1070-9. He describes it himself as "historical material"; it is, as Seger observes, "less a history of the time than a family chronicle, which, owing to the political position of the families, assumes the value of 'a historical source'". It has the common defects of the memoirs of an exalted personage, whose interests have been connected intimately with the events he describes and with the people he portrays. Bryennius makes considerable use of the Chronography of Psellus, and also draws on Attaleiates and Scylitzes. [Included in the Bonn series, 1836. Monograph: J. Seger, Nikephoros Bryennios, 1888.][22]

The incomplete work of Bryennius was supplemented and continued by his wife, the literary princess Anna Comnena, whose Alexiad, beginning with the year 1069, was successfully carried down to 1118, the year of her father's death. Anna (born 1083) retired after the unsuccessful conspiracy against her brother (see above, p. 228) to the monastery of Kecharitomene, which had been founded by her mother Irene, who now accompanied her into retreat. The work which has gained her immortal fame was completed in 1148. Anna received the best literary education that the age could afford; she was familiar with the great Greek classics from Homer to Polybius, and she had studied philosophy. She was impregnated with the spirit of the renaissance which had been initiated by Psellus; she affects, though she does not achieve, Attic purism in her artificial and pedantic style. She had fallen far more completely under the spell of the literary ideals of Psellus than her husband, though he too had felt the influence. The book is a glorification of her father; and naturally her account of the crusades is highly unfavourable to the crusaders. But she was conscientious in seeking for information, oral and documentary.[23] [Ed. Bonn, vol. i., ed. Schopen, 1839; vol. ii., ed. Reifferscheid, 1878; complete ed. by Reifferscheid (Teubner), 1884. E.

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[20] The diataxis, or testamentary disposition, respecting these foundations, with inventories of the furniture, library, &c., is extant (ed. Sathas, Bibl. Gr. med. aevi, vol. i.). It is a very interesting document. Cp. W. Nissen, Die Diataxis des Michael Attal. von 1077 (1894).

[21] He was thinking doubtless of his own case when he wrote (p. 20, ed. Bonn) of the refusal of Isaac's brother, John, to take the crown which Isaac pressed upon him. This is well remarked by Seger, Nikeph. Bryennios, p. 22.

[22] The Introduction to the work is, at all events partly, spurious.

[23] In chronology she is loose and inaccurate.

Oster, Anna Comnena (Programmes, 1, 1868; 2, 1870; 3, 1871); C. Neumann, Griech. Geschichtschreiber u. Geschichtsquellen im 12 Jahrh., 1888.]

The thread of Imperial history is taken up by JOHN CINNAMUS where Anna let it drop. He too, though in a less exalted position, had an opportunity of observing nearly the course of political events. Born in 1143 he became the private secretary of the Emperor Manuel, whom he attended on his military campaigns. His history embraces the reign of John and that of Manuel (all but the last four years[24]), A.D. 1118-1180; but the reign of John is treated briefly, and the work is intended to be mainly a history of Manuel. It has been recently proved by Neumann that the text which we possess (in a unique Ms.) does not represent the original work, but only a large extract or portion of it.[25] As a historian Cinnamus has some of the same faults as Anna Comnena. He is a panegyrist of Manuel, as she of Alexius; his narrow attitude of hostility and suspicion to Western Europe is the same as hers, and he treats the Second Crusade with that Byzantine one-sidedness which we notice in her treatment of the First; he affects the same purism of style. But he is free from her vice of long-windedness; there is (as Krumbacher has put it) a certain soldier-like brevity both in his way of apprehending and in his way of relating. As a military historian he is excellent; and he rises with enthusiasm to the ideas of his master. [In the Bonn series, 1836. Study of the work in C. Neumann, Gr. Geschichtschreiber und Geschichtsquellen im 12 Jahrhundert, 1888.]

NICETAS ACOMINATOS (of Chonae). Nicetas filled most important ministerial posts under the Angeli, finally attaining to that of Great Logothete. He was witness of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, and afterwards joined the court of Theodore Lascaris at Nicaea. He was the younger brother of Michael Acominatos, archbishop of Athens, who was also a man of letters. The historical work of Nicetas (in twenty-one Books) begins where Anna Comnena ended, and thus covers the same ground as Cinnamus, but carries the story on to 1206. But he was not acquainted with the work of Cinnamus; and for John and Manuel he is quite independent of other extant sources. He differs remarkably from Anna and Cinnamus in his tone towards the Crusaders, to whom he is surprisingly fair. Nicetas also wrote a well-known little book on the statues destroyed at Constantinople by the Latins in 1204. See further below, vol. vi., cap. lx., ad fin. [Ed. Bonn, 1835, including the essay De Signis. Panegyrics addressed to Alexius Comnenus II., Isaac Angelus, Theodore Lascaris, and published in Sathas, Bibl. Gr. med. aevi, vol. i. Monograph by Th. Uspensky (1874). Cp. C. Neumann, *op. cit.*]

Another continuator of Theophanes arose in the eleventh century in the person of JOHN SCYLITZES (a curopalates and drungarios of the guard), a contemporary of Psellus. Beginning with A.D. 811 (two years before Theophanes ends) he brought his chronicle down to 1079. His chief sources are the Scriptores post Theophanem, Leo Diaconus, and Attaleiates; but he used other sources which are unknown to us, and for his own time oral information. His preface contains an extremely interesting criticism on the historiographers who had dealt with his period. Since Theophanes, he says, there has been no satisfactory epitome of history. The works of "the Siceliot teacher" (a mysterious person whose identity has not been established)[26] and "our contemporary Psellus" are not serious, and are merely bare records of the succession of the Emperors—who came after whom—and leave out all the important events. This notice is very important; the criticism cannot apply to the Chronography of Psellus which we possess, and therefore suggests that Psellus wrote a brief epitome of history which began at A.D. 813, and is now lost. Other historians have treated only short periods or episodes, like Genesius, Theodore Daphnopates, Leo Diaconus and others; and all these have written with a purpose or tendency—one to praise an Emperor, another to blame a Patriarch. The whole text of Scylitzes has not yet been published, but is accessible for historical purposes in the Latin translation of B. Gabius (Venice, 1570), combined with the chronicle of Cedrenus, which (see below) contains practically a second ed. of Scylitzes up to A.D. 1057. The Greek text of the latter part of the work, A.D. 1057-1079, is printed in the Paris Byzantine series, and reprinted in the Bonn collection, along with Cedrenus. A complete critical edition is being prepared by J. Seger. [On sources, &c., consult Hirsch, Byzantinische Studien.]

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[24] The Ms. is mutilated at the end; the original work doubtless ended with the death of Manuel; it was written not long after his death.

[25] Griechische Geschichtschreiber, &c., p. 79 *sqq.*

[26] He has, of course, been brought into connexion with a certain John the Siceliot, who is named as the author of a chronicle in a Vienna and in a Vatican Ms. The chronicle ascribed to him in the latter (Vat. Pal. 394) is merely a redaction of George Monachus. For the chronicle in Vindob. histor. Gr. 99, see Krumbacher, *op. cit.* p. 386-7.

The Historical Synopsis of GEORGE CEDRENUS (c. 1100 A.D.), from the creation to A.D. 1057, is a compilation, in its earlier part, up to A.D. 811, from Theophanes, George Monachus, Symeon Magister, and above all, the Pseudo-Symeon (see above). From A.D. 811 to the end Cedrenus merely wrote out Scylitzes word for word. [Bonn edition in two vols., 1838-9. Cp. Hirsch, *op. cit.*]

JOHN ZONARAS, who flourished in the first half of the twelfth century, held important posts in the imperial service (Great Drungarios of the Guard, and chief of the secretarial staff), and then retired to St. Glyceria (one of the Princes' Islands), where as a monk he reluctantly yielded to the pressure of his friends to compose a profane history. The work begins with the creation and ends in the year A.D. 1118. In form it differs completely from such works as the Chronicles of Theophanes or Scylitzes. Zonaras never copies his sources word for word; he always puts their statements in his own way. But this mode of operation is purely formal and not critical; it is merely a question of style; he does not sift his material or bring intelligence to bear on his narrative. Yet he took more pains to collect material than many of his craftsmen; he did not content himself with one or two universal histories such as George Monachus; and he complains of his difficulty in getting books. His work has great importance from the fact that it has preserved the first twenty-one Books of Dion Cassius, otherwise lost. For the second half of the fifth and first half of the sixth century Zonaras has some important notices derived from a lost source; though for the most part he follows Theophanes. For the last three centuries of his work Zonaras used George Monachus and the Logothete's Continuation, the Continuation of Theophanes, Scylitzes, Psellus, &c. [The Bonn ed. contained only Bks. 1-12 (1841-4) till 1896, when the third and concluding volume was added by T. Büttner-Wobst. There is also a complete edition by L. Dindorf in six volumes (1868-75). On the sources of Zonaras from A.D. 450-811 the chief work is P. Sauerbrei, De fontibus Zon. quaestiones selectae (in Comment. phil. Jen. i. 1 *sqq.*), 1881; on the period A.D. 813-965, Hirsch, *op. cit.* For earlier Roman history there is a considerable literature on Zonaras. Cp. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 375.]

Among the compilations which supplied Zonaras with material is a (non-extant) Chronicle, which is defined as a common source of Zonaras and a work known as the SYNOPSIS SATHAS, because M. C. Sathas first edited it from a Venetian Ms. (1894; Bibl. Gr. med. aevi, vol. vii.). This "Chronological Synopsis" reaches from the creation to A.D. 1261. It is closely related to the (not yet published) chronicle of Theodore of Cyzicus which covers the same ground. On the common source, and the sources of that common source, see E. Patzig, Ueber einige Quellen des Zonaras, in Byz. Zeitsch. 5, p. 24 *sqq.* The author of the Synopsis lived in the latter part of the thirteenth century. The range of the chronicle will be understood when it is said that more than two-thirds of it are devoted to the last two hundred years.

The chronicle which served as common source to both Zonaras and the Synopsis was also used by a contemporary of Zonaras, Constantine Manasses, who treated the history of the world from its creation to the death of Nicephorus III. (1081) in "political" verses. (Other sources: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, John Lydus, John of Antioch, Pseudo-Symeon.) This versified chronicle was very popular, it was translated into Slavonic, and was one of the chief sources of a chronicle written in colloquial Greek (see K. Prächter, Byz. Zeitsch. 4, p. 272 *sqq.*, 1895). Published in the Bonn series along with the worthless chronicle of Joel (thirteenth century; sources: George the Monk, the Logothete's Continuation, Scylitzes). See Hirsch, *op. cit.*

Another chronographer contemporary with Zonaras was Michael Glykas. Of his life little is known except that he was a "secretary," and that for some reason he was imprisoned and "blinded," though not with fatal consequences to his eyesight. His chronicle (from the creation), of which Part iv. reaches from Constantine the Great to the death of Alexius I. (1118), differs considerably in general conception from other chronicles, and is marked, as Krumbacher has well pointed out, by three original features: digressions on (1) natural history and (2) theology, whereby the thread of the chronicle is often lost, and (3) the didactic form of the work, which is addressed to his son. The sources of the latter part are Zonaras, Scylitzes, Psellus, Manasses, Vita Ignatii. (Cp. Hirsch, *op. cit.*) On his life, chronicle and other works, see Krumbacher's monograph, Michael Glykas, 1895. [Edition, Bonn, 1836.]

Latin Sources.

The paucity of other sources renders the Liber Pontificalis of considerable importance for the imperial history of the seventh and eighth centuries in Italy. M. Duchesne, in the Introduction to his great edition of the work, has shown with admirable acuteness and learning how it grew into its present form. The primitive Liber Pontificalis was compiled at Rome under the pontificates of Hormisdas, John I., Felix IV., and Boniface II., after A.D. 514, and came down to the death of Felix IV. in A.D. 530. "For the period between 496 and 530 the author may be regarded as a personal witness of the things he narrates." The work was continued a few years later by a writer who witnessed the siege of Rome in A.D. 537-8, and who was hostile to Silverius. He recorded the Lives of Boniface II., John II. and Agapetus, and wrote the first part of the Life of Silverius (A.D. 536-7). The latter part of this Life is written in quite a different spirit by one who sympathized with Silverius; and it was *perhaps* this second continuator who brought out a second edition of the whole work (Duchesne, p. ccxxxi.). The Lives of Vigilius and his three successors were probably added in the time of Pelagius II. (A.D. 579-90). As for the next seven Popes, M. Duchesne thinks that, if their biographies were not added one by one, they were composed in two groups: (1) Pelagius II. and Gregory I.; (2) the five successors of Gregory. From Honorius (A.D. 625-38) forward the Lives have been added one by one, and sometimes more than one are by the same hand. Very rarely are historical documents laid under contribution; the speech of Pope Martin before the Lateran Council in A.D. 649 forms an exception, being used in the Lives of Theodore and Martin. In the eighth century the important Lives of Gregory II., Gregory III., Zacharias, &c., were written successively during their lives. The biographer of Gregory II. seems to have consulted a lost (Constantinopolitan) chronicle which was also used by Theophanes and Nicephorus. (Cp. Duchesne, Lib. Pont. i. p. 411.) The Biography of Hadrian falls into two parts; the first, written in 774, contains the history of his first two years; the second, covering the remaining twenty-two years of his pontificate, is of a totally different nature, being made up of entries derived from vestry-registers, &c. M. Duchesne has shown that most of these biographers to whose successive co-operation the Liber Pontificalis is due belonged to the Vestiarium of the Lateran; and when they were too lazy or too discreet to relate historical events they used to fall back on the entries in the registers of their office. [L. Duchesne, Liber Pontificalis; Texte, Introduction et Commentaire, t. 1 (1886).]

The Letters of Pope Gregory the Great (for whose life and work see above, p. 33 *sqq.*) are the chief contemporary source for the state of Italy at the end of the sixth century. The Benedictines of St. Maur published in 1705 a complete collection of the Pope's correspondence, which extends from A.D. 591 to 604. This edition, used and quoted by Gibbon, is reprinted in Migne's Patr. Græca, lxxvii. The arrangement of the letters in this collection was adopted without full intelligence as to the nature of the materials which were used. It depended mainly on a Vatican Ms. containing a collection of the letters, put together in the fifteenth century by the order of an archbishop of Milan (John IV.). This collection was compiled from three distinct earlier collections, which had never been put together before to form a single collection. Of these (1) the most important is a selection of 681 letters, made under Pope Hadrian I. towards the end of the eighth century. The letters of Gregory range over fourteen indictions, and the "Hadrianic Register," as it is called, falls into fourteen Books, according to the indictions. This is our basis of chronology. There is (2) a second collection of 200 letters without dates (except in one case), of which more than a quarter are common to the Hadrianic Register. It has been proved that all these letters belong to a single year (A.D. 598-9); but in the text of the Benedictines they are scattered over all the years. (3) The third collection (Collectio Pauli) is smaller; it contained 53 letters, of which 21 are peculiar to itself. Here too, though the Benedictine edition distributes these letters over six years, it has been proved that they all belong to three particular years. These results were reached by very long and laborious research by Paul Ewald, whose article in the Neues Archiv of 1878 (iii. 433 *sqq.*) has revolutionised the study of Gregory's correspondence and established the order of the letters. A new critical edition, based on Ewald's researches, has appeared in the Monumenta Germ. Historica, in two vols. Only Bks. 1-4 are the work of Ewald; but on his premature death the work was continued by L. M. Hartmann. Ewald also threw new light on the biographies of Gregory, proving that the oldest was one preserved in a St. Gall Ms. (and known to, but not used by, Canisius). See his article: Die älteste Biographie Gregors I. (in "Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an G. Waitz gewidmet"), 1886. For the Life by Paulus Diac. cp. above, p. 33, note 73; for the Life by John Diac. cp. p. 34, n. 74. [Monographs: G. T. Lau, Gregor I. der Grosse nach seinem Leben und seiner Lehre geschildert (1845); W. Wisbaum, Die wichtigsten Richtungen und Ziele der Thätigkeit des Papstes Gregor des Gr. (1884); C. Wolfsgruber, die Vorpäpstliche Lebensperiode Gregors des Gr., nach seinen Briefen dargestellt (1886) and Gregor der Grosse (1890); Th. Wollschack, Die Verhältnisse Italiens, insbesondere des Langobardenreichs nach dem Briefwechsel Gregors I. (1888); F. W. Kellett, Pope Gregory the Great and his relations with Gaul (1889). There is a full account of Gregory's life and work in Hodgkin's Italy and her Invaders, vol. v. chap. 7; and a clear summary of Ewald's arguments as to the correspondence.]

The earliest historian of the Lombards was a bishop of Trient named Secundus, who died in A.D. 612. He wrote a slight work (historiola) on the Gesta of the Lombards, coming down to his own time; unluckily it is lost. But it was used by our chief authority on the history of the Lombard kingdom, Paul the Deacon, son of Warnefrid; who did for the Lombards what Gregory of Tours did for the Merovingians, Bede for the Anglo-Saxons, Jordanes for the Goths. Paul was born about A.D. 725 in the duchy of Friuli. In the reign of King Ratchis (A.D. 744-9) he was at Pavia, and in the palace-hall he saw in the king's hand the bowl made of Cunimund's skull. He followed King Ratchis into monastic retirement at Monte Cassino, and we find him there an intimate friend and adviser of Arichis, Duke of Beneventum, and his wife. He guided the historical studies of this lady, Adelperga, and it was her interest in history that stimulated him to edit the history of Eutropius and add to it a continuation of his own in six Books (the compilation known as the Historia Miscella, see above, vol. iii. p. 489-90). Paul's family was involved in the ruin of the Lombard kingdom (A.D. 774); his brother was carried into captivity, and Paul undertook a journey to the court of Charles the Great, in order to win the grace of the conqueror. He was certainly successful in his enterprise, and his literary accomplishments were valued by Charles, at whose court he remained several years. When he returned to Italy he resumed his abode at Monte Cassino. His last years were devoted to the Historia Langobardorum. Beginning with the remote period at which his nation lived by the wild shores of the Baltic, Paul should have ended with the year in which the Lombards ceased to be an independent nation; but the work breaks off in the year A.D. 744; and the interruption can have been due only to the author's death. Paul's Life of Gregory the Great has been mentioned above; another extant work is his Lives of the Bishops of Metz.

For the legendary "prehistoric" part of his work, Paul's chief source (apart from oral traditions) was the Origo gentis Langobardorum. This little work has been preserved in a Ms. of the Laws of King Rotharis, to which it is prefixed as an Introduction.[27] It was probably composed c. 670. (There is also a *Prologus* to the Laws of Rotharis, containing a list of kings; it is important on account of its relative antiquity.) For the early history Paul drew upon Secundus (see above) and Gregory of Tours. When Secundus deserts him (Bk. iv. c. 41) he is lost, and for the greater part of the seventh century his history is very meagre. His chief sources for the period A.D. 612 to 744 are the Lives of the Popes in the Liber Pontificalis (from John III. to Gregory II.) and the Ecclesiastical History of Bede. The sources of Paul have been thoroughly investigated by R. Jacobi, Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus (1877).[28] [Best edition by Waitz in the M.G.H. (Scr. rer. Lang.), 1878; and small convenient edition by the same editor in the Scr. rer. Germ., 1878. German translation by O. Abel (in the Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit), 1849 (second edition, 1878). Three important studies on Paul by L. Bethmann appeared in Pertz's *Archiv*, vol. vii. p. 274 *sqq.*; vol. x. p. 247 *sqq.* and p. 335 *sqq.* The most recent edition of the Historia Romana (last six Books of the Hist. Miscella) is that of H. Droysen, 1879.]

The chronicle which goes under the name of FREDEGARIUS, on which we have to fall back for Merovingian History when Gregory of Tours deserts us, has also notices which supplement the Lombard History of Paul the Deacon. The chronicle consists of four Books. Bk. 1 is the Liber Generationis of Hippolytus; Bk. 2 consists of excerpts from the chronicles of Jerome and Idatius; Bk. 3 is taken from the Historia Francorum of Gregory of Tours; Bk. 4, which is alone of importance, continues the history of Gregory (from Bk. vi.; A.D. 583) up to A.D. 642. Two compilers can be distinguished; to one is due Bk. 1, Bk. 2, Bk. 4, chaps. 1-39; to the other (= Fredegarius) Bk. 3 and Bk 4, chaps. 40 to end (A.D. 613-642). For the last thirty years the work is contemporary. The lack of other sources makes Fredegarius, such as it is, precious. But for this work we should never have known of the existence, during the reign of Heraclius, of the large Slavonic realm of Samo, which united for a decade or two Bohemia and the surrounding Slavonic countries. [Ed. B. Krusch, in the M. G. H. (Scr. Hist. Merov., ii.), 1888, along with the subsequent continuations of the work to A.D 568. Articles by Krusch in Neues Archiv, vii., p. 249 *sqq.* and p. 423 *sqq.*, 1882.]

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[27] The text will be found in Pertz, Mon. Germ. Hist. Legg. iv. p. 641-7; and in Waitz, Mon. Germ. Hist., Scr. rerum Lang., p. 2-6. Cp. L. Schmidt, in Neues Archiv, xiii. p. 391 *sqq.* (1888); also his Aelteste Gesch. der Langobarden, 1884; A. Vogeler, Paulus Diaconus u. die Origo g. Lang. (1887).

[28] Cp. also Waitz, Neues Archiv, v. p. 416 *sqq.* (1880); Wattenbach, Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen, ed. 6, p. 169-71.

ORIENTAL SOURCES.

[An excellent list of Arabic historians and their works will be found in Wüstenfeld's Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber, 1882.]

I. For the Life of Mohammad

(1) For the life of Mohammad the only contemporary sources, the only sources which we can accept without any reservation, are: (*a*) the KORAN[29] (for the early traditions of the text, see above, p. 342-3). The order of the Sūras has been thoroughly investigated by Nöldeke, Geschichte des Qorâns, 1860, and by Weil; and (from the character and style of the revelations, combined with occasional references to events) they can be arranged in periods, and in some cases assigned to definite years. (Periods: (1) written at Mecca, (*α*) early, (*β*) late: (2) Medina, (*α*) early, (*β*) middle, (*γ*) late.)[30]

(*b*) A collection of TREATIES: see below.

(2) The other source for the life of Mohammad is tradition (*Hadīth*). The Ashāb or companions of Mohammad were unimpeachably good authorities as to the events of his life; and they told much of what they knew in reply to the eager questions of the Tābiūn or Successors,—the younger generation who knew not the Prophet. But it was not till the end of the first century of the Hijra or the beginning of the second that any attempt was made to commit to writing the knowledge of Mohammad's life, which passed from lip to lip and was ultimately derived from the companions, few of whom can have survived the sixtieth year of the Hijra. The first work on Mohammad that we know of was composed at the court of the later Omayyads by al-Zuhri, who died in the year A.D. 742. It is deeply to be regretted that the work has not survived, not only on account of its relatively early date, but because a writer under Omayyad patronage had no interest in perverting the facts of history. Zuhri's book, however, was used by his successors, who wrote under the Abbāsids and had a political cause to serve.

The two sources which formed the chief basis of all that is authentic in later Arabic Lives of the Prophet (such as that of Abū-l-Fidā) are fortunately extant; and, this having been established, we are dispensed from troubling ourselves with those later compilations. (*a*) The life by MOHAMMAD IBN ISHĀK (ob. 768, a contemporary of Zuhri) has not indeed been preserved in an independent form; but it survives in Ibn Hishām's (ob. 823) History of the Prophet, which seems to have been practically a very freely revised edition of Ibn Ishāk, but can be controlled to some extent by the copious quotations from Ibn Ishāk in the work of Tabarī. Ibn Ishāk wrote his book for Mansūr the second Abbāsid caliph (A.D. 754-775); and it must always be remembered that the tendency of historical works composed under Abbāsid influence was to pervert tradition in the Abbāsid interest by exalting the members of the Prophet's family, and misrepresenting the forefathers of the Omayyads. This feature appears in the work of Ibn Ishāk, although in the world of Islam he has the reputation of being an eminently and exceptionally trustworthy writer. But it is not difficult to make allowance for this colouring; and otherwise there is no reason to doubt that he reproduced truthfully the fairly trustworthy tradition which had been crystallized under the Omayyads, and which, in its general framework, and so far as the outer life of the Prophet himself was concerned, was preserved both by the supporters of the descendants of Alī and by those who defended the claims of the family of Abbās. [The work of Ibn Hishām has been translated into German by Weil, 1864.]

(*b*) A contemporary of Ibn Hishām, named (Mohammad ibn Omar al) WĀKIDĪ (ob. 823), also wrote a Life of Mohammad, independent of the work of Ibn Ishāk. He was a learned man and a copious writer. His work met with the same fortune as that of Ibn Ishāk. It is not extant in its original form, but its matter was incorporated in a Life of Mohammad by his able secretary Ibn Sad (Kātib al-Wākidī, ob. 845)—a very careful composition, arranged in the form of separate traditions, each traced up to its source. But another work of Wākidī, the History of the Wars of the Prophet (Kitāb al-Maghāzi), is extant (accessible in an abbreviated German version by Wellhausen, 1882), and has considerable interest as containing a large number of doubtless genuine treaties. The author states that he transcribed them from the original documents.[31] Like Ibn Hishām, Wākidī wrote under the caliphate of Mamūn (A.D. 813-833) at Bagdad, and necessarily lent himself to the perversion of tradition in Abbāsid interests.

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[29] For translations see above, p. 342, n. 96.

[30] A translation of the Koran has been published with the Sūras arranged in approximately chronological order (by Rodwell, 2nd ed., 1876).

AL-TABARĪ (see below) included the history of Mohammad in the great work which earned for him the compliment of being called by Gibbon "the Livy of the Arabians". The original Arabic of this part of the Annals was recovered by Sprenger at Lucknow. It consists mainly of extracts from Ibn Ishāk and Wākidī, and herein lies its importance for us: both as (1) enabling us to control the compilations of Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sad and (2) proving that Ibn Ishāk and Wākidī contained all the authentic material of value for the Life of the Prophet, that was at the disposal of Tabarī. The part of the work (about a third) which is occupied by other material consists of miscellaneous traditions, which throw little new light on the biography.

[For a full discussion of the sources see Muir, Life of Mahomet; essay at the end of edition 2—introduction at the beginning of edition 3. For the life of the prophet: Weil, Mohammed der Prophet, 1840; Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre Mohammads, 1851; Wellhausen's sketch in the Encyclopædia Britannica (sub nomine). For his spirit and teaching: Stanley Lane-Poole, The Speeches and Table-talk of the Prophet Mohammad, 1882.]

II. For the Saracen Conquests.

The most important authority for the history of the Saracen conquests is Abū-Jafar Mohammad ibn Jarīr, born in A.D. 839 at Āmul in Tabaristān and hence called AL-TABARĪ. He died at Bagdad in A.D. 923. It is only the immense scale of his chronicle that warrants the comparison with Livy. Tabarī had no historical faculty, no idea of criticizing or sifting his sources; he merely puts side by side the statements of earlier writers without reconciling their discrepancies or attempting to educe the truth. Though this mode of procedure lowers our opinion of the chronicler, it has obvious advantages for a modern investigator, as it enables him to see the nature of the now lost materials which were used by Tabarī. Later writers like al-Makīn, Abū-l-Fidā, Ibn al-Athīr, found it very convenient to draw from the compilation of Tabarī, instead of dealing directly with the numerous sources from which Tabarī drew; just as later Greek chronographers used to work on such a compilation as that of George Monachus. Our gratitude to Tabarī for preserving lost material is seriously modified by the consideration that it was largely to his work that the loss of that material in its original form is due. His work was so convenient and popular that the public ceased to want the older books and consequently they ceased to be multiplied.

The Annals of Tabarī were carried down to his own time, into the tenth century, but his notices for the last seventy years are very brief. The whole work has not yet been translated. We have already made the acquaintance of the part of it bearing on Persian history in the translation of Nöldeke (1879). A portion of the history of the Saracen conquests has been edited and translated by Kosegarten (1831). For the history of the caliphate from 670 to 775, Weil had the original work of Tabarī before him (in Ms.), in writing his Geschichte der Chalifen. A complete Arabic edition of Tabarī is being published by Prof. de Goeje (1879-97) and is nearly completed.

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[31] The other works of Wākidī, which are numerous, are lost, including the Kitāb al-Ridda, which related the backslidings of the Arabs on Mohammad's death, the war with Musailima, &c.

In the year 963 Mohammad Bilamī "translated" Tabarī into Persian, by the order of Mansūr I., the Sāmānid sovereign of Transoxiana and Khurāsān. This "translation" (which was subsequently translated into Turkish) has been rendered into French by Zotenberg (1867-74). But the reader will be disappointed if he looks to finding a *traduction* in our sense of the word. Bilamī's work is far from being even a free rendering, in the freest sense of the term. It might be rather described as a history founded exclusively on Tabarī's compilation;—Tabarī worked up into a more artistic form. References to authorities are omitted; the distinction of varying accounts often disappears, and a connected narrative is produced. Such were the ideas of translators at Bagdad and Bukhārā; and Weil properly observes that Ibn al-Athīr, for instance, who does not pretend to be bound to the text of Tabarī, will often reproduce him more truly than the professed translator.

For Persian history, the chief ultimate source of Tabarī was the Khudhāi-nāma or Book of Lords (original title of what was afterwards known as the Shāh-nāma or Book of Kings), officially compiled under Chosroes I. (see above, vol. iv., p. 362), and afterwards carried down to A.D. 628, in the reign of Yezdegerd III. This work was rhetorical and very far from being impartial; it was written from the standpoint of the nobility and the priests. It was "translated" into Arabic by Ibn Mukaffa in the eighth century; and his version, perhaps less remote from our idea of a translation than most Arabic works of the kind, was used by the Patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria (see below). Tabarī did not consult either the Pehlevi original or the version of Ibn Mukaffa, but a third work which was compiled from Ibn Mukaffa and another version. See the Introduction to Nöldeke's invaluable work.

For Tabarī's sources for the history of Mohammad, see above.

For the successors of Mohammad, Tabarī had Ibn Ishāk's book on the Moslem conquests and Wākidī (see above); and a history of the Omayyads and early Abbāsids by (Alī ibn Mohammad al) Madāinī (A.D. 753-840).

An independent and somewhat earlier source for the military history of the Saracen conquests is the Book of the Conquests by Abū-l-Hasan Ahmad ibn Yahyā al Bilādhurī, who flourished in the ninth century (ob. A.D. 892) at the court of Bagdad. Among the sources which he cites are Wākidī, Ibn Hishām, and Madāinī. His work has been printed but not translated; and has been used by Weil and Muir for their histories of the caliphate. Weil has given an abridgment—very convenient for reference in studying the chronology—"Die wichtigsten Kriege und Eroberungen der Araber nach Beladori," as an Appendix in vol. iii. of his Gesch. der Chalifen.

Another extant historical work is the Book of Sciences by (Abd-Allah ibn Muslim) Ibn Kutaiba (ob. c. 889), a contemporary of Bilādhurī. It is a brief chronicle, but contains some valuable notices.

Contemporary with these was Ibn Abd-al-Hakam, who died in Egypt, A.D. 871. He wrote a Book of the Conquests in Egypt and Africa. See above, p. 459, note 158.

A much greater man than any of these was the traveller Masūdī (Abū-l-Hasan Alī ibn al-Husain), born c. A.D. 900, died 956. He travelled in India, visited Madagascar, the shores of the Caspian, Syria, and Palestine, and died in Egypt. He wrote an encyclopædic work on the history of the past, which he reduced into a shorter form; but even this was immense; and he wrote a compendium of it under the title of The Golden Meadows, which has come down to us (publ. in Arabic with French translation, 1861-77). It contains valuable information respecting the early history of Islam, and the geography of Asia. He differs from contemporary Arabic historians in the multiplicity of his interests, and his wide view of history, which for him embraces not merely political events, but literature, religion, and civilisation in general.

The chronicle of EUTYCHIUS, patriarch of Alexandria, in the tenth century, is extant in the Arabic version edited and translated by Pocock, frequently cited by Gibbon.[32] It comes down to A.D. 937. We have seen that Eutychius used Ibn Mukaffa's version of the Khudhāi-nāma; but a thorough investigation of his sources is still a desideratum. His chronicle was used in the thirteenth century by MAKIN (Elmacin, ob. 1275), a native of Egypt, whose history (coming down to 1260) was also much used by Gibbon (ed. Erpenius, 1625).

JOHN OF NIKIU, Jacobite bishop of Nikiu, in the latter part of the seventh century, composed (in Greek or Coptic ?) a chronicle from the creation to his own time. It is extremely important for the history of Egypt in the seventh century, and in fact is the sole contemporary source for the Saracen conquest. It has come down, but not in its original form. It was translated into Arabic, from Arabic into Ethiopian (A.D. 1601); and it is the Ethiopian version which has been preserved. The work has been rendered generally accessible by the French translation which accompanies Zotenberg's edition (1883).

MICHAEL OF MELITENE, patriarch of Antioch in the twelfth century (1166-99), wrote a chronicle in Syriac, from the creation to his own time. The original work is preserved but not yet edited. An Armenian version, however, made (by Ishōk) in the following century (1248) has been translated into French by V. Langlois (1868); and the part of it which deals with the period 573-717 had been already published in French by Dulaurier in the Journal Asiatique, t. 12, Oct., 1848, p. 281 *sqq.* and t. 13, April to May, 1849, p. 315 *sqq.* In the preface to his work Michael gives a remarkable list of his sources, some of which are mysterious. He mentions Enanus of Alexandria (Anianos), Eusebius, John of Alexandria, Jibeghu (?) Theodore Lector, Zacharias of Melitene [from Theodosius to Justinian], John of Asia (John of Ephesus) [up to Maurice], Goria, the learned (Cyrus, a Nestorian of sixth to seventh century) [from Justinian to Heraclius], St. James of Urfa [Edessa] (end of seventh century) [an abridgment of preceding histories], Dionysius the Deacon (of Tellmahrē) [from Maurice to Theophilus and Hārūn],[33] Ignatius of Melitene, Slivea of Melitene, John of Kesun (first half of twelfth century ; cp. Assemani, 2, 364). See Dulaurier, J. As. t. 12, p. 288. [Wright, Syriac Literature (1894), p. 250 *sqq.* H. Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus, ii. i. 402 *sqq.*]

Mar Gregor of Melitene, known as BAR-HEBRAEUS or ABULPHARAGIUS (Abū-l-Faraj), lived in the thirteenth century. He belonged to the Jacobite church, of which he was the *maphriān* (from 1264 to 1286), the dignitary second in rank to the patriarch. (1) He wrote in Syriac a chronicle of universal history, political and ecclesiastical, in three parts : Part 1, a political history of the world down to his own time. This was edited, with a Latin translation, by Bruns and Kirsch, 1789 , Wright says that text and translation are equally bad (Syriac Literature, p. 278). Part 2, a history of the Church, which in the post-Apostolic period becomes a history of the Church of Antioch, and after the age of Severus deals exclusively with the monophysitic branch of the Antiochene church. Part 3 is devoted to the eastern division of the Syrian Church, from St. Thomas : "from the time of Mārūtha (629) it becomes the history of the monophysite maphriāns of Taghrith" (Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 279), up to 1286. These two ecclesiastical parts are edited, with translation, by Abbeloos and Lamy, 1872-7. (2) He also issued a recension of his political history, with references to Mohammadan writers, in Arabic, under the title of a Compendious History of the Dynasties, which, edited and translated by Pocock, 1663, was largely used by Gibbon. Bar-Hebraeus made considerable use of the chronicle of Michael of Melitene. [Best account: Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 265 *sqq.*]

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[32] Pocock's translation of Eutychius is reprinted in Migne's Patrol Gr. (the Latin series), lvii. b.

[33] Dionysius was patriarch of Antioch from 818-845. His chronicle is extant, but only the early part has been edited. The publication of the later part, with a translation, is much to be desired. See Assemani, ii. 98 *sqq.* Wright, Syriac Literature, p. 196 *sqq.*

Modern Works. Finlay, History of Greece, vols. i., ii., iii.; K. Hopf, Geschichte Griechenlands (in Ersch und Gruber's Enzyklopädie, B. 85); G. F. Hertzberg, Geschichte Griechenlands, Pt. 1; F. C. Schlosser, Geschichte der bilderstürmenden Kaiser des oström. Reiches (1812); Bury, Later Roman Empire, vol ii.; Gfrörer, Byzantinische Geschichten, vol. iii. (1877); A. Rambaud, L'empire grec au dixième siècle, 1870; Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vols. v. and vi. Ranke, Weltgeschichte, vols. iv., v. (H. Gelzer has written an able and origina outline of Byzantine history for the second edition of Krumbacher's Hist. o Byz. Literature. A bright brief sketch of the Byzantine Empire by C. W. C Oman appeared in the series of the Story of the Nations.) For Chronology Clinton, Fasti Romani, vol. ii. p. 149 *sqq.* (579 to A.D. 641); Muralt, Essai d Chronographie byzantine, two vols. (1855-1871). For Mohammad, see above, p 513; for the Saracen conquests: Weil's Geschichte der Chalifen, vol. i., Muir's Annals of the Early Caliphate, and other works referred to in chapters l. and li (especially p. 459 and 474). For Italy, besides Hodgkin's work (see above): Gregorovius, Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter (translated into English by Mrs Hamilton), Diehl, Etudes sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenna (1888); M. Hartmann, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der byzant. Verwaltung in Italien (1889); J. Weise, Italien und die Langobarden-herrscher vo 568 bis 628 (1887); C. Hegel, Geschichte der Städteverfassung von Italien (1847).

Special monographs have been mentioned in appropriate places in the note and in the foregoing appendix.

2. THE AVAR CONQUEST—(P. 7)

The Avars having subdued the Uturgurs, Sabiri, and other Hunnic people between the Dnieper and Volga (Menander, fr. 5, p. 203, ed. Müller), and havin either received the submission of,[1] or entered into friendly alliance with,[2] th Kotrigurs, moved westward, and we find them attacking Austrasia, and fightin on the Elbe, in A.D. 562 (see above, p. 4). The subjugation of the Antae[3] (A.D 560?) was evidently a stage on this march westward. It is clear that their incursions into Frank territory were not made from such a distant basis as south eastern Russia, the banks of the Dnieper or Don; and it is also certain that the had not reached their ultimate home in Hungary before A.D. 562 or even befor A.D. 566, for Hungary was at this time occupied by Lombards and Gepids. Th question arises: Where were the Avars settled in the intermediate years betwee their triumphs on the Don and the Dnieper (A.D. 559-60), and their occupation o Hungary (A.D. 567)? Whence did they go forth twice against the Austrasia kingdom (A.D. 562, and 566)? whence did they send the embassy which was rudel received by Justin (A.D. 565)? whence did they go forth to destroy the Gepids The statement of the Avar ambassador in Corippus (3, 300):—

> nunc ripas Scythici victor rex contigit Istri
> densaque per latos figens tentoria campos, &c.,

might seem to prove that the Avars had advanced along the shores of the Pontu and stationed themselves in Wallachia. In that case they would have entere Dacia by the passes of Rothenthurm and Buza, and attacked the Gepids on tha side. But Schafarik[4] has made it highly probable that they entered Uppe

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[1] So Schafarik, Slaw. Alterthümer, ed. Wuttke, ii., 57-8.

[2] Cp Menander, fr. 6, ὁ Κοτράγηγος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τοῖς Ἀβάροις ἐπιτήδειος, where Niebuh proposed Κοτρίγουρος. It seems to me more likely that Κοτράγηγος was the name of Kotrigur chief.

[3] Menander, fr. 6.

[4] *Ib.*, p. 61.

Hungary from Galicia, through the passes of Dukla. His arguments are: (1) the Slavs of Dacia and the Lower Danube were independent until A.D. 581-4, when they were reduced to submission by the Avars; (2) the assumption of an advance through Galicia will explain the reduction of the Dudleby, in Volhynia. The record of this event is preserved only in the Russian Chronicle of Nestor (so called) but there seems no reason not to accept it as a genuine tradition. The passage is as follows (c. 8, ed. Miklosich, p. 6):—

"These Obrs made war on the Slavs, and conquered the Duljebs, who are Slavs, and did violence to the Duljeb women. When an Obr wished to go anywhere, he did not harness a horse or an ox, but ordered three or four women to be harnessed to his carriage, to draw the Obr; and so they vexed the Duljebs."

The chronicler places this episode in the reign of Heraclius. But Schafarik plausibly argues that it belongs to a much earlier period, before the invasion of Hungary.

To these arguments I may add another. (3) The invasions of Austrasia almost demand more northerly headquarters for the Avars, than Wallachia. Nor does the passage of Corippus contradict the assumption that the Avar nation was settled in Galicia, or thereabouts, in A.D. 565. For the passage need imply only that an armed contingent had accompanied the embassy, through Moldavia, to the banks of the Danube, and pitched their tents there to await the return of the envoys.

On the whole therefore it seems probable that the Avars in their westward advance followed an inland route from the Dnieper to the Upper Bug (through the Government of Kiev, and Podolia), not coming into hostile contact with the Bulgarians who were between the Dnieper and the Danube (in the Government of Cherson, in Bessarabia and Wallachia).

In regard to the extent of the Avar Empire, after the conquest of Hungary, we must of course distinguish between the settlements of the Avars themselves, and the territories which acknowledged the lordship of the Chagan. The Avar settlements were entirely in the old Jazygia, between the Theiss and the Danube, where they dispossessed the Gepids, and in Pannonia, where they succeeded to the inheritance of the Lombards.[5] These regions, which correspond to Hungary, were Avaria in the strict sense. But the Chagan extended his power over the Slavonic tribes to the north and east. It is generally agreed that his sway reached into Central Europe and was acknowledged in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia; but it seems an improbable exaggeration to say that it was bounded on the north by the Baltic.[6] Baian also subjugated, at least temporarily, the Slavs of Wallachia and Moldavia, but I doubt much whether his dominion extended in any sense over the Bulgarians of Southern Russia. We find Bulgarians apparently in his service; but, as Bulgarian settlements were probably scattered from the Danube to the Dnieper, we can draw from this fact no conclusion as to the extent of the Avar empire.

3. GEOGRAPHY OF ITALY IN THE LOMBARD PERIOD, AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE LOMBARD CONQUEST—(P. 12)

The following table will explain the divisions of Italy between the Empire and the Lombards about A.D. 600.

Italy in A.D. 600.

IMPERIAL.—(1) *North*:—Maritime Liguria; Cremona, Placentia, Vulturina, Mantua, Mons Silicis, Patavium, Brixellum; Venetian Coast; Concordia, Opitergium, Altinum (Mutina, Parma, Rhegium?);

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[5] This is rightly emphasized by Howorth, The Avars, in Journal Asiat. Soc., 1889, p. 7[illegible].

[6] Howorth, *ib.*, p. 786. The story of the Slavs from the "Western Sea," in Theophylactus, vi., 2, does not warrant the inference.

Ravenna and the Aemilia; Pentapolis (= Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum, Senegallia, Ancona); the inland Pentapolis (Aesis, Forum Semproni, Urbinum, Callis, Eugubium); Auximum.

(2) *Central:*—Picenum (coastland south of Ancona, including Firmum, Castrum Truentinum, Castrum Novum); Ortona (farther south on Adriatic coast), Perusia; Rome and the ducatus Romae, from Urbs Vetus (Orvieto) in north to Gaieta and Formiæ in south.

(3) *South:*—Part of Campania (including Naples, Salernum, Amalphi, Surrentum, Castrum Cumanum, Puteoli), farther south, Acropolis and Paestum; Bruttii, Calabria; Barium, Sipontum.

(4) *Islands:*—Sicily with neighbouring islets; Elba. Corsica and Sardinia belonged to the Exarchate of Africa.

Frank.—Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) and its valley; Segusia or Seusia (Susa) and its valley. These small regions belonged to Burgundia (kingdom of Guntram) c. A.D. 588 (cp. Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, v. 223) and probably remained Frankish for some time.

Lombard.—The rest.

The following table exhibits chronologically the progress of Lombard Conquest (so far as it can be discovered from our meagre data) from the first invasion to the reign of Rothari.

Lombard Conquests.

A.D. 568 Forum Julii, Vincentia, Verona; all Venetia (except the coast, Patavium, Mons Silicis, Mantua).
,, 569 Liguria, including Mediolanum (except the Maritime Coast, and Ticinum = Pavia). Also Cisalpine Gaul, except Cremona and some smaller places.
,, 570-572 Central and Southern Italy partially conquered, including Tuscany and the duchies of Spoletium and Beneventum.
,, 572 Ticinum (after a three years' siege); possibly Mantua and Placentia.
,, 579 Classis (but lost A.D. 588; recovered and surrendered, c. 720; taken by Liutprand, c. 725).
,, 588 Insula Comacina (in L. Como).
,, 590 (Lost Mantua, Placentia, Mutina, Parma, Rhegium, Altinum).
,, 592 Suana (in Tuscany).
,, 601 Patavium.
,, 602 Mons Silicis.
,, 603 Cremona, Mantua (and perhaps about this time most of the other places which the Empire recovered, c. 590), Vulturina (near Brixellum).
,, 605 Urbs Vetus, Balneus Regis (= Bagnorea).
Before A.D. 640 Concordia.
,, ,, 642 (?) Sipontum.
A.D. 640 Maritime Liguria, Altinum, Opitergium.

These tables depend mainly on the notices in Paul's History of the Lombards and on the notitia of George the Cypriote (ed. Gelzer).

4. THE ARMENIAC PROVINCES OF JUSTINIAN AND MAURICE—(P. 52

Up to the time of Justinian there were two provinces entitled Armenia, forming part of the Pontic Diocese.

Justinian in A.D. 536 redistributed these districts, creating four provinces of Armenia, which were formed partly out of the two old provinces, partly out of Pontus Polemoniacus, and partly of new territory which had hitherto lain outside the provincial system.[1]

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[1] Novel xlv. (= xxxi.).

(1) First Armenia = part of old First Armenia (Theodosiopolis, Colonea, Satala, Nicopolis) + part of Pontus Polemoniacus (Trapezus and Cerasus).

(2) Second Armenia = rest of old First Armenia + part of Pontus Polemoniacus (Comana, Zela and Brisa).

(3) Third Armenia = old Second Armenia.

(4) Fourth Armenia = Sophanene, district beyond Euphrates, east of Third Armenia (capital, Martyropolis).[2]

The rest of Pontus Polemoniacus was united with the old Helenopontus to form a new Helenopontus under a governor with the title of *moderator*. Similarly Honorias and the old Paphlagonia were united into a new Paphlagonia under a *praetor*.

The Armenian provinces were reorganized and the nomenclature changed by Maurice, in consequence of the cessions made by Chosroes II. on his accession.

(1) Maurice's First Armenia = Justinian's Third Armenia.
(2) ,, Second ,, = ,, Second ,,
(3) ,, Great ,, = ,, First ,,[3]
(4) ,, Fourth includes the districts of Sophene, Digisene, Anzitene, Orzianine, Muzuron.
(5) Maurice's Mesopotamia includes Justinian's Fourth Armenia + Arzanene.

See the *Descriptio* of George the Cypriote (c. 600 A.D.), ed. Gelzer, p. 46-49, and Gelzer's preface, p. l. and p. lix.-lxi., where the notices of Armenian writers are reviewed. The territories handed over to Maurice by Chosroes were (1) Arzanene and the northern part of Mesopotamia (including Daras) as far as Nisibis, and (2) part of Armenia, as far as Dovin. The former districts were added to Justinian's Fourth Armenia, and the whole province named Mesopotamia; the latter were formed into a new Fourth Armenia. Thus the cities of Nisibis in the south, and Dovin in the north, were just outside the Roman frontiers.

5. THE RACE OF HERACLIUS AND NICETAS—(P. 66, 67, 68)

The story of the friendly race for empire between Heraclius and Nicetas did not awaken the scepticism of Gibbon. It rests on the authority of Nicephorus (p. 3, ed. de Boor) and Theophanes (*sub ann.* 6101, p. 297, ed. de Boor), who doubtless derived it from the same source. On political grounds, the story seems improbable, but the geographical implications compel us to reject it as a legend. The story requires us to believe that Nicetas, starting from Carthage at the same time as Heraclius and marching overland, had the smallest chance of reaching Constantinople before his competitor's fleet.

There can be no doubt, I think, that the elevation of Nicetas was not contemplated by the two fathers—if it were not as an "understudy" to Heraclius in case anything befell him. The part assigned to Nicetas in the enterprise was not to race Heraclius, but to occupy Egypt, and then to support Heraclius so far as was necessary; and doubtless Nicetas started to perform his work before Heraclius put forth to sea. The possession of Egypt, the granary of the Empire, was of the utmost importance for a pretender to the throne; and its occupation was probably the first care of the African generals.

In this connexion it seems to me that a notice of Sebaeos deserves attention. This historian states that "the general Heraclius revolted against Phocas, with his army, in the regions of Alexandria, and wresting Egypt from him reigned therein" (c. 21, p. 79-80 in Patkanian's Russ. tr.); and the order of his narrative seems to place this event considerably before the overthrow of Phocas. Th statement of course is not strictly correct ; Sebaeos himself probably did not di tinguish the elder from the younger Heraclius ; but the fact that Egypt wa occupied (by Nicetas) at the instance of the elder Heraclius, seems to be preserve in this notice, uncontaminated by the legend of the race for the diadem.

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[2] Procopius speaks of this as ἡ ἄλλη Ἀρμενία (Aed. 3, 1). It was previously administered partly by native *satraps*, partly by Roman officers called *satraps*. On the limits of the province, see H. Kiepert, Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie, 1873, p. 192 *sqq*.

[3] It is possible, but not certain, that (as the Armenian historian John Catholicus asserts) the parts of Pontus which Justinian included in his Armenia I. were separated and made a distinct province. See Gelzer, Georgius Cyprius, p. lvii., lix.

6. PERSIAN KINGS FROM CHOSROES I. TO YEZDEGERD III.— (P. 9, 404)

(See Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 433-5)

Chosroes I. Anōsharvān	succeeds	A.D.	531, Sept. 13.
Hormizd IV.	,,	,,	579, Febr.
Chosroes II. Parvēz	,,	,,	590, summer.
,, ,,	dies	,,	628, Febr.
[Bahrām VI.	succeeds	,,	590, autumn.]
Kobad (Kavādh) II. (Shērōe)	,,	,,	628, Febr. 25.
Ardashīr III.	,,	,,	628, Sept.
Shahrbarāz	,,	,,	630, April 27.
Bōrān (queen)	,,	,,	630, summer.
Pērōz II.	,,	,,	631.
Azarmidocht	,,	,,	631 (?)
Hormizd V.	,,	,,	631.
Yezdegerd III.	,,	,,	632-3.
,,	dies	,,	651-2.

7. THE INSCRIPTION OF SI-NGAN-FU—(P. 150)

Gibbon showed his critical perspicacity when he accepted as genuine th famous Nestorian inscription of Si-ngan-fu, which was rejected by the scepticis of Voltaire and has been more recently denounced as a forgery by Stanislas Julie Renan and others. All competent specialists, both European and Chinese, no recognise it as a genuine document of the eighth century ; and indeed it is in possible to believe that Alvarez Semedo, the Jesuit missionary who first a nounced the discovery of the stone, or any one else in the seventeenth centur could have composed this remarkable text. The stone was found at Si-ngan-fu, th old capital of the Tang dynasty, in A.D. 1623 or 1625. The Chinese inscriptio is surmounted by a cross (of the Maltese shape). Besides the Chinese text, the are some lines of Syriac at the side and at the foot ; and the seventy signatur are given in both idioms. The first attempts at translation were those of Athan sius Kircher in his works entitled: "Prodromus Coptus" (1636) and "Chin illustrata" (1667) ; and of Father Semedo.[1] There have been several improve translations in the present century. For the following summary, the versions Huc (Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie et au Thibet, two vols., 1857 ; i vol. i. chap. 2, p. 52 *sqq.*) ; A. Wylie (in the Journal of the American Orient Society, vol. v. p. 277 *sqq.*, 1856) ; J. Legge (in Christianity in China, 1888) and, above all, of MM. Lamy and Gueluy (Le monument chrétien de Si-ngan-fo 1897) have been used. See also Pauthier, L'inscription Syro-Chinoise, and th summaries in Colonel Yule's Cathay, vol. i. p. xcii. *sqq.* and in Mr. Raymon Beazley's Dawn of Modern Geography, p. 169 *sqq.*

The title at the head of the inscription is :

"Stone-tablet touching the propagation of the luminous religion of Ta-tsin i the Middle Empire, with a preface ; composed by King-tsing, a monk of th temple of Ta-tsin".

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[1] Gibbon could use Visdelou's translation in D'Herbelot, Bib. Or. iv. 375 *sqq.*

The Chinese text may be divided into two parts: an exposition of the doctrines of Christianity, and an historical account of the introduction of the religion into China and its propagation there.

1. The nature of the divine Being—the admirable person of the Trinity, the absolute lord, Oloho [*i.e.* Eloha, Syriac for God]—is set forth; then the work of Sa-tan in propagating heresies, whereof the tale is three hundred and sixty-five; and then the coming of the Mi-chi-lo [Messiah], who is the "other himself of the Trinity,"[2] born of a virgin in Ta-tsin [Syria] through the influence of the Holy Spirit.

2. In the days of the Emperor Tai-tsung, there came from Ta-tsin the Most virtuous Alopen (or Olopan),[3] who was clothed with the qualities of the blue clouds,[4] and possessed the true sacred books. In A.D. 635 he arrived at Chang-ngan [*i.e.* Si-ngan-fu]. The Emperor sent his chief minister, Fang-Huen-Ling, who conducted the western guest into the palace. The sacred books which the missionary brought were translated in the Imperial library; and the sovereign gave orders for the diffusion of the doctrine by which he was deeply impressed. In A.D. 638 he issued a proclamation to the following effect:

"Religion has no invariable name, religious observances have no invariable rites; doctrines are established in accordance with the country. Alopen, of the kingdom of Ta-tsin, has brought his sacred books and images from that distant part, and has presented them at our court. Having examined the principles of this religion, we find its object to be the admirable Empyrean and its mysterious action; investigating its original source, we find it expresses the sum of the perfect life." The Emperor then applies to the new doctrine a quotation from a Chinese classic; and concludes with the command that a Syrian Church should be built in the capital, at E-Ning-fang, and be governed by twenty-one priests.

Then follows a description of Ta-tsin or the Roman Empire, thus given by Hirth:[5]

"According to the Hsi-yü-t'u-chi and the historical records of the Hun and Wei dynasties, the country of Ta-ts'in begins in the south at the Coral Sea [Red Sea], and extends in the north to the Chung-pan-shan [hills of precious stones]; it looks in the west to the 'region of the immortals' and 'the flowery groves';[6] in the east it bounds on 'the long winds' and 'the weak water'.[7] This country produces fire-proof cloth; the life-restoring incense; the ming-yüeh-chu [moonshine pearl]; and the yeh-kuang-pi [jewel that shines at night].[8] Robberies are unknown there, and the people enjoy peace and happiness. Only the *king* ['luminous' = Christian] religion is practised; only virtuous rulers occupy the throne. This country is vast in extent; its literature is flourishing."[9]

There is a panegyric of the Roman Empire!

The Emperor Kao-tsung (650-683) succeeded and was still more beneficent towards Christianity. Every city was full of churches. Then "in A.D. 699 the Buddhists [the children of Che] gaining power raised their voices in the eastern metropolis"; and in A.D. 713 there was an agitation of Confucianists against Christianity in the western capital. The religion revived under Hiwan-tsung

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[2] Autre lui-même du Trine (Gueluy).

[3] This must be a Chinese corruption of a Syrian name. Assemani thought it was for Jaballaha. Panthier explains *Alo-pano*, "return of God". Yule (p. xciv.) suggests Rabban. *r* of course appears as *l* in Chinese.

[4] That is, he was a sage. The metaphor is Buddhistic: Buddha is the sun, and the sage is the cloud which covers the earth and makes the rain of the land fall. So Gueluy, p. 74. But Wylie, &c., translate "observing the blue clouds".

[5] China and the Roman Orient, p. 61-2.

[6] La cité fleurie du pays des solitaires (Gueluy).

[7] A river in Kan-su (cp. Gueluy, *op. cit.* p. 5).

[8] It is uncertain what gem is meant. Cp. Hirth, p. 242 *sqq.* He refers to the emeralds shining at night, which are mentioned by Herodotus, 2, 44, and Pliny, 37, 5, 66.

[9] Tout y brille d'un ordre parfait (Gueluy).

(714-755); the "image of perfection of the five" (which M. Gueluy explains as the quintessence of absolute power) was placed in the church (A.D. 742). This emperor established a convent called the Palace of Progress, in which the monks of Ta-tsin were confounded with other ascetics. The patronage of Christianity by the succeeding emperors, Su-tsung (756-762), Tai-tsung (763-777), and Kien-chung (780-783) is then described, and the minister Izdbuzid, governor of a district in Kan-su, who was gracious to the Church although a Buddhist.

After this, follows a metrical summary of the purport of the inscription, and then the date of the inscription: "This stone was erected in the second year of Kien-chung of the great Tang dynasty, in the Tso-yo of the cycle of years, in the month Tai-tsu, on the seventh day [*i.e.*, Sunday], the day of the great Hosannas". The Sunday of the Great Hosannas meant, in the language of eastern Christians, Palm Sunday; and thus the date is precisely fixed to A.D. 781, April 8.[10] The name of Ning-chu, *i.e.*, Hanan Jesus the Catholic patriarch of the Nestorians, is added, and the name of the scribe who drew up the document.

On the left of the monument are two lines of Syriac, which run:

"In the days of the father of fathers, Mar Hanan Jesus [John Joshua], Catholic patriarch;
Adam, priest and chorepiscopos and papashi of Tzinistan [China]".

There is another Syriac inscription at the foot:

"In the year 1092 of the Greeks, Mar Izdbuzid,[11] Priest and chorepiscopos of Kumdan [that is, Si-ngan-fu], the royal city, son of Milis [Meletius] of blessed memory, priest of Balkh, city of Tokharistan, erected this tablet of stone, where is inscribed the life of our Saviour and the preaching of our fathers to the king of the Chinese".

There follow the names of signatories in Syriac and Chinese.

Hanan Jesus was the Catholic Patriarch of the Nestorian Church from 775 to 780, as Lamy has proved from the Syrian historian, Elias of Nisibis. His successor Timotheus was appointed on April 11, 780, so that he was dead a year before the erection of the Chinese inscription. Thus a year had elapsed, and the news of his death had not yet reached Si-ngan-fu from Seleucia: a fact which shows at what rate news travelled then in central Asia. *Catholic Patriarch* was the title of the chief of the Nestorians since the end of the 6th century; in the 5th century the title had been simply *Catholic*.[12]

The stone of Si-ngan-fu is supposed to have been buried about A.D. 845, when Wu-tsung issued an edict, aimed at Buddhist and other monks, enjoining the destruction of monasteries, and commanding foreigners who had come from Muhupa[13] or from Ta-tsin to cease corrupting China and return to secular life. In the following century Christianity was almost extinct in China.

8. THE LETTER OF NICETIUS TO JUSTINIAN—(P. 139)

The extant letter of Nicetius, Bishop of Trèves, to Justinian, of which Gibbon translates a passage, has been generally explained as referring to the Aphthartodocetic heresy which the emperor adopted shortly before the close of his reign. The meaning of the letter I must leave to theologians; but, without venturing to intrude on subtleties which, to adopt Gibbon's phrase, must be retained in the memory rather than in the understanding, I may express my opinion that there is much force in the view of Rev. W H Hutton, who argues in his Lectures on the Church in the Sixth Century (1897), that the letter does not seem to touch upon the incorruptibility of Christ's body, but to be concerned with some other heresy.

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[10] See Gueluy, *op. cit.* p. 67, 68.

[11] His name shows his Persian origin.

[12] See Lamy's important explanations, p. 90 *sqq*.

[13] Gaubil supposes that the Ghebers of Persia are meant.

Mr. Hutton maintains a theory (which had been promulgated by Crackanthorpe at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and controverted by Hody towards the end of the same century), that Justinian never fell into the Aphthartodocetic heresy. He is compelled to reject the distinct evidence of contemporary writers (cp. above, p. 140, n. 101); and he rests his case, which he has defended with great ability, on the high character for orthodoxy borne by Justinian and his theological learning, and on the fact that his memory was not condemned by the Church. But the direct evidence is too strong, whatever opinion be held either of the sincerity of Justinian in theological matters, or as to the psychological probability of a theologian of seventy or eighty years of age lapsing into a christological heresy. As the edict was never issued, the Church was not called on to condemn him.

9. PERIODS OF THE LATER EMPIRE, A.D. 610 TO A.D. 1204—(CHAP. XLVIII.)

Many readers of the xlviiith chapter, having travelled over the long series of the later Emperors through a period of six hundred years, may come away with a bewildered feeling of having seen much and distinguished little, and with a conviction that it would require an arduous effort of the memory to retain the succession of the princes and the association of each with his own acts. The memory, however, will find the task considerably alleviated, when the whole period is divided into certain lesser periods into which it naturally falls; and it might have been well if Gibbon had added to his lucid exposition of the plan of his own work (in the introduction to this chapter) a brief survey of the six hundred years, according to its divisions. These divisions roughly correspond to dynasties.

(1) Heraclian Dynasty. Seventh century. A.D. 610-717.

In this period the Empire declines in power, and the boundaries retreat, through the encroachments of the Saracen and Slavonic invaders. It ends with twenty years of anarchy (A.D. 695-717): Justinian II. being overthrown; followed by two tyrants; restored again to power; killed; and followed by three tyrants.

(2) Iconoclastic Period. Eighth and ninth centuries. A.D. 717-867.

This is the period of revival. The territorial extent of the Empire is still further reduced, but, within its diminished borders, between the Haemus and the Taurus, it is consolidated and renovated. This is mainly the work of the two great Emperors Leo III. and his son Constantine V. (717-775). On the principle of dynastic division, this period falls into three parts:—

(*a*) Syrian (commonly called Isaurian) Dynasty. A.D. 717-802.
(*b*) Three Emperors who did not found dynasties. A.D. 802-820.
(*c*) Amorian Dynasty. A.D. 820-867.

But it may be more usefully divided into two parts, representing the two triumphs and defeats of iconoclasm.

(*a*) A.D. 717-813. Doctrine of iconoclasm established under the first three Emperors (717-780); reaction against it, and restoration of images, under Irene and Constantine (780-802).

The following Emperor (Nicephorus) is indifferent, and his successor (Michael I.) is an image-worshipper.

(*b*) A.D. 813-867. Iconoclasm re-established by three Emperors (813-842); reaction against it, and restoration of images, under Theodora and Michael III. (842-867). Thus the history of iconoclasm in the ninth century is a replica of its history in the eighth; and observe that in both cases the reaction was carried out under a female sovereign.

(3) Basilian, or Armenian ("Macedonian"), Dynasty. A.D. 867-1057.

This period is marked by a reaction against the policy of the Iconoclasts (cp. Appendix 10), and by a remarkable territorial expansion, rendered possible by the consolidation which had been the work of the great Iconoclasts. We may conveniently distinguish three sub-periods: (*a*) A.D. 867-959, marked by great legislative activity, and some attempts to recover lost provinces—successful only in Italy; (*b*) A.D. 959-1025, marked by large acquisitions of long-lost territory, both in Asia and Europe; (*c*) A.D. 1025-1057, stationary.

The succession of these three periods of decline, renovation, and expansion, is illustrated by an exact parallel in the succession of three corresponding but shorter periods, in the fifth and sixth centuries. There we see the decline and territorial diminution of the Empire, in the reigns of Arcadius and Theodosius II., under the stress of the Gothic and Hunnic invasions; the renovation, with financial retrenchment, under Zeno and Anastasius; the brilliant territorial expansion, under Justinian, rendered possible by the careful policy of his predecessors. It is also remarkable that the third period in both cycles is marked by great legislative activity. Further, the last part of the Basilian period (A.D. 1025-1057) corresponds to the reigns of Justin II., Tiberius II., and Maurice.

(4) Comnenian Dynasty. A.D. 1057-1204.

At the very beginning of this period, the Empire, undermined by centuries of a pernicious economic system and strained to the utmost by the ambitious policy of the Basilian period, yields to the invasion of the Seljuk Turks and loses territory which it had never lost before. A series of able, nay, brilliant, princes preserve the fabric for another century and a quarter; but, when it passes into the hands of the incapable Angeli, it collapses at the first touch (A.D. 1204).

This period of decline, following on the period of expansion, corresponds to the earlier period of decline in the 7th century, following on the expansion of the 6th. The Persian invasion under Phocas and Heraclius corresponds to the Seljuk invasion under Romanus Diogenes; while Heraclius, Constans II., and Constantine IV. correspond to Alexius, John, and Manuel: we have even a parallel to the wayward Justinian II. in the wayward Andronicus.

The two cycles might be presented thus:—

Revival:	Second half of 5th century.	8th century.
Expansion:	6th century.	9th-11th century.
Decline:	7th century.	11th-12th century.
Result:	Anarchy, c. A.D. 700.	Fall, c. A.D. 1200.

10. A CHRONOLOGICAL QUESTION OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY—(P. 184, 186)

From the year A.D. 726 to the year A.D. 774 there is a consistent inconsistency in the dates of the chronicle of Theophanes. The Anni Mundi and the indictions do not correspond. Thus A.M. 6220 is equated with Ind. 12; but while A.M. 6220 answers to A.D. 727-8, Ind. 12 should answer to A.D. 728-9. It has been generally assumed that the Indictions are right and the Anni Mundi wrong; and the received chronology (of Baronius, Pagi, Gibbon, Lebeau, Muralt, Finlay, Hopf, &c., &c.) is based on this assumption. But it was pointed out (Bury, Later Roman Empire, ii., 425-7) that the anomaly was not due to an error of Theophanes (of the same kind as that which he perpetrated in his annals of the preceding century, see above, Appendix 1), since a contemporary document (the Ecloga of Leo and Constantine) presents the same inconsistency; and that we must infer that the Anni Mundi are right and the Indictions wrong. For, while the Anni Mundi represented a chronological system based on historical data, with which the government could not conceivably have tampered, the Indictions were part of a financial system which might be manipulated by the Emperor. The conclusion was drawn (Bury, *ib.*) that Leo III. had packed two indictions into one year of twelve months, for the purpose of raising a double capitation tax; and that, nearly fifty years later, Constantine V. spread one indiction over two years of twelve months (A.D. 772-4), so restoring the correspondence between Anni Mundi and Indictions according to the previous method of computation. This reasoning was confirmed especially by one fact (Bury, *op. cit.* p. 426)—the eclipse of the sun noticed by Theophanes under A.M. 6252, on Friday, Aug. 15, clearly the annular eclipse of A.D. 760 on that day of the month and week. The received chronology would imply that the eclipse took place in A.D. 761, Aug. 15; but astronomy assures us that there was no eclipse on that day, nor was that day Friday.

It follows that the dates of forty-seven years in the 8th century (from 726 7 to 773-4, are a year wrong. Thus Leo III. died, not in 741, but in 740; the Iconoclastic Synod was held, not in 754, but in 753.

These conclusions have been recently confirmed and developed by M. H. Hubert (Chronologie de Théophane, in Byz. Zeitschrift, vi., p. 491 *sqq.*, 1897), who has gone through the Papal acts and letters of the period. He points out two important consequences of the revised dating. While the Iconoclastic Council of Constantinople was sitting, there were deputies of the Pope in that city,—though not necessarily as his representatives at the Council. More important still is the circumstance that the Council preceded the journey of Pope Stephen II. (in 754) to the court of Pippin and the famous compact which he concluded with the Frank king at Quiersy. The Council would thus appear to be the event which definitely decided the secession of Rome from the Empire.

11. GRAECO-ROMAN LAW—(P. 184)

The general history of Byzantine law, from Justinian to the fall of the Empire, may be grouped under two epochs easily remembered: the attempt of the first Iconoclastic Emperors to legislate on new Christian principles, and the return to the Roman principles of the Justinianean law by the first "Macedonian" sovereigns.

A word must first be said of the substitution of the Greek for the Latin language in the domain of law. The great legal works of the Illyrian Justinian were composed in Latin, his native tongue. But the fact that to the greater part of the Empire ruled by him, and a still greater part of the Empire ruled by his successors, Latin was unintelligible, rendered a change of vehicle simply inevitable. The work of transformation began in his own reign. He issued most of his later laws (the Novels) in Greek, and in Novel 7 (15, ed. Zach.) expressly recognises the necessity of using "the common Greek tongue"; Theophilus prepared a Greek paraphrase of the Institutes; and Dorotheus translated the Digest. The Code was also, immediately after its publication in Latin, issued (perhaps incompletely) in a Greek form.[1] After Justinian's time the study of legal texts in Latin seems, at Constantinople and in the Greek part of the Empire, to have soon ceased altogether.

In the troubles of the 7th century the study of law, like many other things, declined; and in the practical administration of justice the prescriptions of the Code and Digest were often ignored, or modified by the alien precepts of Christianity. The religion of the Empire had exerted but very slight influence—no fundamental influence, we may say—on the Justinianean law. Leo III., the founder of the Syrian (vulgarly called Isaurian) dynasty, when he restored the Empire after a generation of anarchy, saw the necessity of legislation to meet the changed circumstances of the time. The settlements of foreigners—Slavs and Mardaites—in the provinces of the Empire created an agrarian question, which he dealt with in his Agrarian Code. The increase of Slavonic and Saracenic piracy demanded increased securities for maritime trade, and this was dealt with in a Navigation Code. But it was not only for special relations that Leo made laws; he legislated also, and in an entirely new way, for the general relations of life. He issued a law book (in A.D. 740 in the name of himself and his son Constantine), which changed and modified the Roman law, as it had been fixed by Justinian. This Ecloga, as it is called, may be described as a Christian law book. It is a deliberate attempt to change the legal system of the Empire by an application of Christian principles. Examples, to illustrate its tendency, will be given below.

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[1] Cp. Zachariä, Gr.-Röm. Recht, p. 6.

The horror, in which the iconoclasts were held on account of their heresy by the image-worshippers, cast discredit upon all their works. This feeling had something to do with the great reaction, which was inaugurated by Basil I., against their legal reforms. The Christian Code of Leo prevailed in the empire for less than a century and a half; and then, under the auspices of Basil, the Roman law of Justinian was (partially) restored. In legal activity the Basilian epoch faintly reflected the epoch of Justinian itself. A handbook of extracts from the Institutes, Digest, Code and Novels, was published in A.D. 879, entitled the Prochiron (or ὁ πρόχειρος νόμος), to diffuse a knowledge of the forgotten system. But the great achievement of the Basilian epoch is the Basilica—begun under Basil, completed under Leo VI.—a huge collection of all the laws of the Empire, not only those still valid, but those which had become obsolete. It seems that two commissions of experts were appointed to prepare the material for this work. One of these commissions compiled the Prochiron by the way, and planned out the Basilica in sixty Books. The other commission also prepared a handbook, called the Epanagoge, which was never actually published (though a sketch of the work is extant), and planned out the Basilica in forty Books. The Basilica, as actually published, are arranged in sixty Books, compiled from the materials prepared by both commissions.

The Basilian revival of Justinianean law was permanent; and it is outside our purpose to follow the history further, except to note the importance of the foundation of a school of law at Constantinople in the 11th century by the Emperor Constantine IX. The law enacting the institution of this school, under the direction of a salaried Nomophylax, is extant.[2] John Xiphilin (see above) was the first director. This foundation may have possibly had some influence on the institution of the school at Bologna half a century later.

To illustrate the spirit of the legislation of Leo III., an attempt to reconcile the discrepancies between civil and canonical law, we may glance at his enactments as to marriage, the *patria potestas*, and the guardianship of minors.

In the law of Justinian marriage had by no means the sacrosanct character which the Church assigned to it. Like all contracts, it could easily be dissolved at the pleasure of the contractors, and concubinage was legally recognised. The Ecloga enacted that a concubinate should be regarded as a marriage, thus legally abolishing the relation; and in this matter the Macedonian Emperors maintained the principle of the Iconoclasts; Leo VI. expressly asserting (Nov. 89) that there is no half-way state between the married and the unmarried.

Roman law had defined a number of hindrances to the contraction of marriage. The tendency of the Church, which regarded marriage as not an admirable thing in itself but only a concession to weakness, was to multiply hindrances. Justinian had forbidden marriages between Christians and Jews; the Ecloga recognises only marriages of Christians (and orthodox Christians are meant).[3] But the chief obstacles lay in degrees of relationship. Justinian's Code forbade marriage between blood relatives in the direct line of ascent and descent, between brothers and sisters, and between uncle and niece, nephew and aunt. The Trullan synod of 692 extended the prohibition to first cousins; the Ecloga went further and forbade the marriage of second cousins (δισεξάδελφοι). These prohibitions were preserved by the Macedonian Emperors, and it was generally recognised that marriages within the 6th degree were illegal. It was even regarded as a question whether marriages in the 7th degree were permissible. They were forbidden by the Church in the 11th century, and this decision was confirmed by the Emperor Manuel. A similar progress in strictness can be traced in the case of relationships by adoption, by marriage, and by baptismal sponsorship.

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[2] Ed. Lagarde in the Abhandlungen der Akad. zu Göttingen, xxviii. 195 *sqq*.

[3] Theophilus however recognised marriages between Romans and Persians as valid.

In Justinian's law "consent" was enough for the legal contraction of a marriage, and further forms were necessary only so far as the dowry was concerned. But under the ecclesiastical influence need was felt of giving greater solemnity and publicity to the marriage contract, and the Iconoclasts prescribed a written form of contract to be filled up and signed by three witnesses, but permitted this to be dispensed with by very poor people, for whom it would be enough to obtain the blessing of the Church (εὐλογία) or join hands in the presence of friends. The legislation of the Macedonian Emperors maintained the spirit (though not the words) of the Ecloga, in so far as it prescribed *public* marriages with penalties.

And, if the Church made the contraction of marriage more solemn, it made divorce more difficult. It was here that there was the most striking opposition between the law of the Church and of the State, and here the tendency of the Iconoclastic legislation is most strikingly shown. The Church regards marriage as an indissoluble bond, and for a divorced person to marry again is adultery. On the other hand, Roman law, as accepted and interpreted by Justinian, laid down that no bond between human beings was indissoluble, and that separation of husband and wife was a private act, requiring no judicial permission. And persons who had thus separated could marry again. The only concession that Justinian made in the direction of the ecclesiastical view was his ordinance that persons who separated without a valid reason should be shut up in monasteries,—a measure which effectually hindered them from contracting a new marriage. The spirit of the Ecloga is apparent in its full acceptance of the ecclesiastical doctrine in this point—the indissolubility of marriage. Divorce is permitted only in four cases, and this as a concession to the weakness and wickedness of human nature. The Basilian legislation returned to the Justinianean doctrine, and the antinomy between the canon and the civil law survives to the present day in Greece.

Another question arises when the dissolution of marriage is due to the hand of death ; is it lawful for the survivor to enter again into the state of matrimony? More than once this question assumed political significance in the course of Imperial history. The Church always looked upon the marriage of widowers or widows as reprehensible, founding her doctrine on the well-known prescriptions of St. Paul, in 1 Corinthians, chap. vii. A second marriage might be tolerated, but a third was distinctly unlawful, and a fourth—swinishness (so Gregory Nazianzen ; see Zachariä, Gr.-röm. Recht, p. 82, note 200). The civil law recognised no such restrictions, and only interfered so far as to protect the interests of the children of the first marriage. But here the ecclesiastical view gained ground. The Ecloga affects not to consider a third marriage conceivable ; the Empress Irene distinctly forbade a third marriage. Basil contented himself with recognising the ecclesiastical penalties imposed on persons guilty of a third marriage, but declared a fourth illegal. His son Leo committed this illegality (see above, p. 207) ; but after Leo's death the "act of unity" (τόμος τῆς ἑνώσεως) of the synod of A.D. 920 confirmed the ordinance of Basil, with the additional restriction that a third marriage of a person who had children and was over forty years of age was illegal.

The influence of the ecclesiastical view of marriage as a *consortium vitae* can be seen too in the treatment of the property of the married partners. In the Justinianean law, the principle of the elaborate prescriptions for the property of the wife and the husband, for the *dos* and the *propter nuptias donatio*, is the independence and distinction of the property of each. The leading idea of the system developed in the Ecloga is the community of property in marriage,—the equal right of each partner to the common stock, however great the disproportion may have been before the contributions of each. Basil returned to the Justinianean system, but the doctrine of the Ecloga seems to have so firmly established itself in custom that Leo VI. found it necessary to make a compromise, and introduced a new system, which was a mixture of the Iconoclastic and the Justinianean doctrines.

The *patria potestas* still holds an important place in the Justinianean law, although the rights which it gave the father over the children were small indeed compared with the absolute control which he had enjoyed in ancient times. The tendency was to diminish these rights and to modify the stern conception of *patria potestas* by substituting the conception of a natural guardianship; a change corresponding to the change (promoted by Christianity) in the conception of the family, as held together by the duties of affection rather than by legal obligations. The two most important points in the later transformation of the *patria potestas* were (1) its conversion into a parental *potestas*, the mother being recognised as having the same rights and duties as the father (thus her consent as well as the father's is necessary for the contraction of a marriage); and (2) the increased facilities for emancipation when the child came to years of discretion; emancipation seems to have been effected by the act of setting up a separate establishment. These principles were established by the Iconoclasts; but Basil revived the Justinianean legislation. Here, however, as in many other cases, the letter of Basil's law books was not fully adopted in practice, and was modified by a Novel of Leo VI. which restored partly the law of the Ecloga.

In respect to the guardianship of minors the tendency in the later civil law had been to supersede the *tutela* by the *cura*—the *tutor* who was appointed in the interests of the family by the *curator* appointed in the interests of the public. The office of guardian came to be regarded as a public office for the good of the ward. Yet the old distinction of *cura* and *tutela* still subsisted in the Justinianean law books, though in use it was practically obsolete. The Ecloga logically developed this tendency; here *tutela* does not appear at all, only *cura* (κουρατωρεία). And, as on the death of one parent the children were under the care of the surviving parent, there was no question of guardianship except in the case of orphans. The Ecloga provides—and here we see the ecclesiastical influence—that, when the parents have not designated a guardian, the guardianship of orphans is to devolve on ecclesiastical institutions (*e.g.*, the ὀρφανοτροφεῖον at Constantinople), and to last until the wards marry or reach the age of twenty. Here again the Basilica returned to the Justinianean law.

These examples will give some idea of the general character of the development of Byzantine civil law. Two interesting points may be added in connexion with the law of inheritance. Constantine VII. enacted[4] that if any one died intestate and childless, only two-thirds of his property went to relatives (or the fisc), the remaining third going to the Church for his soul's benefit. The other point is the institution of testamentary executors, for so we may best translate the word ἐπίτροποι in its Byzantine use.[5] The institution was but incompletely developed, and ultimately fell into disuse, but Zachariä remarks that Byzantine law was "on the highway to an institution similar to the English *trustees*, *executors* and *administrators*".[6]

In criminal, as in civil law, the Iconoclastic legislators made striking innovations in the Justinianean system—sometimes entirely departing from it, sometimes developing tendencies which were already distinctly perceptible in the civil code of the 6th century. But, whereas in the case of the civil law the Basilian legislation was characterized as a return to the Justinianean system—a return sometimes complete, sometimes partial, but always tending to subvert, so far as possible, the Iconoclastic legislation,—it is quite otherwise in the case of the criminal law. Here, the system established by the Ecloga is retained in most cases, and sometimes developed further.

The criminal law of the Ecloga is very remarkable. It was intended to be, and professed to be, more humane than the old Roman law; but a modern reader is at first disposed to denounce it as horribly barbaric. Its distinguishing feature is the use of mutilation as a mode of punishment—a penalty unknown in Roman law. The principle of mutilation was founded on Holy Scripture (see St. Matthew, v., 29, 30: If thine eye offend thee, &c.). Since mutilation was generally ordained in cases where the penalty had formerly been death, the lawgivers could certainly claim that their code was more lenient. The penalty of confiscation of property almost entirely disappears. The following table of penalties will exhibit the spirit of the Christian legislation:—

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[4] This had been preceded by a similar law of Leo VI., applying to persons who died in captivity.

[5] In the old law ἐπίτροπος was the translation of *tutor*.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 162-5.

Perjury: amputation of the tongue (γλωσσοκοπεῖσθαι).
High treason: death.
Theft: for the first offence: if solvent, payment of double the value of the thing stolen; if insolvent, flogging and banishment.
,, for the second offence: amputation of the hand.
Pæderasty: death.
Bestiality: amputation of the offending member (καυλοκοπεῖσθαι).
Fornication:—
  (1) with persons within the forbidden degrees: amputation of the hand (for both);
  (2) when the act involves a further wrong, *e.g.*:—
    (*a*) with a nun (a wrong being done thereby to the Church): amputation of the nose (for both);
    (*b*) with a maiden: the man, if he refuses to marry her, pays a fine if he has property, but if he is penniless, is whipped, tonsured, and banished;
    (*c*) if the maiden was betrothed to another: amputation of the nose;
    (*d*) rape: amputation of the nose (and, if the victim was under thirteen years of age, the ravisher had to pay her half his property, besides losing his nose);
    (*e*) of a man with a married woman: amputation of the nose (for both);
  (3) (*a*) of a married man with an unmarried woman: whipping;
    (*b*) of an unmarried man with an unmarried woman: lighter whipping; but in these cases the women were not punished, according to the law of the Ecloga.

For murder the penalty was death. But, while the Justinianean law excluded murderers, ravishers, and adulterers from the asylum privileges secured to those who took refuge in churches, the Ecloga does not make this exception; and, though the enactments of the Basilica follow Justinian, practice seems in the meantime to have secured for murderers the right of asylum, which was definitely recognised by Constantine VII. A novel of this Emperor enacts that a murderer who takes refuge in a church shall do penance according to the canon law, shall then be banished for life from the place where the crime was perpetrated, shall become incapable of holding office; and, if the murder was committed with full premeditation, shall be tonsured and thrust into a monastery. His property shall be divided; one part going to the heirs of the murdered man, another to his own relatives, and in case he becomes a monk of his own free will, a portion shall be reserved for the monastic community which receives him.

This enactment must have enabled most murderers to escape the capital penalty.

In general we can see that the tendency of the Ecloga was to avoid capital punishment so far as possible, and this tendency increased as time went on. Gibbon mentions the fact that under John Comnenus capital punishment was never inflicted (the authority is Nicetas); but this must not be interpreted in the sense that the death penalty was formally abolished, but rather taken as a striking illustration of the tendency of the Byzantine spirit in that direction. We may question whether this tendency was due so much to the growth of feelings of humanity as to ecclesiastical motives, namely the active maintenance of the asylum privileges of Christian sanctuaries, and the doctrine of repentance. The mutilation punishments at least are discordant with our notions of humane legislation. Zachariä von Lingenthal expresses his opinion that the cruelties practised in modern times in the Balkan peninsula are traceable to the effect produced by the practice of the criminal code of the Ecloga throughout the Middle Ages.

Finally it is worth while to observe in the Ecloga a democratic feature, which marks a real advance, in the interests of justice, on the Justinianean code. The Ecloga metes out the same penalties to poor and rich; whereas the older law had constantly ordained different punishments for the same offence, according to the rank and fortune of the offender.

[Zachariä von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, on which (ed. 3, 1892) the foregoing account has been mainly based. The same jurist's Jus Graeco-Romanum, pars 3, contains the extant laws of the Emperors after Justinian (1857). Mortreuil, Hist. du droit byzantin, 3 vols. 1843-7. W. E. Heimbach, Griechisch-römisches Recht, in Ersch and Gruber's Enzyklopädie, part 86. The Ecloga was edited by Zachariä von Lingenthal in 1852; there is a more recent edition by Monferratus (1889).—His edition of the Basilica in 6 vols. (1833-70), is the *opus magnum* of W. E. Heimbach.]

12. THE LAND QUESTION—(P. 209)

In order to comprehend the land question, which comes prominently before us in the 10th century, it is necessary to understand the various ways in which land was held and the legal status of those who cultivated it. The subject has been elucidated by Zachariä von Lingenthal; but the scantiness of our sources leaves much still to be explained.

We have, in the first place, the simple distinction of the peasant proprietors who cultivated their own land, and the peasants who worked on lands which did not belong to them.

(1) The peasant proprietors (*χωρῖται*) lived in village communities. The community, as a whole, was taxed, each member paying his proportion, but the community, and not the individual, being responsible to the state. To use technical expressions, the lands of such communities are *ὁμόκηνσα*, and the proprietors are *consortes*. If one peasant failed to pay his quota, the deficiency was made up by an *ἐπιβολή* or additional imposition upon each of the other proprietors. This system, invented for the convenience of the fisc, was never done away with; but its injurious effects in overburdening the land were observed, and it probably was not always strictly enforced. When a piece of land went out of cultivation owing to the incompetence or ill-luck of its proprietor, it bore very hard on his neighbours that their more successful economy should be burdened with an extra charge. We consequently find the Emperor Nicephorus censured for insisting upon this principle of "solidarity"—the *ἀλληλέγγυον* as it was called. It seems, although we have not very clear evidence on this point, that the principle was now extended so as to impose the additional tax on neighbouring farms, which did not belong to the *ὁμόκηνσα*. Basil II. certainly imposed the extra charge on the domains of large neighbouring proprietors, whose lands were quite independent of the village community; but this unpopular measure—part of that Emperor's warfare against large estates—was repealed by Romanus III.

Under this system of solidarity, each member of the community was directly interested in the honesty and capacity of his neighbours, and could fairly claim some right to interfere for the purpose of hindering any farm from passing into the hands of a person incapable of making it yield enough to pay his quota of taxation. This claim was recognised by Constantine the Great, and afterwards distinctly affirmed in laws of the 5th century which forbade the sale or alienation of a farm to any one except a farmer of the same village (*vicanus*). When in later times the fiscal responsibility was laid not upon the *vicus*, but upon the neighbours of the defaulting farm, the neighbours obtained a right of pre-emption; and in the 10th century the rights of pre-emption were strictly defined by a Novel[1] of Romanus I.

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[1] Nov. 2, p. 234 *sqq.*, in Zachariä, Jus Graeco-Romanum. A.D. 922.

(2) Opposed to these groups of small farms and the peasant proprietors who cultivated them, were the large estates (ἰδιόστατα) of rich owners and the dependent *coloni* who tilled them. Many of these estates belonged to churches and abbeys; others were crown estates (part of the *res privata*, or the *patrimonium*, or the *divina domus*); others were owned by private persons. The peasants who worked on these estates were of two kinds:—

(*a*) Free tenants (*μισθωτοί*, *liberi coloni*), who cultivated their holdings at their own expense, paying a rent (whether in gold or kind) to the proprietor. At the end of thirty years of such tenure, the tenant (and his posterity) became bound to the land in perpetuity; he could not give up his farm, and on the other hand the proprietor could not eject him. But except for this restriction he had no disabilities, and could enter into ordinary legal relations with the proprietor, who had no claims upon his private property.

(*b*) The labourers (*ἐναπόγραφοι*, *adscriptitii*) were freemen like the tenants, and (like the tenants of over thirty years) were "fixed to the clod". But their indigence distinguished them from the tenants; they were taken in by a proprietor to labour on his estate, and became his serfs, receiving from him a dwelling and board for their services. Their freedom gave these labourers one or two not very valuable privileges which seemed to raise them above the rural slaves; but we sympathize with Justinian when he found it hard to see the difference between *servi* and *adscriptitii*.[2] For good or bad, they were in their master's power, and the only hold they had on him was the right of not being turned off from his estate. The difference between the rural slave and the serf, which seemed to Justinian microscopic, was gradually obliterated by the elevation of the former class to the dignity of the latter.

As to the origin of the *adscriptitii*, it seems to have been due to the financial policy of the Constantinian period, which aimed at allowing no man to abandon the state of life to which he or his father before him had been called.

Such were the agricultural classes in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries—peasant proprietors on one hand, and on the other the cultivators of great estates, whether tenants bound to the soil or serf-labourers. And these classes continued to exist till the latest age of the Empire. If the Iconoclastic reformers had had their way, perhaps the history of the agricultural classes would have been widely different. The abolition of the principle which the first Christian Emperor had adopted, of nailing men to the clod, was part of the programme which was carried out by the Iconoclast Emperors and reversed by their successors.

The storms of the 7th century, the invasions of Slavs and Saracens, had made considerable changes in the condition of the provincial lands. The Illyric peninsula had been in many parts occupied by Slavonic settlers; in many cases the dispossessed provincials had fled to other parts of the Empire; and Emperors had transferred whole populations from one place to another, to replenish deserted districts. These changes rendered a revision of the land laws imperative; and, when an able sovereign at length came to the throne, he set himself the task of regulating the conditions of agriculture. The Agricultural Code (*νόμος γεωργικός*) was issued either by Leo III. or by his son, who worked in the same spirit as the father; it consists chiefly of police provisions in regard to rural crimes and misdemeanours, but it presumes a state of things completely different from that which existed in the 6th century and existed again in the 10th. In this Code no man is nailed to the clod, and we hear nothing of serf-labourers (*adscriptitii*) or of services owed by freemen to landlords. We cannot ascribe this radical change, the abolition of what we may call serfdom, to any other sovereign than the reformer Leo III.

The Agricultural Code shows us peasant proprietors in their village communities as before; but it shows us, too,—and here we get a glimpse of the new settlements of the barbarians—communities which own the land in common, no member possessing a particular portion as his own.

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[2] Cod. Just. 11, 48, 21.

As for tenants—now fully free, no longer bound to the soil,—of these there are two classes, according to the agreement made with the landlord. There are the tithe-rent tenants, *μορτῖται*, and the *métayer* tenants, *ἡμισειασταί*. The *μορτίτης* paid a tenth of the produce to the landlord, as rent for the land. The *ἡμισειαστής* worked his farm at the landlord's expense, and the produce was divided equally between landlord and tenant. (Thus the ground rent = $\frac{1}{10}$ of the yearly yield; the interest on capital = $\frac{4}{10}$; and the labour = $\frac{5}{10}$). The *μορτίτης*, then, corresponds to the *μισθωτός* or "free colon" of the Justinianean code, and the *ἡμισειαστής* corresponds to the *ἐναπόγραφος*, in respect of the condition of tenancy; with the important difference that neither *μορτίτης* nor *ἡμισειαστής* is bound to the soil.

The abolition of serfdom and service of the Iconoclastic reformers was by no means agreeable to the great landlords, secular or ecclesiastical. Rich lords and abbots made common cause against the new system; and when the reaction came in the second half of the 9th century Basil's legislation restored the old order of things. The tenants [3] were once more nailed to the soil. Among other things the landlords were not satisfied with the ground rent of $\frac{1}{10}$, fixed in the Agricultural Code; it was insufficient, they said, to make the estate pay, when the taxation was allowed for.

The failure of the land reforms of Leo and Constantine, and the reversion to the old system, close the history of the tenants; but there still remains an important chapter in the history of the peasant proprietors. In the 10th century we find the large estates growing still larger at the expense of the small proprietors whose lands they absorb, and these small proprietors passing by degrees into the condition of tenants. This evil has been briefly touched upon in connexion with Romanus I. and Tzimisces; see above, p. 209, n. 46, and p. 215, n. 57. The decline of the class of small farmers was due to two causes: the influence of the ascetic ideal and the defective economical conditions of the time.

The attraction of monastic life induced many proprietors to enter cloisters, and bestow their property on the communities which admitted them, or, if they were rich enough, to found new monastical or ecclesiastical institutions. The cultivation of the lands which thus passed to the church was thereby transferred from peasant proprietors to tenants.

The want of a sound credit system, due to the ignorance of political economy, and the consequent depression of trade, rendered land the only safe investment for capital; and the consequence of this was that landowners who possessed capital were always seeking to get more land into their hands. Hence they took every occasion that presented itself to induce their poor neighbours, who lived from hand to mouth and had no savings, to pledge or sell their land in a moment of need. The farmer who thus sold out would often become the tenant of the holding which had been his own property.

The increase of large estates was regarded by the government with suspicion and disapprobation.[4] The campaign against the great landlords was begun by Romanus I. in A.D. 922, when, in the law (already mentioned) which fixed the order of pre-emption, he forbade the magnates (*οἱ δυνατοί*) to buy or receive any land from smaller folk, except in the case of relationship. It was also enacted that only after a possession of ten years could a property acquired in this way become permanently the property of the magnate. But a few years later the magnates had an unusually favourable opportunity and could not resist the temptation of using it. There was a long succession of bad harvests and cold winters (A.D. 927-932), which produced great distress throughout the country. The small farmers, brought to penury, standing on the brink of starvation, had no resource but to purchase bread for themselves and their families by making over their little farms to rich neighbours. For this was the only condition on which the magnates would give them credit. The distress of these years in the reign of Romanus formed an epoch in the history of peasant proprietorship. It was clear that the farmers who had pledged their land would have no chance of recovering themselves before the ten years, after which their land would be irreclaimable, had expired. The prospect was that the small farmer would wholly disappear, and Romanus attempted to forestall the catastrophe by direct legislation. His Novel of A.D. 934 (see above, p. 209) ordained that the unfair dealings with the peasants in the past years should be righted, and that for the future no such dealings should take place.

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[3] In the 9th century *πάροικοι* comes into use as the general word for the tenants on a landlord's estate.

[4] It was a law of Justinian that high officials should not acquire landed property. Leo VI. however had repealed this law.

The succeeding Emperors followed up the policy of Romanus. They endeavoured to prevent the extinction of small farmers by prohibiting the rich from acquiring villages and farms from the poor, and even by prohibiting ecclesiastical institutions from receiving gifts of landed property. A series of seven laws[5] on this subject shows what stubborn resistance was offered to the Imperial policy by the rich landlords whose interests were endangered. Though this legislation was never repealed, except so far as the Church was interested,[6] and though it continued to be the law of the Empire that the rich landlords should not acquire the lands of peasants, there is little doubt that the law was evaded, and that in the last ages of the Empire peasant farms were rare indeed. In the 11th century Asia Minor consisted chiefly of large domains.

It must be remembered that, though the formation of these large estates gave their proprietors wealth and power which rendered them dangerous subjects, they were formed not with the motive of acquiring political influence, but from the natural tendency of capital to seek the best mode of investment.

In studying the Imperial land legislation, and the relations of landlord and tenant in South-eastern Europe and Asia Minor, it is of essential importance for a modern student to bear in mind two facts, which powerfully affected that development in a manner which is almost inconceivable to those who are familiar with the land questions in modern states. These facts—both of which were due to the economical inexperience of ancient and mediæval Europe—are: (1) the legislation was entirely based on fiscal considerations; the laws were directly aimed at filling the treasury with as little inconvenience and trouble as possible on the part of the state: the short-sighted policy of making the treasury full instead of making the empire rich; (2) the lamentably defective credit-system of the Roman law, discouraging the investment of capital and rendering land almost the only safe speculation, reacted, as we have seen, in a peculiar way on the land question. Something more is said of this economical weakness in the later Empire in the following note.

13. INTEREST, CREDIT, AND COMMERCE—(THE RHODIAN CODE)

1. The interest on a loan of money was fixed by the two parties to the transaction, but could not, according to a law of Justinian, exceed (*a*) in ordinary cases, 6 per cent. per annum, (*b*) when the lender was a person of illustrious rank, 4 per cent., (*c*) when the lender was a professional money-changer or merchant, 8 per cent., (*d*) when the money was to be employed in a transmarine speculation, 12 per cent. (*nauticum fœnus*).

This system of interest was calculated on the basis of a division of the capital into 100 parts, and each part into 12 unciae. The new coinage, introduced by Constantine, led to a change in the rate of interest, to the disadvantage of the borrower. Seventy-two nomismata were coined to a pound of gold, and 24 keratia went to each nomisma. The practice was introduced of calculating the annual interest by so many keratia to a nomisma, instead of the monthly interest by the fraction of the capital. Thus the old *trientes* (=⅓ of $\frac{1}{100}$ of the capital per month) = 4 per cent. per annum was replaced by 1 keration per 1 nomisma per annum = 4⅙ per cent. per annum. Similarly 6 per cent. became 6¼, 8 per cent. 8⅓.

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[5] (*a*) A.D. 947, Nov. 6 of Constantine VII.; (*b*) A.D. 959-63, Nov. 15 of Romanus II.; (*c*, *d*, *e*) A.D. 964, 967, Nov. 19, 20, 21 of Nicephorus Phocas, (*f*) A.D. 988, Nov. 26 of Basil II.; (*g*) A.D. 996, Nov. 29 of Basil II.; all ap. *Zachariä*, Jus Graeco-Romanum, iii.

[6] Basil II. repealed the law of Nicephorus that Churches, &c., should not acquire real property.

In the 10th century the adjustment of the old unit of 100 to the new unit of 72 went farther, to the disadvantage of the borrower. Six per cent. was converted into 6 nomismata per pound, *i.e.*, per 72 nomismata; or in other words, where 6 per cent. had been paid before, 8·33 was paid now. (So 11·11 replaced 8, and 5·55 replaced 4 per cent.) There was thus a considerable elevation of the legal maxima of interest.

2. The free circulation of capital was seriously impeded by the difficulty in obtaining good securities. The laws respecting mortgage were not calculated to secure the interests of the creditor; and it is significant that in the Ecloga no notice is taken of either mortgage or personal security. Another hindrance to credit was the defectiveness of the mode of proceedings[1] open to a creditor for recovering his money from a defaulting debtor.

The defects of the credit-system of the Empire could not fail to react unfavourably on commerce; and the consequence ultimately was that the trade, which ought to have been carried on by the Greeks of Constantinople and the towns of the Aegean, fell into the hands of Italians. The settlements of Venetian and Genoese merchants in the East were due largely to the defects of the Imperial legislation.

On the condition of Greek commerce in the 8th century we have some slight information from the "Rhodian Nautical Code," published by the Iconoclast Emperors.[2] From this we learn that at this period it was not usual for a merchant to hire a ship and load it with his own freight, but a merchant and a shipowner used to form a joint-stock company and divide the profit and loss. All accidental injuries befalling ship or cargo, were to be borne in common by skipper, merchant, and passengers. It has been remarked that these regulations point to the depression of maritime commerce, easily explained by the fact that from the 7th century forward the Aegean and Mediterranean were infested by Slavonic and Saracen pirates. In such risky conditions men did not care to embark on sea ventures, except in partnership. Although the nautical legislation of the Iconoclasts was not accepted in the Basilica, it seems that it continued to prevail in practice.

It is interesting to observe that a man with a small capital (c. £300 to £1000) could purchase, if he chose, a life-annuity, with a title into the bargain. Certainly titular dignities (even the high title of protospathar) were for sale, and an extra payment entitled the dignitary to a yearly salary (called *ῥόγα*), which brought him in 10 per cent. on his outlay.

There were also a number of minor posts at the Imperial court, with salaries attached, and these could be purchased outright, the purchasers being able to sell them again or leave them to their heirs. These investments produced about 2½ per cent. It is presumable, however, that there was some limit to the number of these posts, and that, although practically sinecures, they could be assigned only to residents at Constantinople.

These two institutions present the only analogy to a national debt in the Eastern Empire.

Cp. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

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[1] Zachariä, *op. cit.*, p. 392 *sqq.*

[2] Ed. in Pardessus, Coll. des lois maritimes, i c. 6. It is also printed in Leunclavius, Jus Gr. Rom. ii. 265 *sqq.*

14. THE LETTERS OF GREGORY II. TO THE EMPEROR LEO—(P. 257)

It is incorrect to say that "the two epistles of Gregory II. have been preserved in the Acts of the Nicene Council". In modern collections of the Acts of Ecclesiastical Councils, they have been printed at the end of the Acts of the Second Nicene Council. But they first came to light at the end of the 16th century and were printed for the first time in the Annales Ecclesiastici of Baronius, who had obtained them from Fronton le Duc. This scholar had copied the text from a Greek Ms. at Rheims. Since then other Mss. have been found, the earliest belonging to the 11th, if not the 10th, century.

In another case we should say that the external evidence for the genuineness of the epistles was good. We know on the authority of Theophanes that Gregory wrote one or more letters to Leo (*ἐπιστολὴν δογματικήν*, *sub* A.M. 6172, *δι' ἐπιστολῶν*, *sub* A.M. 6221); and we should have no external reasons to suspect copies dating from about 300 years later. But the omission of these letters in the Acts of the Nicene Council, though they are stated to have been read at the Council, introduces a shadow of suspicion. If they were preserved, how comes it that they were not preserved in the Acts of the Council, like the letter of Gregory to the Patriarch Germanus? There is no trace anywhere of the Latin originals.

Turning to the contents, we find enough to convert suspicion into a practical certainty that the documents are forgeries. This is the opinion of M. l'Abbé Duchesne (the editor of the Liber Pontificalis), M. L. Guérard (Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, p. 44 *sqq.*, 1890), Mr. Hodgkin (Italy and her Invaders, vol. vi., p. 501 *sqq.*). A false date (the beginning of Leo's reign is placed in the 14th instead of the 15th indiction), and the false implication that the Imperial territory of the Ducatus Romae terminated at twenty-four stadia, or three miles, from Rome, point to an author who was neither a contemporary of Leo nor a resident in Rome. But the insolent tone of the letters is enough to condemn them. Gregory II. would never have addressed to his sovereign the crude abuse with which these documents teem. Another objection (which I have never seen noticed) is that in the 1st Letter the famous image of Christ which was pulled down by Leo is stated to have been in the Chalkoprateia (bronzesmiths' quarter), whereas, according to the trustworthy sources, it was above the Chalkê gate of the Palace.

Rejecting the letters on these grounds—which are supported by a number of smaller points—we get rid of the difficulty about a Lombard siege of Ravenna before A.D. 727: a siege which is not mentioned elsewhere and was doubtless created by the confused knowledge of the fabricator.

15. THE ICONOCLASTIC EDICTS OF LEO III.—(P. 251, 252)

Leo issued his first edict against the worship of images in A.D. 725,[1] and began actively to carry it into effect in the following year (A.D. 726).[2]

Gibbon (who is followed by Finlay) states that the first edict did not enjoin the removal of images, but only the elevation of them to such a height that they could not be kissed or touched by the faithful. He does not give the authority for this statement, but he derived it from Cardinal Baronius (Ann. Eccl. ix., ad. ann., 726, 5), who founded his assertion on a Latin translation of a Vita Stephani Junioris. This document is published in the edition of the Works of John of Damascus, by J. Billius (1603), and differs considerably from the Greek text (and Lat. transl.) published by Montfaucon in his Analecta Græca towards the end of the same century.[3] The passage in question (p. 483 B) states that Leo, when he saw the strong opposition against his policy, withdrew from his position, changing about like a chameleon, and said that he only wished to have the pictures placed higher, so that no one should touch them with his mouth. It has been recognised that this notice cannot be accepted (Hefele, Conciliengeschichte, iii., 347; Bury, Later Roman Empire, ii., 432; Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vi., 432; Schwarzlose, der Bilderstreit, p. 52[4]). It is obviously inconsistent with the incident of the destruction of the image over the palace-gate, which happened immediately after the first edict (Theophanes, A.M. 6218).[5]

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[1] Theoph., A.M. 6127. I do not see that we are justified in rejecting this date of Theophanes, as most critics are disposed to do. The First Epistle of Gregory to Leo says "in the tenth year" of Leo's reign, but it is not genuine.

[2] Theoph., A.M. 6128.

In A.D. 727 there was a revolt in Greece, but this revolt was probably caused not entirely by the iconoclastic edict, but also by heavy taxation (see Bury, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 437). In the same or the following year we must place the First Oration of John of Damascus on behalf of image-worship.[6] In the first month of A.D. 730 a silentium was held, the Patriarch Germanus who resisted Leo's policy was deposed, and a new patriarch, Anastasius, elected in his stead.[7] In the same year the Second Oration of John of Damascus was published. The second edict was issued after the election of Anastasius, and probably differed from the first chiefly in the fact that the Imperial policy was now promulgated under the sanction of the head of the church in Constantinople.[8]

Gibbon does not mention the fact that the chief ecclesiastical counsellor of Leo in the inauguration of the iconoclastic policy was Constantine, Bishop of Nacolia in Phrygia. For this prelate see the two letters of the Patriarch Germanus, preserved in the Acts of the Second Council of Nicæa (Mansi, Conc. 13, 99 *sqq.*).

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[3] The relation of these documents deserves to be investigated.

[4] But Schwarzlose does not distinguish the older Latin translation from Montfaucon's text and translation of the Vita Stephani. In his valuable article, Kaiser Leons III. Walten im Innern (Byz. Ztsch., v., p. 291), K. Schenk defends the view that Leo's first edict ordered the pictures to be hung higher. He cites the Life of Stephanus without giving any reference except "Baronius ad annum, 726," and does not distinguish between Montfaucon's edition and the older Latin version. Until the source of that old Latin version has been cleared up and its authority examined, it seems dangerous to accept a statement which depends on it alone. Schenk meets the argument that the mild character of the edict is inconsistent with the destruction of the picture by rejecting the latter fact. But his objections concern the account of the destruction of the picture in the 1st Letter of Gregory to Leo and do not touch the account in Theophanes; so that their only effect is to reinforce the arguments against the genuineness of the Pope's letter.

[5] The Vita Stephani places it after the deposition of Germanus (in A.D. 730), and therefore Pagi placed it in 730 (A.D. 726-9 and 730, 3, 5). Hefele refutes Pagi by the 1st Letter of Pope Gregory to Leo, which he (Hefele) regards as genuine. Cp. above, p. 535.

The chronology in the Vita Stephani is untrustworthy. There can be little doubt that the Ecclesia which is there stated (Migne, P. G., 100, p. 1083) to have been held when the new policy was inaugurated (*i.e.*, A.D. 725 or 726) is really the *silentium* of A.D. 730 (Theoph., A.M. 6221). See Hefele, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[6] Bury, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

[7] Theoph., A.M. 6221 (= A.D. 728-9). Theophanes gives the date of the silentium as "January 7th, Tuesday," and the date of the appointment of Anastasius as "Jan. 22". (1) According to the vulgar chronology, which refers these dates to A.D. 730, the day of the week is inconsistent with the day of the month. January 7 fell on Saturday. (2) According to the revised chronology there is equally an inconsistency, for January 7 fell on Friday. (3) Neither date could be reconciled with the length of the pontificate of Germanus as given by Theophanes (14 years 5 months 7 days, *loc. cit.*; Germanus was appointed on August 11, 715). Now if Germanus was deposed on January 17, 730, everything can be explained. That day was Tuesday; and January 22, on which Anastasius was installed, was the Sunday following. (Sunday was a favourite day for such installations.) The years, days and months of the pontificate work out accurately. The emendation in the text of Theophanes is very slight—ιζ′ for ζ′. This highly plausible solution is due to Hefele. The difficulty lies in the year; for Theophanes assigns the events to the thirteenth indiction; whereas if A.D. 730 was the year he should have assigned it to the fourteenth indiction, according to his own reckoning (see above, p. 524). But notwithstanding this, I believe that Hefele's correction is right, and that Germanus was deposed in A.D. 730.

[8] So Schwarzlose, p. 54, rightly.

16. SOME QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH THE RISE OF THE PAPAL POWER IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY—(P. 266, 270, 271, &c.)

An enormous literature has grown up in connexion with the policy of the bishops of Rome and the rise of the papal power in the 8th century, especially concerning (1) the secession of Italy from the Empire, (2) the relations of the Popes to the Frank monarchy, (3) the donations of Pippin and Charles, and the growth of the papal territory. It can hardly be said that any final or generally accepted conclusions have been attained; and here it must be enough to call attention to one or two points which may be regarded as certain.

The attitude of Gregory II. is misrepresented by Gibbon. Gregory, though he stoutly opposed Leo's iconoclastic policy, did not arm against the Empire; and the disaffection in Italy, which led to the elevation of tyrants under his pontificate, was not due to the iconoclastic decrees, but to the heavy taxation which the Emperor imposed.[1] Gregory, so far from approving of the disaffection, saw that division in Imperial Italy would result in the extension of Lombard dominion, and discouraged the rebellion.[2] This is quite clear from the Liber Pontificalis, V. Greg. II. It was because there was no prospect of help from Constantinople that Gregory III. appealed to Charles Martel in A.D. 739 to protect the Duchy of Rome against Lombard attacks. But the final breach (not indeed intended at the time to be a final breach) with the Empire did not come till fifteen years later. The exarchate had fallen, and Rome was girt about by the Lombard power; but Pope Stephen would hardly have decided to throw himself entirely into the hands of the Frank king if the Council of Constantinople in A.D. 753 had not set a seal on the iconoclastic heresy. It was when the news of this Council reached Rome that the Pope went forth on his memorable visit to King Pippin. The revision of the chronology of the 8th century (see above, p. 524) places this visit in a new light. But even now the Pope did not intend to sever Italy from the Empire; the formal authority of the Emperor was still recognised. Pippin made over to the Church the lands which the Lombard king, Aistulf, was forced to surrender, but this bestowal was designated as a *restitution*—not to the Church, for the Church never possessed them, but to the Empire. This of course was only the formal aspect. Practically the Pope was independent of the Emperor; his position was guaranteed by the Franks.[3]

The attempts to derive the territorial dominion of the Church from the patrimonies of St. Peter have been unsuccessful.[4] The Church as a territorial proprietor is an entirely different thing from the Church as a territorial sovereign. The possession of large estates, in Corsica for instance, might be urged as a reason for the acquisition of the rights of sovereignty; but there was a distinct and a long step from one position to the other. In the *ducatus Romæ* the Pope possessed the powers of political sovereignty in the 8th century; we have no clear record how this position was won; but it was certainly not the result of the patrimony of St. Peter.

In regard to the donation of Pippin it may be regarded as certain that (1) a document was drawn up at Ponthion or Quiersy in A.D. 754, in which Pippin undertook to restore certain territories to Peter,[5] and (2) that Pippin did not promise the whole Exarchate and Pentapolis, but only a number of cities and districts, enumerated in the deed.

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[1] The discontent with the taxation and the dissatisfaction at the iconoclastic decrees must be kept quite distinct. Cp. Dahmen, das Pontifikat Gregors II., p. 69 *sqq.* (1888); Schenk, B. *Z.*, 5, 260 *sqq.*; Duchesne, L. P., i., 412.

[2] Kehr, Gött. Nachrichten, 1896, p. 109, has brought out the point that owing to the Lombard danger the Pope represented the interests of Byzantine Italy.

[3] Cp. Sickel, Gött. Gel. Anz., 1897, 11, p. 842-3.

[4] Sickel, *ib.*, 839.

[5] The Lib. Pont. makes no mention of a document, but the deed (*donatio*) is distinctly mentioned in a letter of Pope Stephen of A.D. 755 (Cod. Car., p. 493), civitates et loca vel omnia quæ ipsa donatio continet.

The fictitious constitution of Constantine the Great, making the Bishop of Rome secular lord of Rome and the west, was drawn up under Pope Paul I. not long after the donation of Pippin. But it is not certain that it was drawn up with the deep design of serving those ends which it was afterwards used to serve; it may have been intended merely to formulate a pious legend.[6]

In regard to the sending of the keys of St. Peter to Charles Martel in A.D. 739 and to Charles the Great in A.D. 796 there can be no question that Sickel is right in denying that this was a "pledge or symbol of sovereignty," as Gibbon says, or of a protectorate. If it were a symbol transferring to the Frank king any rights of sovereignty it would have involved the transference of that which the keys opened. Thus the presentation of the keys of Rome would have made the king lord of the city. And if the presentation of the keys of the tomb of St. Peter had any secular meaning, it could only be that the Pope alienated the tomb from his own possession and made the king its proprietor. The act must have had a purely religious import—the mere bestowal of a relic, intended to augment the interests of the kings in the Holy See. Gregory I. had long ago given a key of the famous sepulchre as a sort of relic (Mansi, Conc. 13, p. 804). See Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 851-3.

[Some recent literature: Friedrich, die Constantinische Schenkung, 1889; Kehr, *op. cit.*, and art. in Sybel's Hist., Zeitsch., 1893, 70, p. 388 *sqq.*; Schaube, *ib.*, 1894, 72, p. 193 *sqq.*; Schnürer, Die Entstehung des Kirchenstaates, 1894; Sickel, *op. cit.*, and article in Deutsche Zeitsch. für Geschichtswissenschaft, 11, 12, 1894; Sackur, in the Mitteilungen des Inst. für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, 16, 1896; T. Lindner, Die sog. Schenkungen Pippins, Karls des grossen und Ottos I. an die Päpste, 1896. See also Oelsner's Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter K. Pippin, and Simson's Jahrb. d. fr. R. unter Karl dem grossen; Gregorovius, Rome in the Middle Ages, Eng. tr., vol. ii.; the notes in Duchesne's Liber Pontificalis; Duchesne, Les premiers temps de l'état pontifical in the Rev. d'hist. et de litt. religieuses, i. (in three parts), 1896; Döllinger, Die Pabstfabeln des Mittelalters (Gregory II. und Leo III., p. 151 *sqq.*; Die Schenkung Constantius, p. 61 *sqq.*).]

Since this was written I have received from M. H. Hubert an important study: Etude sur la formation des états de l'église; les papes Grégoire II., Grégoire III., Zacharie et Etienne II., et leurs relations avec les empereurs iconoclastes (726-757). Published in the Revue historique, lxix., 1899.

17. GOLD IN ARABIA—(P. 313)

Gibbon states that no gold mines are at present known in Arabia, on the authority of Niebuhr. Yet gold mines seem to have existed in the Hijāz under the caliphate, for M. Casanova has described some gold dīnārs bearing the date 105 A.H. (723-4 A.D.) and inscriptions containing the words: "Mine of the commander of the Faithful in the Hijāz" (Casanova, Inventaire sommaire de la coll. des monnaies musulmanes de S. A. la Princesse Ismaïl, p. iv., v., 1896).

For this note I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. S. Lane-Poole.

18. THE SABIANS—(P. 330, 331)

Vague and false ideas prevailed concerning Sabianism, until the obscure subject was illuminated by the labours of Chwolsohn and Petermann in the present century. Gibbon does not fall into the grosser, though formerly not uncommon, error of confusing the Sabians with the Sabaeans (of Yemen); the two names begin with different Arabic letters. But in his day the distinction had not been discovered between the true Sabians of Babylonia and the false Sabians of Harran. The first light on the matter was thrown by Norberg's publication of the Sacred Book of the Sabians entitled Sidra Rabba, "Great Book," which he edited under the name of the Book of Adam (or Codex Nasiraeus). But the facts about the two Sabianisms were first clearly established in Chwolsohn's work, Ssabier und Ssabismus (1856).

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[6] Cp. Sickel, *op. cit.*, p. 845.

This book is mainly concerned with an account of the false Sabians of Harran. It was in the 9th century A.D. that this spurious Sabianism was so named. The people of Harran, in order not to be accounted heathen by their Abbāsid lords, but that they might be reckoned among the unbelievers to whom a privileged position is granted by the Koran—Jews, Christians, and Sabians—as they could not pretend to be Christians or Jews, professed Sabianism, a faith to which no exact idea was attached. The religion, which thus assumed the Sabian name, was the native religion of the country, with Greek and Syrian elements superimposed. It is to this spurious Sabianism, with its star-worship, that Gibbon's description applies.

The true Sabianism sprang up in Babylonia in the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Christian era, and probably contains as its basis misunderstood gnostic doctrines. Its nature was first clearly explained by Petermann, who travelled for the purpose of studying it, and then re-edited the Sidra Rabba, which is written in a Semitic dialect known as Mandaean. There were two original principles: matter, and a creative mind ("the lord of glory"). This primal mental principle creates Hayya Kadmaya ("first life"), and then retires from the scene of operations; and the souls of very holy Sabians have the joy of once beholding the lord of glory, after death. The emanation Hayya Kadmaya is the deity who is worshipped; from him other emanations proceed. (For the ceremonies and customs of modern Sabians see M. Siouffi's Etudes sur la religion des Soubbas, 1880. For a good account of the whole subject, Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole's Studies in a Mosque, c. viii.)

19. TWO TREATIES OF MOHAMMAD—(P. 366, 372)

The text of the treaty of Hudaibiya between Mohammad and the Koreish in A.D. 628, is preserved by Wākidī, and is thus translated by Sir W. Muir (Life of Mahomet, p. 346-7):—

"In thy name, O God! These are the conditions of peace between Mohammad, son of Abdallah, and Suhail, son of Amr [deputy of the Koreish]. War shall be suspended for ten years. Whosoever wisheth to join Mohammad or enter into treaty with him, shall have liberty to do so; and likewise whosoever wisheth to join the Koreish or enter into treaty with them. If one goeth over to Mohammad without the permission of his guardian, he shall be sent back to his guardian; but should any of the followers of Mohammad return to the Koreish, they shall not be sent back. Mohammad shall retire this year without entering the City. In the coming year Mohammad may visit Mecca, he and his followers, for three days, during which the Koreish shall retire and leave the City to them. But they may not enter it with any weapons, save those of the traveller, namely to each a sheathed sword." This was signed by Abū Bekr, Omar, Abd ar-Rahmān, and six other witnesses.

As another example of the treaties of Mohammad, I take that which he concluded with the Christian prince of Aila,—the *diploma securitatis*, mentioned by Gibbon; who refrains from pronouncing an opinion as to its authenticity. It too is preserved by Wākidī and there is no fair reason for suspecting it. Here again I borrow the translation of Sir W. Muir (p. 428):—

"In the name of God the Gracious and Merciful! A compact of peace from God and from Mohammad the Prophet and Apostle of God, granted unto Yuhanna [John], son of Rubah, and unto the people of Aila. For them who remain at home and for those that travel by sea and by land there is the guarantee of God and of Mohammad, the Apostle of God, and for all that are with them, whether of Syria or of Yemen or of the sea-coast. Whoso contraveneth this treaty, his wealth shall not save him; it shall be the fair prize of him that taketh it. Now it shall not be lawful to hinder the men of Aila from any springs which they have been in the habit of frequenting, nor from any journey they desire to make, whether by sea or by land. The writing of Juhaim and Sharāhbil by command of the Apostle of God."

20. MOKAUKAS—(P. 379, 448)

Papyri discovered in Egypt throw some interesting light on the position of the Copt Mokaukas (al-Mukaukis), famous for his correspondence with Mohammad and for the part he played in the Saracen conquest. Mokaukas had been the subject of a monography by the Dutch orientalist de Goeje (1885), and had engaged the special attention of Ranke (Weltgeschichte, vol. v., p. 140 *sqq.*); but the investigation of Prof. J. Karabacek, the editor of the Mittheilungen from the collection of the Archduke Rainer's papyri, puts new evidence at our disposal (Der Mokaukis von Aegypten; Mittheil., pt. i., p. 1 *sqq.*). The results briefly are:—

The proper name of Mokaukas (al-Mukaukis) was George, and he was the son of Menas Parkabios, an instance of a Copt with a double name (Greek and Coptic), of which there are constant examples in papyri. At this time Egypt had three eparchies, each under a dux; each eparchy was divided into several nomes under stratêgoi. The financial administration of the nome was in the hands of a pagarch. Sometimes the offices of the stratêgos and pagarch were united; and Mokaukas combined the double functions. But it seems that though he was always connected with the eparchy of Lower Egypt, he was not throughout his whole career pagarch of the same nome. For we find him at Alexandria as well as at Misr (Babylon). In A.D. 628 Hātib, the envoy of Mohammad, found him governor of Alexandria. In Bilādhurī he appears as governor first of Alexandria and afterwards of Misr. Eutychius and Elmacin represent him as an *Āmil* set by Heraclius over the taxes in Misr. There is no question that at the time of the Saracen invasion his official residence was Misr. Karabacek thinks that the name *Mokaukis* is a corruption of *μεγαυχής*, which *might have been* one of his titles, since we find applied to pagarchs such titles as *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος*, *ἐνδοξότατος*. But *μεγαυχής* seems a very unlikely titular epithet.

We can now see what is meant by the "prefects" mentioned by John of Nikiu (p. 559, 577), according to Zotenberg's translation. Thus John's Abākirī can be identified with Ἄππα κῦρος, who is found in a papyrus as pagarch of Heracleopolis magna.

For the position of Mokaukas as head of the Copts see John of Nikiu.

21. CHRONOLOGY OF THE SARACEN CONQUEST OF SYRIA AND EGYPT—(P. 415-451)

The discrepancies in the original authorities (Greek and Arabic) for the Saracen conquests in the caliphates of Abū Bekr and Omar have caused considerable uncertainty as to the dates of such leading events as the battles of the Yermūk and Cadesia, the captures of Damascus and Alexandria, and have led to most divergent chronological schemes.

I. Conquest of Syria. Gibbon follows Ockley, who, after the false Wākidī, gives the following arrangement:—

A.D. 633. Siege and capture of Bosra. Siege of Damascus. Battle of Ajnādain (July).
,, 634. Capture of Damascus.
,, 635. Siege of Emesa.
,, 636. Battle of Cadesia. Battle of the Yermūk.
,, 637. Capture of Heliopolis and Emesa. Conquest of Jerusalem.
,, 638. Conquest of Aleppo and Antioch. Flight of Heraclius.

Clinton (Fasti Romani, ii., p. 173-5) has also adopted this scheme. But it must certainly be rejected. (1) Gibbon has himself noticed a difficulty concerning the length of the siege of Damascus, in connexion with the battle of Ajnādain (see p. 424, n. 73). (2) The date given for that battle, Friday, July 13, A.D. 633 (Ockley, i., p. 65), is inconsistent with the fact that July 13 in that year fell on Tuesday. (3) The battle of the Yermūk took place without any doubt in August, 634. This is proved by the notice of Arabic authors that it was synchronous with the death of Abū Bekr; combined with the date of Theophanes (*sub* A.M. 6126), "Tuesday, the 23rd of Lous (that is, August)," which was the day after Abū Bekr's death. The chronology of Theophanes is confused in this period; there is a discrepancy between the Anni incarnationis and Indictions on one hand, and the Anni Mundi on the other; and the Anni Mundi are generally a year wrong. So in this case, the Annus Mundi 6126 (=March 25, A.D. 633 to 634) ought to be 6127; the 23rd of Lous fell on Tuesday in 634, not in 633 or 635 or 636. There is no question about the reading Λώου, which appears in de Boor's edition (p. 338) instead of the old corruption Ἰουλίου; it is in the oldest of the Mss., and is confirmed by the Latin translation.[1] (4) The capture of Damascus in Gibbon's chronology precedes the battle of the Yermūk. But it was clearly a consequence, as Theophanes represents, as well as the best Arabic authorities. Khālid who arrived from Irāk just in time to take part in the battle of the Yermūk led the siege of Damascus. See Tabarī, ed. Kosegarten, ii., p. 161 *sqq.* (5) The date of the capture of Damascus was Ann. Hij. 13 according to Masūdī and Abū-l-Fidā, in winter (Tabarī); hence Weil deduces Jan. A.D. 635 (see Weil, i., p. 47).

On these grounds Weil revised the chronology, in the light of better Arabic sources. He rightly placed the battle of the Yermūk in Aug. 634, and the capture of Damascus subsequent to it. The engagement of Ajnādain he placed shortly before that of the Yermūk, on July 30, A.D. 634, but had to assume that Khālid was not present. As to the battle of Cadesia, he accepts the year given by Tabarī (tr. Zotenberg, iii., p. 400) and Masūdī (A.H. 14, A.D. 535) as against that alleged by the older authority Ibn Ishāk (ap. Masūdī) as well as by Abū-l-Fidā and others (*op. cit.* p. 71). Finlay follows this revision of Weil:—

A.D. 634. Battle of Ajnādain (July 30). Battle of the Yermūk (Aug. 23).
,, 635. Capture of Damascus (Jan.). Battle of Cadesia (spring).
,, 636. Capture of Emesa (Feb.). Capture of Madāïn.
,, 637-8. Conquest of Palestine.

As to the main points Weil is undoubtedly right. That the conquest of Syria began in A.D. 634 and not (as Gibbon gives) A.D. 633, is asserted by Tabarī[2] and strongly confirmed by the notice in Χρονογρ. *σύντομον* of Nicephorus (p. 99, ed. de Boor): *οἱ Σαρακηνοὶ ἤρξαντο τῆς τοῦ παντὸς ἐρημώσεως τῷ ͵ϛρκϛʹ ἔτει ἰνδ. ζʹ.* Mr. Milne, in his History of Egypt under Roman Rule (1898), thinks that Mokaukas was prefect, perhaps of Augustamnica, p. 225. The Saracens began their devastation in A.M. 6126 = Ind. 7. A.M. 6126 is current from A.D. 633 March 25 to A.D. 634 March 25, and the 7th Indiction from A.D. 633 Sept. 1 to A.D. 634 Sept. 1; the common part is Sept. 1 A.D. 633 to March 25 A.D. 634; so that we are led to the date Feb., March 634 for the advance against the Empire. In regard to the capture of Damascus it seems safer to accept the date A.H. 14, which is assigned both by Ibn Ishāk and Wākidī (quoted by Tabari, ed. Kosegarten, ii., p. 169), and therefore place it later in the year A.D. 635.

The weak point in Weil's reconstruction would be the date for the battle of Ajnādain, as contradicting the natural course of the campaign marked out by geography, if it were certain that Ajnādain lay west of the Jordan, as is usually supposed (see map in this volume, where it is indicated in the commonly accepted position). The battle of the Yermūk on the east of the Jordan naturally preceded operations west of the Jordan. This has been pointed out by Sir W. Muir (Annals of the Early Caliphate, p. 206-7), who observes that the date A.D. 634 (before the Yermūk) "is opposed to the consistent though very summary narrative of the best authorities, as well as to the natural course of the campaign, which began on the *east* side of the Jordan, all the eastern province being reduced before the Arabs ventured to cross over to the well-garrisoned country west of the

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[1] Weil falls into error (I, p. 48) when he states that Theophanes is only a year wrong in the date of Mohammad's death. He places it in the year A.D. 630; and his reference to the 4th Indiction under that year is justified by the fact that the first half of the Indiction is concurrent with the A.M. Weil miscalculates the Indiction, which corresponds to 630-1, not to 631-2.

[2] III. p. 347, tr. Zotenberg: "At the beginning of the 13th year of the Hijra no part of Syria was conquered and Abū Bekr resolved to invade it".

Jordan". Muir accordingly puts the battle in A.D. 636.[3] But there seems to be no certainty as to the geographical position of Ajnādain, and it must therefore be regarded as possible that it lay east of the Jordan, and was the scene of a battle either shortly before or shortly after the battle of the Yermūk. The reader may like to have before him the order of events in Tabarī; Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole has kindly supplied me with the references to the original text (ed. de Goeje):—

Abū Bekr sends troops into Syria (A.H. 13), i., 2079.
Khālid brings up reinforcements in time for the Yermūk, i., 2089.
Battle of the Yermūk, i., 2090 *sqq.*
Battle of Ajnādain (end of July, 634), i., 2126-7.
Battle of Fihl (Jan., Feb., 635), i., 2146.
Capture of Damascus (Aug., Sept., 635), i., 2146.

As to the date of the capture of Jerusalem, Weil does not commit himself; Muir places it at the end of A.D. 636 (so Tabarī, followed by Abū-l-Fidā, while other Arabic sources place it in the following year). Theophanes, under A.M. 6127, says: "In this year Omar made an expedition against Palestine; he besieged the Holy City, and took it by capitulation at the end of two years". A.M. 6127 = March 634-635; but, as the Anni Mundi are here a year late (see above), the presumption is that we must go by the Anni Incarnationis and interpret the A.M. as March, 635-636. In that case, the capitulation would have taken place at earliest in March, 637—if the *two* years were interpreted strictly as twelve months. But διετῆ χρόνον might be used for two military years, 635 and 636; so that the notice of Theophanes is quite consistent with Sir Wm. Muir's date. The same writer agrees with Weil in setting the battle of Cadesia in A.H. 14, with Tabarī, but sets it in Nov. 635, instead of near the beginning of the year. Nöldeke (in his article on Persian History in the Encyc. Brit.) gives 636 or 637 for Cadesia. Muir's arrangement of the chronology is as follows:—

A.D. 634. April, the opposing armies posted near the Yermūk. May and June, skirmishing on the Yermūk. August (23), battle of the Yermūk.
,, 635. Summer, Damascus capitulated; battle of Fihl. November, battle of Cadesia.
,, 636. Spring, Emesa taken. Other Syrian towns, including Antioch, taken. Heraclius returns to Constantinople. Spring, battle of Ajnādain. End of the year, Jerusalem capitulates. Summer, siege of Madāïn begins.
,, 637. March, capture of Madāïn.
,, 638. Capture of Caesarea. Foundation of Basra and Kūfa.

II. CONQUEST OF EGYPT. Our Greek authorities give us no help as to the date of the conquest of Egypt, and the capture of Alexandria; and the Arabic sources conflict. The matter, however, has been cleared up by Mr. E. W. Brooks (Byz. Zeitschrift, iv., p. 435 *sqq.*), who has brought on the scene an earlier authority than Theophanes, Nicephorus and all the Arabic histories,—John of Nikiu, a contemporary of the event. (For his work see above, Appendix 1.) This chronicler implies (Mr. Brooks has shown) that Alexandria capitulated on October 17, A.D. 641 (towards the end of A.H. 20). This date agrees with the notice of Abū-l-Fidā, who places the whole conquest within A.H. 20, and is presumably following Tabarī (here abridged by the Persian translator); and it is borne out by a notice of the 9th century historian Ibn Abd al Hakam (cp. Weil, i. p. 115, note). Along with the correct tradition that Alexandria fell after the death of Heraclius, there was concurrent an inconsistent tradition that it fell on the 1st of the first month of A.H. 20 (Dec. 21, A.D. 640); a confusion of the elder Heraclius with the younger (Heraclonas) caused more errors (Brooks, *loc. cit.*, p. 437); and there was yet another source of error in the confusion of the first capture of the city with its recapture, after Manuel had recovered it, in A.D. 645 (*loc. cit.*, p. 443).[4] Mr. Brooks' chronology is as follows:—

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[3] It would thus have been fought in connexion with the capture of Ajnādain, which Tabarī places before the capture of Jerusalem (iii., p. 410).

A.D. 639. Dec., Amru enters Egypt.
" 640. c. July, battle of Heliopolis.
c. Sept., Alexandria and Babylon besieged.
" 641. April 9, Babylon captured.
Oct. 17, Alexandria capitulates.

As to the digressive notice of Theophanes *sub anno* 6126, which places an invasion of Egypt by the Saracens in A.D. 638, it would be rash, without some further evidence, to infer that there was any unsuccessful attempt made on Egypt either in that year, or before A.D. 639.

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[4] By this means Mr. Brooks most plausibly explains the origin of the traditional self-contradictory date, Friday, 1st of Muharram, A.H. 20. In that year Muharram 1 did not fall on Friday; but it fell on Friday in A.H. 25, the year of the recapture.

ADDENDA

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P. 283, footnote [98]. I have since received from Professor W. Sickel an important study: Die Kaiserwahl Karls des Grossen, Eine rechtsgeschichtliche Erörterung, which he contributed to the Mittheilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, vol. xx. He deals with all important previous works on the question, and makes it probable that a Wahlversammlung, an assembly of electors clerical and lay, met at Rome before Dec. 25.

P. 499. TO JOHN OF DAMASCUS. Add the following note, which was inadvertently omitted (cp. text, p. 249, note [13]): The story of Barlaam and Joasaph—a romance founded on the story of Buddha—assumed its Greek form in the 7th century, in Palestine, and the author of the Greek romance was a monk named John, who perhaps belonged to the monastery of St. Sabbas. This John was taken to be John of Damascus, and hence the story of Barlaam and Joasaph was ascribed to the famous writer of the 8th century and included in his collected works. The most important Christian source of the composition was the Apology of Aristides, which is practically written out in the sermon of Nachor, so that Mr. J. Armitage Robinson was able to restore the original Greek text with help of a Syriac translation (The Apology of Aristides, in Texts and Studies, i. 1, 1891).

P. 504, at end of third paragraph (after notice of Vita Euthymii). Professor E. Kurtz of Riga has since published two Greek texts on the life of Theophano, wife of Leo VI., which he published in the Mémoires of the St. Petersburg Academy, 1898, Classe Hist.-Phil. (Zwei griechische Texte über die Hl. Theophano). One of these documents is by a contemporary (*Βίος καὶ πολιτεία τῆς . . . Θεοφανώ*). The other is a discourse on the pious lady's life and merits by Nicephorus Gregoras.

P. 513. Oriental Sources for Saracen Conquests. Observe that Mr. E. W. Brooks has collected and translated the notices in Arabic writers bearing on Saracen invasions of Asia Minor between A.D. 641 and 750 (including some notices on Syria and Armenia): The Arabs from Asia Minor, from Arabic Sources, in the Journal of Hellenic Studies, xviii., p. 182 *sqq.*, 1898; and in the same Journal, xix., p. 19 *sqq.*, 1899, he has given under the title: The Campaign of 716-718 from Arabic Sources, translations of two accounts of the siege of Constantinople (see Gibbon, vol. vi., p. 5 *sqq.*) (1) that in the Khitab al-Uyun (an 11th century source); and (2) that of Al-Tabari.

P. 515, l. 16. In connexion with Michael of Melitene it may be mentioned that since this notice was written Mr. E. W. Brooks published the text, and an English translation, of A Syriac Chronicle of the Year 846, whose author used partly the same sources as Michael. Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, li., p. 569 *sqq.*

P. 524, Appendix 10. The chronological question dealt with in this Appendix has been since discussed by Mr. E. W. Brooks (in Byzantinische Zeitschrift, viii., p. 82 *sqq.*, 1899; The Chronology of Theophanes, 607-775), who arrives at the conclusion that |Theophanes has used two different schemes of chronology, and in the period under discussion dates sometimes by the one, sometimes by the other.

P. 532. All studies on the Byzantine themes are now superseded by Professor H. Gelzer's memoir, Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung (in vol. xviii. of the Abhandlungen of the Kön. Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften), 1899.

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